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THE

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OR

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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

APRIL 1803.

No. III.

ART. I. *De l'Etat de l'Europe avant et après la Revolution Françaiſe, pour ſervir de reponſe a l'ecrit, intitulé, De l'etat de la France à la fin de l'an.* 8. Par M. Frederic Gentz, Conſeiller de Guerre, de S. M. Pruſſienne. 8vo. pp. 354. Londres, 1802.

THE deſtruction of Jacobiniſm, and the entire abolition of the revolutionary cant, by which its antagoniſts were ſo long exaſperated, have effected a great change in the tone and manner of our late political controverſies, and reſtored ſome degree of temper, and ſome appearance at leaſt of candour, to thoſe great and intereſting diſcuſſions. Men agree now pretty generally in the principles from which they ſet out, to whatever diſtance their concluſions may diverge; and admit the authority of ſome common maxims of right or expediency, however they may differ as to their application.

The events, however, to which we are indebted for this improvement in the ſtyle of our political writers, have not been ſuch, by any means, as to compoſe their fundamental differences. The apprehenſions which were formerly excited by the revolutionary principles of France, have been ſucceeded by the dread of her power; and the nations of Europe ſeem only delivered from the dangers of internal diſſenſion, to encounter thoſe with which their independence is threatened, from the preponderance of a foreign ſtate. In ſuch a condition of ſociety, it is not to be expected that the great queſtions of international policy can yet be examined with entire impartiality, or that any political writer ſhould be able to lay aſide altogether that jealouſy and animoſity with which the oppoſite parties in the great European community have been ſo long accuſtomed to regard each other. In the debate which is detailed in this volume, accordingly, there is no rant about liberty on the one hand, or ſocial order on the other; and yet there is, on one ſide at leaſt, as much

much partiality and exaggeration, and as much hoſtility and rancour, as could well have been found in the earlier days of the Revolution.

The book called *De l'Etat de la France*, to which this publication of M. Gentz is announced as an anſwer, is written by a Frenchman * in office, in the true ſpirit of his country and his ſtation. It contains a moſt captivating repreſentation of the happineſs, and power, and moderation of France; and a very animated expoſition of the crimes and impending humiliation of this country. Though the partiality and acrimony of the author are ſo apparent throughout as to take from his performance all the authority of ſober judgement, it ſtill indicates ſo much talent, and ſo much information, as to be highly deſerving of attention. He has reſted the juſtification of his country upon a much wider range of hiſtorical deduction and political inference than have hitherto been brought to bear upon the queſtion; and by repreſenting the Revolution as the criſis of a great diſorder in the general ſyſtem of European politics, he has given an intereſt and a ſimplicity to his ſpeculations which the ſubject did not ſeem to promiſe. He writes, too, with a certain air of confidence and authority, that it is not always eaſy to reſiſt; and while he throws out ſome ſpecious and brilliant ideas upon every ſubject that preſents itſelf, he dextrouſly avoids thoſe ſpecifications of minute detail by which all general principles muſt be verified.

Such a performance, if it admitted at all of an anſwer, ſeemed to require one, in a particular manner, on the part of this country. Our politicians, however, appear to write only for the ſatisfaction of their countrymen, and to think that a book publiſhed in French cannot be deſerving of their notice. In this inſtance, we conceive that their backwardneſs, though not very eaſily accounted for, has been of great advantage to their cauſe; as it has put the taſk into the leſs ſuſpicious hands of a neutral foreigner, and given a continental politician an opportunity of ſtating to the nations of Europe the real ſtate and pretenſions of the two rival powers. M. Gentz is a native of Pruſſia, and a miniſter of the only great military power that has been for a conſiderable time in amity with the French republic. His former publications, 'upon the origin and character of the late war,' and 'on the finances of Great Britain,' prove ſufficiently with what a ſkilful and penetrating eye he had ſurveyed the proceedings of the belligerent powers, and with what ſcrupulous exactneſs he had informed himſelf as to their reſources. The preſent publication muſt add to his reputation in all thoſe particulars, and would of itſelf entitle him to a place among the firſt political writers

* M. Hauterive, Chef des Relations exterieurs.

writers of the age. The book is written with a very ſingular temperance of manner, in ſpite of the perſonal provocation which M. Hauterive has occaſionally given; and ſeems to us as much ſuperior to that of his antagoniſt, in candour and manlineſs of ſentiment, as in hiſtorical accuracy and correct reaſoning. As the ſubject is in every reſpect extremely intereſting and important, we ſhall endeavour to lay before our readers a pretty full view of the treatment it has received from M. Gentz.

The ſubſtance of M. Hauterive's book, with which it is neceſſary to begin, may fairly be ſtated in the few following propoſitions.

From the treaty of Weſtphalia in 1648 down to the æra of the French Revolution, the balance of power in Europe, and the authority of public law, had been gradually neglected and impaired, till ſcarcely a trace of ſyſtematical policy was to be diſcovered at the latter period.

The Revolution in France, and the deſolating wars which it excited, were the neceſſary and natural reſults of this general derangement; and the iſſue of them has enabled France to lay the foundation of a new federal ſyſtem, better accommodated to the preſent condition of the European nations.

The power which ſhe has thus acquired, ſhe will exerciſe in acts of beneficence towards her allies, and of moderation towards her opponents, and will make uſe of all her influence to protect the continental ſtates againſt the machinations of England, who has been the conſtant inſtigator of general hoſtility, whoſe commercial monopoly has extinguiſhed their induſtry, and whoſe ambition ſtill threatens their independence.

To qualify her for the diſcharge of theſe importance duties, France poſſeſſes, according to M. Hauterive, the moſt ample reſources that have ever fallen to the lot of any nation. Her geographical poſition, the fertility of her ſoil, the number, genius, and valour of her inhabitants; her form of government, and the talents and virtues of thoſe by whom it is adminiſtered; ſeem all combined to enſure her permanent pre-eminence, and to give ſtability to thoſe political benefits that Europe is to derive from her influence.

Theſe poſitions M. Gentz has undertaken to diſprove, in the work that is now before us; and has applied himſelf to the talk, with a degree of zeal and aſſiduity that ſeemed to aſſure him of ſucceſs. He admits, in a great degree, the power and the reſources of France to be ſuch as his antagoniſt has repreſented them; and does not think proper to enter into any diſquiſition in this work, as to the excellence of her government, or the ſtability of her conſtitution. The object of his book is merely to ſhow, that the Revolution was neither produced nor juſtified by any

real diſorder in the general ſyſtem of European politics, and that its conſequences have been, to ſubvert that ancient and ſalutary ſyſtem, without ſubſtituting any other in its ſtead. In following out this object, he is naturally led to take a view of the political ſtate and relations of the different European countries at the time when this revolution took place, and to compare the reſults of this ſurvey with the condition in which theſe countries have been left by the conſequences of that Revolution.

The method which M. Gentz has followed, in the firſt part of this diſquiſition, is ſomewhat characteriſtic, we think, of the genius of his countrymen. Inſtead of entering at once upon a delineation of the actual ſtate of the leading nations of Europe at the moment of the French Revolution, he diſtributes the ſubject into three ſeparate chapters, under the following titles: 1. How far the treaty of Weſtphalia can be conſidered as having eſtabliſhed a public law, or federative ſyſtem, in Europe? 2. How far any intermediate events between that treaty and the late Revolution, can be conſidered as having ſubverted this ſyſtem? and, 3. Whether, at the commencement of that Revolution, there was really any ſuch federative ſyſtem in force, or in exiſtence, in Europe.

Now, to us it ſeems very evident, that it was only with the laſt of theſe queſtions that the author had properly any concern. We are by no means convinced, that M. Hauterive ever meant to aſſert, that the treaty of Weſtphalia laid the firſt foundation of the balancing ſyſtem in Europe, or that this ſyſtem muſt neceſſarily have been deſtroyed by the firſt violation of that treaty. But though he had made ſuch an aſſertion, and, in making it, had committed as groſs an error as it certainly ſeems to imply, ſtill we conceive, that it was an aſſertion which M. Gentz was not called upon to expoſe, and that any controverſy upon this ſubject was utterly foreign to the general deſign of his argument. If Europe was actually united and protected at the æra of the French Revolution, by the authority of a great federative and balancing ſyſtem, and if that ſyſtem was deſtroyed in the contentions with which the Revolution was attended, it is certainly of no conſequence, whether it was a ſyſtem eſtabliſhed by the peace of Weſtphalia, and modified by ſucceeding occurrences, or whether it had its origin in a more remote antiquity, and had been uniformly progreſſive in vigour and authority, till the moment of its ſubverſion. M. Hauterive maintains, that there was no ſuch ſyſtem in exiſtence at the time of the Revolution; and that it was the want of it that occaſioned all the diſtractions which enſued. M. Gentz alleges, that there was ſuch a ſyſtem at this time, in a ſtate of the greateſt vigour and improvement; and, to us, it does not ſeem neceſſary that he ſhould have alleged any thing more. Of the reaſonings

reaſonings contained in the two firſt chapters, therefore, we ſhould not have thought it neceſſary to preſent our readers with any analyſis, if the author had himſelf adhere dſtrictly to the ſubjects he had announced. In the courſe of diſcuſſion, however, he ſeems to have inſenſibly widened the baſis of his argument, and to have paſſed from the conſideration of the treaty of Weſtphalia, with its hiſtory and reſult, to the general and permanent effects of the events by which it is ſaid to have been infringed. Thus, while he ſeems only to be contending, that the ſtipulations of that treaty were not materially affected by the various occurrences which M. Hauterive had enumerated, we are ſurpriſed to find him admitting that the elevation of Pruſſia did alter the very ground-work of its regulations; and contending, that this alteration was, notwithſtanding, of the greateſt advantage to Europe. As the argument in theſe two chapters, therefore, eoes in reality graduate, by a kind of anticipation, into that general and more important argument which is nominally reſerved for the ſucceeding one, we ſhall give a very ſhort and general ſketch of the obſervations they appear to contain.

After obſerving, that the treaty of Weſtphalia only adjuſted the pretenſions of France, Sweden, and the different ſtates of the empire, and, conſequently, was utterly incapable of ſettling the general balance of Europe, he proceeds to make ſome remarks upon the three great events by which M. Hauterive has contended that the treaty was abrogated, and the balance overthrown. Theſe three events are, 1. The civilization of Ruſſia, and its adoption into the ſyſtem of European politics; 2. The elevation of Pruſſia to the rank of a power of the firſt order; and, 3. The prodigious extenſion of the commercial and colonial ſyſtem.

With regard to the firſt of theſe, M. Gentz obſerves, that the formation of the Ruſſian empire has extended the ſphere of commercial enterpriſe and civil intercourſe, more than any other event ſince the diſcovery of America; that it has ſecured Europe for ever againſt the irruption of the northern barbarians, and that its political influence has been confined almoſt entirely to the northern kingdoms, to Poland and Turkey. Of its partitioning ſyſtem he ſpeaks with decided diſapprobation; but concludes, that the middle ſtates of Europe, and France in particular, had no reaſon to complain of any diſturbance or change of their relations from this quarter of the globe.

The aggrandiſement of Pruſſia, he admits, however, touches them more nearly. It deranged a great part of the old ſyſtem of Germanic policy, but tended to maintain and ſecure the peace and the independence of all the neighbouring communities. The ſtruggles by which its elevation was effected, did, indeed, for a time, diſturb the tranquillity of the empire, but its eſtab-

liſhment inſured its repoſe. By affording an internal counterpoiſe to the power of Auſtria, it did indeed diminiſh the influence of France in the other parts of the Germanic body; but this was moſt evidently a benefit to Europe at large, and left France the choice of either Auſtria or Pruſſia for its ally. It is very remarkable, accordingly, that as ſoon as Pruſſia had become the implacable and formidable opponent of Auſtria in Germany, France immediately entered into a cloſe alliance with her ancient enemy, and transferred into the Auſtrian ſcale the whole weight of that influence, that could not poſſibly be diminiſhed, from having become the ſubject of jealouſy and contention between the two rival powers. As to M. Hauterive's paradoxical aſſertion, that the Proteſtant intereſt was ruined by the elevation of Pruſſia, itſelf a Proteſtant government, M. Gentz judiciouſly remarks, that religious diſtinctions have now loſt all their ancient authority; that an univerſal change of character has taken away, as it were, by a great ſocial revolution, one ancient bond of union and ſource of diſſention; and that the ſlighteſt political conſideration will now have more influence on the conduct of nations, than all the creeds in the univerſe. Finally, M. Hauterive has inſinuated, that it was Pruſſia that firſt ſet the example of vaſt ſtanding armies and ruinous impoſts in Europe; and that fear and ambition propagated the practice ſo ſucceſsfully, that every nation, before the Revolution, had a diſproportionate part of its population engaged in the unprofitable occupation of war, and was vainly draining its reſources to ſupply the expence of its eſtabliſhments. M. Gentz does not admit, by any means, that this was really the ſituation of Europe; but, even upon that hypotheſis, he denies that it was in Pruſſia that the practice originated. It began, unqueſtionably, he ſays, in France under Louis XIV., and has ever ſince prevailed, in that country, to a greater extent than any where elſe. We may add, that it ſeems ſtrange in the miniſter of a military government, to declaim upon the diſaſtrous conſequences of maintaining a ſtanding army; and that if Europe was ruined under her old ſyſtem, by the exceſſive number of her hired forces, it is not very eaſy to ſee how France is to regenerate her proſperity, by ſetting the example of a peace-eſtabliſhment of 500,000 men.

M. Hauterive's *third* reaſon for the deſtruction of all order and proſperity in Europe, is found in the vaſt increaſe of commerce and colonies in the courſe of the laſt century. M. Gentz treats this with great contempt. The increaſe of commerce is a neceſſary conſequence, he ſays, of that ſalutary developement of national wealth and proſperity, to which human ſociety naturally tends under any ſyſtem of juſt adminiſtration; it is beneficial to the country

country where it begins, and harmleſs, at leaſt, to all its neighbours. It affords them not only example and encouragement, but the means of imitation and improvement; and can never be viewed with jealouſy or reſentment, except by that envy which deſpairs of emulation, or that barbarous pride which had rather that its aſſociates ſhould fall, than be indebted to them for its own elevation. M. Hauterive, in this part of his argument, has an evident reference to the ſituation of this country; but M. Gentz, who has reſerved that ſubject for a ſeparate diſcuſſion in another part of his book, anſwers only in general. He obſerves, that the increaſed reſources that have been derived from the extenſion of the commercial ſyſtem, have been in ſome degree common to all nations, and have rather ameliorated the condition of the whole, than altered the relations of its parts. That ſome have been outſtripped by others in this honourable and free competition, ought no more to be made the ſubject of reſentment or complaint, than that one nation has amended its laws, or reformed its conſtitution, with greater diligence and diſpatch than its neighbours. In point of fact, he obſerves, that the advantages that may be aſcribed to the extenſion of colonies or commerce, have never been monopolized by any one nation in Europe, but have belonged, in a great degree, to all the maritime ſtates, and in particular to France, England, and Holland, in pretty equal proportion. When we conſider, indeed, what France was, both in America and in India, within half a century, and the prodigious advantages ſhe ſtill has in the Levant trade and that of the Weſt Indies, it cannot but appear ſurpriſing that a French writer ſhould inveigh with ſo much bitterneſs againſt colonies and commerce, and repreſent the balance of Europe as in danger from the preponderance of England, merely becauſe ſhe poſſeſſes a part of thoſe advantages which were formerly enjoyed with ſafety by the continental kingdom of France. The maritime powers, too, M. Gentz obſerves, form a ſort of ſecondary balance among themſelves, and will, in general, throw their united force into the ſcale, to prevent the diſturbance of the greater ſyſtem to which they adhere. Their chief intereſt on the continent muſt always be, to maintain that general balance; and if their commerce has increaſed their weight and authority, this is a circumſtance which tends only to make that balance more ſecure. If it had not been for the maritime reſources of Holland and England, it is not eaſy to perceive in what way the continental powers could have reſiſted the attacks of Louis XIV. After all this, we muſt allow that M. Hauterive's patriotiſm is more conſpicuous than his accuracy, when he informs us, that, for theſe laſt hundred and fifty years, 'France alone has conducted

herſelf in conformity to the general principles of the political balance, while all the ſurrounding nations appeared to glory in the contempt with which they treated it.

From theſe preliminary, but very important obſervations, our author proceeds to the proper buſineſs of his publication; and begins, in the third chapter, an elaborate and inſtructive repreſentation of the ſtate of Europe at the æra of the French Revolution. So far from thinking with M. Hauterive, that it had abandoned all political principal, and was reduced to ſuch a ſtate of internal diſorder and debility, as to need or deſerve ſo terrible a purgation, it is the opinion of M. Gentz, that at this very time—

'It was eaſy to diſcover in all the greater ſtates, without exception, and in moſt of the ſmaller ones, an active principle of amelioration, which extended to all the branches of adminiſtration, and a ſpirit of correction and reform, that was communicated from the people to the Sovereign, and reflected again from the Sovereign to the people. Every nation was employed in reviſing its laws, and ſuggeſting amendments, in particular, of its criminal juriſprudence: and meaſures were every where ſuggeſted for the encouragement of induſtry, agriculture, and commerce. All governments were employed in enriching and adorning their territories with plantations and canals, and in the conſtruction of high-roads, harbours, and public buildings of every deſcription. The greateſt zeal, and the greateſt talents, were every where put in requiſition to diſcover ſome gentle and effectual ſubſtitute for the old and oppreſſive ſyſtem of taxation, and to fill the public treaſury with the leaſt inconvenience or diſadvantage to the people. Private life was every where ſet free from thoſe arbitrary reſtrictions that diſturb its happineſs, and reſtrained its proſperity. The ſyſtem of free competition was univerſally gaining ground over that of unjuſt monopolies; excluſive privileges were every day becoming milder and more unuſual; and a greater equality of rights was generally recogniſed. Every where, too, the education of youth, and the adaptation of their inſtruction to the departments for which they were deſtined, had become an object of national ſolicitude, and was patroniſed and protected by the Government.'

This is certainly a very flattering picture; and M. Gentz admits, that the traits of which it is compoſed were not to be found united in all their purity and perfection in any one of the nations in queſtion; but he maintains, that there was a tendency to realize this picture in every one of them, and that it had indicated itſelf very decidedly, even in thoſe where its operation had been moſt imperfect and incomplete. In confirmation of this aſſertion, he then proceeds to take an exact and comprehenſive ſurvey of the real ſtate of all the great nations that compoſe the Europe ancommunity. It is impoſſible for us to purſue

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him through this intereſting and important detail; nor can we hope to do juſtice to it in the ſhort and imperfect abſtract to which we are neceſſarily confined. He goes over the different countries, firſt with a view to their internal proſperity, and then with a view to their political or external relations.

As to *Ruſſia*, he obſerves, that the whole of her modern exiſtence has been a ſeries of brilliant and unparalleled improvements; and that her progreſs, under the late Empreſs, was not leſs wonderful than under the Great Peter. The general ſpirit of amelioration which animated all Europe, prevailed even to a feveriſh exceſs in this remote empire; and the very extravagance and ambition of its Sovereign ſeemed directed only to precipitate the civilization of her people, and to raiſe her country at once to the level of her ſouthern neighbours. Let M. Hauterive compare the ſtate of Ruſſia in 1690 with her ſtate in 1790, and then determine whether the laſt century has witneſſed nothing but the decay and degeneracy of the European kingdoms.

In *Auſtria*, M. Gentz alleges, that the reign of Joſeph II. in particular, exhibited the ſingular ſpectacle of a monarch ſtruggling to confer all kinds of benefits upon his ſubjects; and a people who obſtinately rejected the bleſſing, and clung to their prejudices and their miſeries. Upon this prince he pronounces an eulogium in which we cannot altogether concur. Joſeph II. with great goodneſs of diſpoſition, had all the habits of a deſpot, and all the vanity of an Imperial philoſopher; and was not ſo deſirous that his people ſhould be proſperous and happy, as ambitious of being himſelf the artificer of their happineſs and proſperity. It is impoſſible, however, to deny, that many of the regulations which he propoſed were politic and ſalutary; or that Auſtria, under his adminiſtration, was protected and encouraged in all her efforts for internal amelioration.

Of *Pruſſia*, our author ſpeaks with the partiality of a good patriot. The legiſlative labours of the Great Frederic certainly were little leſs admirable than his military exploits; but we are not juſt prepared to follow M. Gentz, in affirming that, "in the latter years of his reign, Pruſſia was a model of induſtry, regularity, and œconomy; and afforded at the ſame time a pattern of internal energy and *genuine civil liberty*." It muſt be admitted, however, that the internal condition of the Pruſſian territories had been prodigiouſly improved in the courſe of the laſt century; and that a ſpirit of activity and enterpriſe prevailed over all the north of Germany, that gave but little indication of an incurable diſorder in its conſtitution.

The very name of *Great Britain*, M. Gentz conceives to be a ſatisfactory anſwer to every thing that M. Hauterive has aſſerted as to the weak and diſordered ſtate of all the European governments. In

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that country alone, the true principles of political œconomy had been protected and recommended by the Government; and the conſequences of this enlightened policy had exalted its commerce to a degree of proſperity unexampled in the hiſtory of the world.

In *Denmark* and in *Sweden*, the ſame judicious regulations were beginning to be generally adopted. In the latter country eſpecially, the activity of Guſtavus III. had awakened the induſtry, and encouraged the exertions of his people; and, in ſpite of the political diſſenſions by which his reign was moleſted, the internal proſperity of the kingdom was never at ſo great a height.

Even in *Poland*, the deſire of reform and the ſpirit of improvement had manifeſted itſelf. The partition of 1772 had awakened the cares of her ſtateſmen to the preſervation of her remaining territories; and the reports of the Diet in 1788, and the new conſtitution of 1791, teſtified ſufficiently how much they were in earneſt, and gave a promiſe of tranquillity and happineſs that could only have been diſappointed by the total annihilation of the kingdom.

Spain and *Portugal*, though in circumſtances far more unfavourable than any other ſtate in Europe, began alſo to feel the vivifying effects of the general tendency to improvement. *Italy* had already made great advances: Tuſcany, under the adminiſtration of Leopald, had become a model for all ſmall principalities: Rome had adopted the moſt enlightened views of political œconomy: and Naples itſelf was preparing a ſcheme for a radical and ſyſtematic reform of its very defective adminiſtration.

It only remains to conſider the ſituation of *France* itſelf. If the Revolution, with all the diffuſive evils that it has generated, was occaſioned by the internal diſorder and miſgovernment of the European kingdoms, the ſymptoms of theſe abuſes muſt have been moſt manifeſt in that country where the exploſion took place. M. Gentz does not deny, that there were many defects in the adminiſtration of that government; and admits, that under Louis XV. in particular, very great errors and abuſes were committed; but, during the reign of his unfortunate ſucceſſor, he maintains, that every thing indicated a diſpoſition to redreſs all grievances, and to grant all indulgences.

'Could the monarch, who gave himſelf up to the counſels of a Turgot and a Maleſherbes, and who twice entruſted the fortunes of his kingdom to the hands of a Neckar, be really enamoured of ancient abuſes, and zealous for obſolete prerogatives? Did the convocation of the Notables, and the plan of finance which they were aſſembled to conſider, indicate any thing like that illiberal, ſuſpicious, and deſpicable policy of which he has been accuſed? Was the imprudent facility with which the Court conſented to the aſſembling of the States-general, a mark of bigotted arrogance, or of blameable indulgence? Was the

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edict of 1788, by which the freedom of the press was established, and political discussion invited on the part of the Government, a sign of its abhorrence for every sort of innovation, and its detestation of the name of reform? Was the act of council of December in the same year, or the speech of the minister in May 1789, or the unfortunate declaration that followed it;—were these like the acts of a government that had no sympathy with the wishes of its subjects, or that stood with proud stupidity upon those ancient prerogatives, which had become odious in the eyes of all the virtuous and the wise? If the Revolution was at all occasioned by those prerogatives, it was not because they were too obstinately retained, but because they were too hastily surrendered.'

There is something questionable, perhaps, in a part of these observations; but enough is made out, we conceive, to justify M. Gentz in concluding, that there was nothing in the *internal* situation of the European kingdoms that required such a stormy reformation, as the Revolution threatened to accomplish; and that this Revolution, so far from being the last link in a long chain of disasters and abuses, was, in fact, a most grievous and unexpected interruption to their career of prosperity, and can in no degree be justified by the pretended disorder and desperation of their affairs.

It remains for M. Gentz, therefore, to consider, whether the causes of this calamitous event, which certainly did not originate from the *internal* distractions of the European kingdoms, can be found in the disordered state of their *external* or foreign relations. This, indeed, is more immediately the object of his book; for it seems sufficiently evident, that the internal disorder of the adjoining kingdoms could never have produced a revolution in France; though it is conceivable, at least, that her condition may have been affected by the state of her foreign relations.

In entering upon this discussion, M. Gentz admits that the balancing system was far from being established on a footing of absolute perfection in Europe, and that many measures had at all times been adopted in direct opposition to its principles. All that he alleges is, that its authority was higher immediately before the Revolution, than it had ever been at any other time, and that its practical efficacy was such, that all the greater powers were perfectly secure from any exterminating combination against them. The only violation of the balance that could justify its utter destruction on the part of France, must have been such a violation as endangered the *security*, or took away the *influence* of that country. M. Gentz, therefore, begins with inquiring into these particulars.—With regard to *security*, he observes, that her geographical position and her internal resources alone made her independent of all hostile combinations. Defended

fended by inacceſſible mountains on the ſouth, and by the ocean on the north and weſt, ſhe was protected on the eaſt by a chain of fortreſſes which might bid defiance to the forces of an invading enemy; her population was numerous, warlike, and ſkilful, and her productions more rich and various than thoſe of any other kingdom in the world. But though her ſtrength might thus have deſpiſed all the threats of hoſtility, ſhe had, in reality, no formidable enemy to encounter. Ruſſia was not only weakened by her great diſtance, but excluded by the ſame circumſtance from any view of conqueſt on the French frontiers. In Germany ſhe was ſure of the ſupport, either of Pruſſia or Auſtria, and might almoſt reckon upon giving predominance to the power to which ſhe was aſſociated. With Auſtria, however, naturally the moſt powerful of the two, ſhe had been cloſely allied for upwards of thirty years, and nothing ſeemed likely to diſturb that pacific union. With Spain her connections were ſtill more intimate and ſecure. Switzerland was attached to her by intereſt and by habit; and ſuch were the fears of her power, and the benefits of her alliance, that from the days of Cardinal Fleuri down to the æra of the Revolution, it is not ſo much as pretended, that any combination of the great powers had ever been projected againſt her. Without one natural or formidable enemy, therefore, on the whole continent of Europe, and courted and flattered by every one of her neighbours in their turn, France could entertain no apprehenſions for her ſafety, and could ſee no rival to her influence, except in the commercial greatneſs of England. The proximity of the two nations, their pride and vanity, their ancient competition in valour, genius and trade, with the alternations of ſucceſs and defeat that each had experienced, and the conſtant claſhing of their intereſts in their colonial and œconomical ſpeculations, had put ſomething of habitual hoſtility into their mutual relations, and made it difficult to eſtabliſh a cordial reconciliation between them. But though England ſtood thus in oppoſition to France, it would be ridiculous to ſay that ſhe at all endangered her ſecurity. A maritime power could only injure her rival in her colonial poſſeſſions; and, upon theſe, her European influence was in no degree dependent. Even there, the fortune of the conteſt was alternate: though humiliated in the ſeven-years war, France was able, in leſs than twenty years, to diſpute the empire of the ſea with her competitor; and forced from her, by the peace of 1783, thoſe darling colonies upon which ſo many millions had been expended. Even their ancient rivalry was beginning to be forgotten. In 1786, the firſt treaty of commerce was concluded between the nations; and, but three years before the Revolution, France appeared to have reconciled herſelf to all the

the world, and to flouriſh in the midſt of Europe, without one enemy around her.

With regard to the practical uſe that had been made of all thoſe natural advantages, M. Gentz lays it down as inconteſtible, that under Louis XIV. the influence of France was a great deal too powerful, and that its ſubſequent diminution has been beneficial to all Europe, and to France itſelf. The councils of Louis XV. indeed, he confeſſes, were remarkable for weakneſs, rather than moderation; and a certain ſupine indifference degraded this great ſtate, during that reign, rather below its natural ſtation in the European ſcale. More recently, however, it had reſumed its proper place, and, eſpecially from the commencement of the American war, had conducted itſelf with all the energy and activity that its poſition appeared to require. Over Ruſſia, indeed, its influence was very ſmall; but the operations of this power were ſcarcely within the ſphere of its cognizance: and, except in the inſtances of the attack meditated on Turkey and Poland, in both of which France ought certainly to have interfered, there was ſcarcely any one enterpriſe of the Northern Empire which it was called upon to oppoſe. The interference which it attempted ſucceſsfully in the affairs of Sweden in 1772, and of Holland in 1787, ſerves ſufficiently to ſhow, not only the influence of France in European politics, but her conſciouſneſs of this influence, and the vigilance with which ſhe watched for opportunities to exert it. The whole of this hiſtorical argument, as to the real influence of France, upon which M. Gentz has beſtowed a great deal of attention, ſeems to us very uſeleſs and unneceſſary. After proving that France was very powerful and formidable, it was ſcarcely neceſſary to ſhow, that her influence was very conſiderable. Her real influence muſt obviouſly always be in the proportion of her power, and the advantages of her poſition. The hiſtorical detail into which M. Gentz has entered, proves only that her government thought proper ſometimes to exert this influence, and ſometimes was led to neglect it, or that its exertion was ſometimes leſs judicious than at others. To prove that France really poſſeſſed too little influence in the general ſyſtem of Europe, it would be neceſſary to ſhow, that ſhe had little power to ſupport her friends, or to annoy her enemies; or that ſhe had generally failed in the meaſures for the promotion of which her influence had been exerted. M. Hauterive himſelf does not venture to aſſert this; and, in confirmation of M. Gentz's general concluſion, it is not a little remarkable, that M. Segur, whoſe authority as a politician is high with all parties of his countrymen, has made this remarkable aſſertion, —'I doubt if it be poſſible to ſpecify any period in the hiſtory of the French Monarchy, during which it maintained ſo much authority

thority in Europe, as from 1783 to 1787, that is, from the date of the peace with England down to the time of the Dutch revolution.' *

If France was secure, and poſſeſſed of a predominating influence in the affairs of the continent, it is of leſs conſequence to inquire into the foreign relations of the other European ſtates, ſince it is evident, that nothing unfortunate or injudicious in the ſyſtem of their alliances, could ever produce or juſtify a revolution in the former country. To take away all pretext, however, from his antagoniſt, and to expoſe, ſtill more completely, the extent of his miſrepreſentations as to the actual poſition of Europe, M. Gentz has ſubjoined to his examination of the foreign relations of France, an elaborate expoſition of the political connection of the great neighbouring communities. Of this we ſhall give but a very ſhort abſtract.

The whole hiſtory of *Auſtria*, he conceives to be one continued illuſtration of the force and efficacy of the balancing ſyſtem. It was by this ſyſtem that its domineering influence was abridged in the end of the ſixteenth century. It was by this ſyſtem that it was redeemed from utter deſtruction (principally by the exertions of England) in the war for the ſucceſſion of Charles VI.; and it was by the irreſiſtible force of this ſyſtem, that its deſigns upon Holland were fruſtrated in 1787, though it was then in cloſe and friendly alliance with the power by whoſe interference its machinations were repreſſed; and that England and Pruſſia were enabled, in 1790, to defeat its compact with Ruſſia, for the extirpation of the Turkiſh power. This laſt event, which was accompliſhed without expence or bloodſhed, is perhaps the moſt ſignal triumph of the balancing ſyſtem, and the greateſt proof of its increaſing efficacy. What muſt perplex M. Hauterive not a little, is, that it took place the very year of the French Revolution. The Auſtrian power has been kept very much at its ancient level of influence and authority, by the contrary operation of four important events; the alliance with France in 1756, and the gradual diminution of the Turkiſh force, adding as much to its ſtrength and ſecurity upon one hand, as was taken away by the ſucceſſive elevation of Ruſſia and Pruſſia to the rank which they now hold in the great European community. Though Auſtria did take a part in the firſt partition of Poland in 772, M. Gentz affirms, that it was with great reluctance; and refers to the poſthumous works of the late King of Pruſſia, for evidence that Joſeph was abſolutely forced into that meaſure by his aſſociates.

Under the article of *Pruſſia*, we ſcarcely find any thing new or intereſting, but a pretty long diſquiſition upon the policy and effects of that ſyſtem of partition, by which that country has been ſo

* Segur, Politique de tous les Cabinets, vol. II. p. 97.

ſo great a gainer. Though a decided enemy to the principle of ſuch a proceeding, and diſpoſed to condemn it very loudly on the ſcore of morality and juſtice, M. Gentz is of opinion, that it has not been of a nature very materially to alter the balance of Europe; but that, on the other hand, it may in ſome degree have contributed to confirm it.

The internal condition of Poland, he thinks, was altogether deſperate, and its independence irrecoverably loſt, while its nominal exiſtence afforded a pretext for the interference of ambitious neighbours, and made it a ſource of perpetual jealouſy and contention to all the ſurrounding nations. The tranquillity of theſe nations has, therefore, been promoted by its deſtruction. The balance between the partitioning powers themſelves was not in any degree diſturbed, but was rendered more effectual and ſecure by the partition: Pruſſia being a greater gainer, upon the whole, than the other two, and, conſequently, more upon a footing with them after that event than before. It did not, even according to M. Gentz, very materially affect the general balance of Europe; Ruſſia and Auſtria were not made more formidable to their reſpective opponents; and Pruſſia, without being raiſed to any dangerous height, was better enabled to reſiſt its ancient enemy. Turkey, indeed, was endangered by the aggrandiſement of her two natural enemies; but the acceleration of the Turkiſh downfal is no inexpiable crime; and France loſt nothing by the change, but a miſchievous and precarious influence, by which her peace was often diſturbed, and her ſubſtantial power in no degree increaſed. In theſe conſiderations, M. Gentz flatters himſelf that ſome conſolation may be found for the extinction of the Poliſh kingdom; and ſeems to be perſuaded, that, though the partition violated all the laws of national right and ordinary juſtice, the effect of it will not be directly detrimental to the intereſt of the remaining powers.

There are few of the ſpeculations contained in this volume with which we are ſo little diſpoſed to agree, as with thoſe we have juſt noticed. They naturally aſſume the form of an apology for one of the moſt profligate tranſactions that hiſtory will have to record, and have it profeſſedly for their object to reconcile the European nations to an event which appears to threaten their general felicity and independence. Upon the partitioning ſyſtem, indeed, we have always been accuſtomed to look with the greateſt horror and apprehenſion, not merely becauſe every particular diſplay of it has been attended with the moſt inſolent violation of all moral or political principle, but becauſe it appears to us to be a natural, though very alarming, corruption of that very balancing ſyſtem upon which we have relied ſo implicitly,

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for protection from all such disasters. The balancing system arms all against the usurpation of one, and secures us completely in ordinary times from the danger of universal dominion; but it affords no protection to the smaller states against the combination of two or three ambitious sovereigns, and even seems to facilitate the concentration of all power and authority into the usurping hands of a few great potentates. Such combinations are evidently the devices upon which the ambition of those who would formerly have conquered alone, have recently been driven by the prevalence of the system of balance; and they seem only to give that ambition a greater steadiness of direction, and greater assurance of success. M. Gentz, and those who can reconcile themselves so readily to the partition of Poland, dwell much upon the fairness of the distribution, and the equality that was maintained among the partitioning powers in the allotment of their new acquisitions, and seem to imagine, that if the great states continue to bear their accustomed proportions to each other, it is of no consequence to what extent they may be themselves increased by the destruction of their weaker neighbours. The balancing system, however, was devised, we apprehend, not merely to maintain a certain equality among the powers, whatever they be, who hold the dominion of Europe, but to secure and provide for the independent existence of a *considerable number* of different communities, with all their varieties of magnitude and resources, and all their distinctions of manners, situations, and designs. The international law with regard to power, is in this respect like the municipal law with regard to property. Its object is, not to establish a fantastic and irksome equality, like the Agrarian schemes of antiquity, but to protect and secure the irregularities to which fortune has given existence; to make wealth and poverty alike safe and independent; to defend the weak and the humble against the rapacity of their superiors; and to maintain legitimate power and authority against the combinations of discontented inferiors. It is in its tendency to produce this effect, that all the value of the balancing system consists; it is from the co-existence of many independent states, of moderate extent and various character, that the European nations have derived all their pre-eminence, and all their felicity, the benefits of mutual competition and mutual controul, and the instructive example of all the effects that can be produced by political wisdom or misconduct in every combination of circumstances. Without this, there can be no grave or worthy object in the mutual alliances of countries; and the subsistence of a naked and unprofitable balance must be, to all just apprehension, a matter of the most absolute indifference. All the substantial benefits of the modern system are lost, as

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ſoon as the ſmaller ſtates are annihilated; and the proſperity and independence of all Europe is juſt as effectually ruined by dividing it into two or three great and equal empires, as by giving it up to the dominion of one univerſal monarch. Even in the latter caſe, if the mere exiſtence of a balance would ſatisfy us, Aſia might be conveniently balanced againſt Europe, or the whole globe might be divided into two vaſt empires in the Northern and the Southern hemiſpheres.

The particular reaſons which M. Gentz has aſſigned for the partition of Poland, appear to us to be no leſs dangerous and fallacious than the general conſiderations that lead him to repreſent it as harmleſs. Poland itſelf, he ſays, was unable to maintain its independence; and Pruſſia was not ſufficiently on a level with its powerful neighbours, till it had ſtrengthened itſelf by the plunder of its weaker ones. We have already ſaid, that the ſecurity of the ſmaller ſtates was the great boaſt, and the great benefit of the balancing ſyſtem; but M. Gentz ſeems to take it for granted, that ſuch ſtates can never poſſibly be in ſecurity, and that it is better, therefore, that they ſhould all be abſorbed into the ſubſtance of the neareſt expanding empire. We only beg M. Gentz to conſider how far theſe principles will go, and whether they leave any thing to be the ſubject of contention between him and M. Hauterive. If all Europe is to be broken up into ſtates as powerful as Auſtria and Ruſſia, it will not be eaſy to ſhew, that France herſelf has very greatly exceeded the limits of ſalutary grandeur; and if it be a benefit to all ſtates as inconſiderable as ancient Poland, to be ſwallowed up by a powerful neighbour, it is plainly with very little reaſon that we exclaim againſt the annexation of Savoy and Flanders, or the ſubjugation of Holland, Switzerland, and Italy. If Poland was a great deal too weak to maintain its independence under any conditions whatſoever, and if Pruſſia was not in ſafety between Auſtria and Ruſſia, till it was ſtrengthened by the conſequences of this partition, in what ſituation, we may aſk, have Sweden and Denmark hitherto exiſted within the graſp of Ruſſia? and how have Saxony and Bavaria, and the two hundred little principalities of Germany, been able to maintain their independence for theſe five hundred years, in the neighbourhood of the Auſtrian greatneſs? The balancing ſyſtem made all theſe ſafe: it ought to have protected Poland, and would infallibly have ſecured Pruſſia againſt every thing but ſuch a combination as that of which it has ſet the example, and of which it and every ſtate in Europe may ultimately become the victim.

Upon this unprincipled and unfortunate ſyſtem of partition, we cannot help looking with the greater averſion, becauſe it ſtands in ſuch terms of relation with the great balancing ſyſtem

to which Europe has been uſed to look up for ſalvation, as to exclude any hope of reſiſtance or oppoſition from that quarter. The partitioning ſyſtem is the undoubted offspring of the ſyſtem of balance; it proceeds on the very ſame principles, and merely applies, for the purpoſes of deſtruction and partial aggrandiſement, thoſe artificial powers that had been created to preſerve independence, and repreſs ambition. It is the corrupt conſummation of a ſyſtem of policy, that was undoubtedly ſalutary in the beginning, but ſeems deſtined, in its maturity, to diſappoint the views of its founders. The ambition of great and powerful ſtates ſeldom aims at the ſubjugation of a great and powerful antagoniſt; it is ſatisfied, in the beginning, with the eaſier acquiſition of ſome petty dominion; and their weaker neighbours are only protected by the jealouſy which ſuch an act of depredation would excite among the peers and equals of the ſpoiler. By the ſyſtem of partition, however, all this jealouſy is diſarmed; the great powers are united; they are bribed with a ſhare of the plunder; they proceed in concert, and deliberately trim the ponderous balance of their empires, by a ſkilful diviſion of the booty upon which they have ſeized. The ſmaller ſtates can offer nothing, either in the way of reſiſtance or inducement, by which ſuch a gigantic confederacy may be diſſolved, and will, in general, ſubmit to their deſtiny with a feebler ſtruggle than ſignalized the extinction of the Polith name. Unleſs nations can be effectually taught that there are limits to the ſalutary extenſion of territory and power, it does not appear to us by any means chimerical to ſuppoſe, that, in the courſe of another century, the partitioning ſyſtem may have entirely ſubverted the old conſtitution of Europe. No man will deny, that three or four great powers may, by concerted and ſucceſſive attacks, annihilate all the reſt of the continent; and then, turning their united ſtrength againſt the weakeſt of their aſſociates, proceed in the great ſyſtem of a balancing partition, till only one or two are leſt to enjoy the glories of univerſal dominion. Turkey will probably go firſt; the middling ſtates of Germany will follow; Holland and Italy will come after; Spain and Portugal will fall into the great ſouthern empire, by policy or force; and Denmark and Sweden into that of the north. How long Great Britain will be left a mere ſpectator of the ſcene, we have no inclination to calculate.

But, though we cannot agree with M. Gentz in his apology for the partition of Poland, which has drawn us into this long digreſſion, we cannot refuſe to conclude with him, that the power and ſecurity of *Pruſſia* was increaſed by that event, and that the foreign relations of that ſtate were admirably adjuſted for the maintenance of its own tranquillity, and the moderation of its neighbours' ambition.

Ruſſia,

Ruſſia, according to M. Gentz, was ſelf-ſufficient and ſecure, without alliances or federative ſtipulations, from her firſt appearance on the ſcene of European politics. Her great extent, arbitrary government, and hardy population, raiſed her at once to the rank of a firſt-rate power; and her remote ſituation and boiſterous climate protected her from attack or invaſion from any of her ſouthern rivals. The nature and diſtribution of her power, too, though quite ſufficient for defence, was fortunately ſuch as rendered her incapable of diſturbing the tranquillity of her neighbours. The aſpiring character of her two great ſovereigns gave ſome little diſturbance to the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of Europe; but the iſſue of their moſt alarming attempts ſerved only to ſhew that their means were inadequate to their ambition. Ruſſia, in fact, has never been able to maintain ſo large an army as either France, Auſtria, or Pruſſia, and cannot bring her forces to act upon the great ſtages of European contention, except at a great diſadvantage. Even upon the ſide of Turkey, where her temptations and opportunities were the greateſt, ſhe has experienced the controul of the European balance, and been forced to ſubmit to the great federation that poſſeſſes that quarter of the world. In 1790, the firm and pacific interference of England, Pruſſia, and Sweden, compelled her to relinquiſh her conqueſts, and abſtain from the eaſy triumph that ſeemed to await her at Conſtantinople.

With regard to the foreign relations of *England*, M. Gentz ſeems inclined to think, that they may all be referred to the head of commercial regulations; and that ſhe has, in fact, no permanent connection with the Continent, either in military or ſtrictly political affairs. As a maritime nation, ſhe can never be led away by views of continental conqueſt; and as a commercial power, ſhe muſt be intereſted in the maintenance of that general peace, by which alone the great markets of the world can be kept open to the produce of her induſtry. M. Hauterive, however, has repreſented her as conſtantly engaged in fomenting diſſenſion among the continental powers, bribing them into hoſtility by her ſubſidies, and holding their induſtry and commerce in ſubjugation by the arbitrary and oppreſſive exertions of her naval power. M. Gentz denies this, and refers to the hiſtory of the laſt hundred and fifty years, in order to ſhow, that all the wars in which England has been engaged, have either been wars in ſupport of the balance of Europe when it was endangered by the ambition of France, or wars in which the quarrel was particular to the two nations, and aroſe from ſome miſunderſtandiug as to the regulation of their trade or their colonies. In thoſe of the former deſcription, the exertions of England have been beneficial to all her neighbours; in the latter, they have been altogether indifferent, and can afford no pretext for invoking the general vengeance on

her head. The wars againſt Louis XIV. require no explanation, nor the conduct of England in the courſe of them. The war of the Auſtrian ſucceſſion was undertaken by England upon the ſame general principle of preventing the undue humiliation of that ancient monarchy; and the generoſity with which ſhe gave up every thing at the peace, by which her private intereſt might have been promoted, demonſtrates by what liberal motives ſhe had been induced to enter into the conteſt. The ſeven-years war, on the part of England, was partly a war in defence of the general ſyſtem of balance, then expoſed to ſuch manifeſt danger by the coalition againſt the King of Pruſſia; and partly a private quarrel between France and England on account of their North American colonies. It turned out glorioufly for England; and France had never forgiven her for the humiliation and loſs to which ſhe was obliged to ſubmit; though that loſs and humiliation, which related merely to her colonies and her marine, had no effect upon her continental influence or power. In the ſucceeding war of America, the cauſe of conteſt was, in like manner, peculiar to the two countries, and indifferent to the reſt of Europe. Here the ſucceſs was on the ſide of France; ſhe retorted on her adverſary the loſs of her American colonies, and proved that her maritime reſources were in no reſpect inferior to thoſe of her induſtrious rival. With regard to the charge of fomenting wars, by ſubſidizing the weaker continental powers, M. Gentz treats it with the contempt it appears to merit, as a vulgar prejudice that could only have originated in ignorance or animoſity. No ſubſidy ever paid the third part of the mere expence which was occaſioned by the war to the nation that received it; and if any valuation could be put upon the loſs of lives and of happineſs, and the proſperity and opulence, both general and individual, that it muſt neceſſarily have intercepted, we might ſay with probability, that no ſubſidy ever replaced one hundredth part of what the war had taken away. Subſidies may facilitate the operations of war, but never can give occaſion to it. They form a natural and ſalutary part of thoſe arrangements by which allied nations are enabled to equalize their contributions to the common cauſe; but the ſtateſman who could be tempted by them to engage in a war, when he might have remained in peace, muſt know little of the nature of war, and nothing of the duties of his ſtation.

With theſe obſervations, M. Gentz concludes the firſt part of his work, or the ſurvey of the actual ſituation of Europe at the beginning of the French Revolution. At this time, he ſays, it appears that all the European nations were advancing rapidly to a ſtate of internal proſperity and external ſecurity; every Government was more and more convinced, that national ſtrength and felicity was to be found in the cultivation of the arts of peace, rather

rather than in enterprises of hostility and ambition. War was gradually becoming more odious, and the controul of public opinion was every day adding force to those salutary maxims of public law that had increased in authority from the first hour of their promulgation. Let any man cast but a glance upon the condition of Europe at the date of the treaty of Westphalia, (1648), and at that of the French Revolution, and persuade himself, if he can, that the degeneracy and misconduct of the intermediate years had brought on such a state of disorder and decay, as could only be expiated by all the sufferings and the struggles with which that latter event was attended.

The length to which our review of the first and most important part of M. Gentz's book has extended, must confine our remaining observations within very narrow bounds. Indeed, the doctrine of the remaining parts is very easily stated, and has long been familiarized to the politicians of this island by the eloquent speeches and publications that contain the tenets of that sect of politicians which acknowledges the authority of Messrs Burke and Windham. Our author agrees with these statesmen in thinking, that the ancient balance of Europe has been entirely overthrown by the enormous and disproportioned power that France has acquired, and in considering the future state of Europe as entirely dependent on her caprice. He draws an alarming picture of the strength and military resources of this mighty nation, which commands the whole sea-coast from the Texel to the Adriatic, and holds at its absolute disposal the whole force of Holland, Flanders, Spain, Switzerland, and Italy, besides the Germanic provinces and strong places that have been incorporated with its territory. Its past operations, and the continued course of its proceedings, testify sufficiently to the extent of its ambition; and the regularity and military subordination which its new Government has established, secure it in a great measure from any internal dissensions, and give it the full use of all its extensive resources. In the statement of those causes of apprehension, M. Gentz declares, that he is not influenced in any degree by the character of its present rulers: he looks merely to the solid and established power which has been accumulated in the French nation, which is too great to be trusted to any hand, and too tempting to be voluntarily abandoned by any to which it may devolve. While the influence and the military power of France continue as they are, the nations of Europe will have reason to tremble, he thinks, whether it be governed by a Robespierre, a Bonaparte, or a Bourbon. That state is too powerful that may overwhelm its neighbours, if it think proper; and that safety is precarious, indeed, that depends not upon our own power and resistance, but on the probable moderation of another. M.

Gentz goes over moſt of the topics of conſolation that have been ſuggeſted, to reconcile us to our unhappy ſituation, and pronounces them all to be very fallacious or uncertain, and ſuch as ought never to be relied on, while any exertion of activity ſeems to promiſe us deliverance. This too, however, he appears to conſider as hopeleſs; and concludes, that the only chance that remains to Europe for the recovery of her independence, is founded on the cordial co-operation of Pruſſia and Auſtria, in alliance with the maritime powers, for the diminution of the French power. Such an union, however, he confeſſes, is rather to be wiſhed for than expected; and leaves the ſubject, at laſt, with expreſſions of the deepeſt deſpondency and the moſt lively apprehenſion.

It is not very eaſy to reſiſt the contagion of ſentiments ſo eloquently expreſſed, and ſo ably defended; yet we feel a natural reluctance to adopt M. Gentz's concluſions; and even fancy that we ſee ſome reaſons for believing that the condition of Europe is not altogether ſo hopeleſs and forlorn as he has repreſented it.

In the *firſt* place, it ſeems to be rather a figure of rhetoric, than a ſober ſtatement of the fact, to allege that the whole ſyſtem of the balance is fundamentally overthrown. That ſyſtem did not conſiſt in treaties or alliances, ſo as to periſh by their violation; but it conſiſted in a principle, that from its very nature was immortal; the knowledge and the influence of which can never periſh, while men continue rational and civilized, and which will eaſily find a way to manifeſt and apply itſelf in every new combination of circumſtances to which the deſtiny of nations may give riſe. The evils of univerſal monarchy, and the diſaſters and diſgrace that would enſue from the ſubjugation of all Europe by a military government, are certainly felt as generally and as ſtrongly at this moment, as at any former period; and the only queſtion therefore is, whether there exiſts a power by which thoſe evils can be averted? M. Gentz himſelf has anſwered this queſtion. He admits, that the united ſtrength of Pruſſia and Auſtria would be altogether ſufficient to repel the exorbitant power of France, or even that a coalition of the ſmaller powers under *one* of theſe great military ſtates, if not oppoſed by the other, might be adequate to that purpoſe. Why, then, does he deſpair of the coalition? The principle by which it is recommended, is fully as little likely to be overlooked at preſent, as at any former time: the whole doctrine of it is perfectly underſtood, and familiarly diſcuſſed in every cabinet of Europe; and the intereſt by which it is ſuggeſted, is of a kind that can never be ſuppoſed to be for a moment dormant or ineffectual. We believe, therefore, that ſuch a coalition will take place, whenever the emergency of the caſe ſhall require it; and that, though it may be retarded by jealouſy and ſelfiſhneſs, and

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all thoſe private and ſhort-ſighted paſſions that derange the public conduct of nations, it will ſtill be early enough to accompliſh its purpoſe, and effect the object of its inſtitution. If this be not the caſe, then M. Hauterive, and not M Gentz, is in the right; the principle of the balance has indeed been forgotten, and univerſally abandoned in Europe, and that, not in conſequence of the French Revolution, but in ſpite of the urgent and alarming reaſons that that revolution holds out for recurring to it.

In the *ſecond* place, M. Gentz, in eſtimating the enormous power of France, has evidently been led to exaggerate it, by repreſenting her influence over the conquered countries around her, as equally permanent and beneficial with that which ſhe poſſeſſes within her own ancient territory. Spain and Italy, however, and Switzerland and Holland, are not integral parts of the French Republic; nor can ſhe derive the ſame advantage from their ſubjection, as if they had been annexed to her by the free conſent of their reſpective inhabitants. They are countries whoſe reſiſtance ſhe has overcome, and whoſe hoſtility ſhe knows ſhe has deſerved. Inſtead of acting the part of her faithful allies, therefore, in oppoſition to any coalition that may be entered into for repreſſing her uſurpations, they will naturally be the moſt zealous and the moſt active parties in ſuch a coalition, and will eagerly ſeize on the firſt opportunity to reſume their independence, and revenge themſelves on their oppreſſors. France, therefore, is not ſtrong in their ſtrength; ſhe is only ſafe in their weakneſs; and knows, than whenever their reſources become formidable, they muſt be directed againſt her power. In her attempts upon the great balance of Europe, ſhe has not taken the weight of theſe nations, and placed it in her own preponderating ſcale; ſhe has merely diminiſhed their weight for a ſeaſon, and made it difficult for her antagoniſts to avail themſelves of its influence. In the preſent ſituation of Europe, every ſeparate Government muſt ſoon become an independent one, and will infallibly purſue its own intereſts as ſoon as it perceives them. Every nation is naturally ambitious of independence and authority; and will tend, therefore, as long as its identity is diſtinguiſhed by language, or manners, or inſtitutions, to connect itſelf with thoſe powers that are moſt likely to contribute to its ſecurity, to gratify its pride, and deliver it from oppreſſion. If there be any value in independence, therefore, or any real wiſdom in the ſyſtem of balance, all thoſe countries may be reckoned upon as auxiliaries againſt France, much more ſecurely than if they had acceded to treaties, or joined in manifeſtoes.

M. Gentz, too, in his terrifying eſtimate of the French power, appears to forget that he has himſelf repreſented that power as ariſing, in a great meaſure, from an unnatural ſtate of ſociety that

cannot poſſibly become permanent. The ſtrength of France aroſe from the enthuſiaſm, and terror, and diſorder, that accompanied her revolutionary moments; it aroſe from the ſacrifice of all peaceful proſperity, and all individual indulgence; from the ceſſation of her commerce, the plundering of her opulent inhabitants, and all thoſe requiſitions and emergencies that put an armed nation in the place of a regular army. When this effervescence has once ſubſided, a great part of the formidable force which it created will diſappear along with it; and as ſoon as a regular Government has held out any thing like ſecurity to private life, and protection to peaceful purſuits, the opulent and induſtrious will be withdrawn from the fields of battle, and the military power of France be diminiſhed by the progreſs of her commercial greatneſs. The ſame circumſtances may reaſonably be expected to repreſs the ſpirit of ambition, both in the Government and among the people; and to impreſs upon their minds that diſlike to war, and that conviction of the ultimate inutility of military ſucceſſes, which M. Gentz has himſelf enumerated as one of the characteriſtics of the period that preceded the Revolution.

It ſeems evident to us alſo, that M. Gentz has conſidered the ſubject a great deal too abſtractedly, in laying altogether out of view the character of the preſent Government, and the chances of new revolutions. Alexander was a mighty conqueror; yet, at his death, his great empire was crumbled down into its original elements, and Macedonia returned to the condition of a petty principality. Under the adminiſtration of her Directory, France was ſtripped of the greater part of her conqueſts, though at that time ſhe was not a prey to any formidable civil diſſenſions. There are many other conſiderations that lead us to judge leſs deſpairingly of the future deſtinies of Europe, than M. Gentz ſeems willing to permit us. But it is neceſſary to haſten to the concluſion of theſe obſervations.

M. Gentz beſtows a good deal of pains in pointing out the futility and tyranny of the maxims by which France, according to M. Hauterive, is to comport herſelf hereafter towards her allies and her enemies. There is one ſhort paſſage, however, in M. Hauterive's own publication, that ſeems to ſuperſede the uſe of any other commentary on his ſyſtem. 'If France' (ſays the Miniſter of Foreign Relations) 'cannot eſtabliſh the ſyſtem of continental federation which ſhe has in view in any other way, ſhe will employ the only means that have been left her by the obſtinacy of other powers who prefer a deſtructive war to her alliance. She will ſubſtitute her military power to her federative protection; and if any prince ſhall be inſenſible to the intereſt which ſhould make him court her alliance, ſhe *will ally herſelf*, without his conſent, to the country which he will be incapable of defending,

defending, and will force into her ſervice all the means of ſubſiſtence and defence that may be furniſhed by the territory ſhe has ſeized upon.' It ſeems quite unneceſſary to ſay any thing more upon the ſyſtem of the French alliances.

The laſt, and to Engliſh readers probably the moſt intereſting chapter in the book, is dedicated to the refutation of thoſe complaints that have been ſo generally made on the continent, as to the commercial tyranny of England. The extent to which theſe prejudices have prevailed, is admitted by M. Gentz, where he ſays, that M. Hauterive, even in his moſt abuſive declamation, has not ſo much expreſſed his own particular ſentiments, as thoſe of the age in which he lives, and that he has been the faithful echo of the greater part of continental and cotemporary politicians. The weight of the accuſation, however, when it comes to be diſtinctly ſtated, does not ſeem to juſtify this violence of clamour. It conſiſts principally in ſtating, 1*ſt*, That the Engliſh, by their *navigation-act*, have excluded all other nations from the benefit of their trade: 2*d*, That they have uſurped the poſſeſſion of all the commercial eſtabliſhments of the world; and, after having put fetters on the induſtry of every other nation, have eſtabliſhed over them a moſt tyrannous and oppreſſive monopoly: and, 3*d*, That they have invented a new code of maritime laws, by which the rights of neutrality are violated, as often as Great Britain is at war.

In anſwering to theſe heads of accuſation, M. Gentz diſplays a great deal of ingenuity, and enters into a variety of details, through which we have no longer room to purſue him. The ſubſtance of his argument, however, may be given in a very ſhort compaſs. He explains very accurately the origin and deſign of the famous ſtatute of Charles II., of which the continental politicians have ſpoken ſo much, without underſtanding it; and then proceeds to ſhow, upon the cleareſt and moſt generally admitted principles of political œconomy, that the operation of that law has been directly *detrimental* to the *commerce* of Great Britain, and that its ſubſiſtence can only be juſtified from its tendency to promote the *naval ſtrength* of the country, upon which its ſecurity ſo immediately depends, and to which every thing elſe ought therefore to be ſubordinate. The commercial greatneſs of England, therefore, has ariſen in ſpite of this law, and not in conſequence of it; and the jealouſy which that greatneſs has excited, is erroneouſly directed towards this famous enactment. Even if its conſequences were prejudicial to other nations, they have no right to complain of its injuſtice. It is not an international law, in which they have any immediate concern, but a private regulation of internal police, with which France has as little concern as England could have

have with a French ſtatute, requiring that all her ſoldiers ſhould be natives of her territory.

With regard to the alleged *monopoly* which England is ſaid to uſurp or enjoy, in all the colonies and all the markets of the world, M. Gentz obſerves, that the advantages to which thoſe odious names have been applied, are nothing more than the natural and fair rewards of ſuperior ſkill and induſtry, and that it would be an injury to the world at large, if they were to be intercepted or withdrawn. They are prizes won in a free and honourable competition, where the ſucceſs of the victor affords inſtruction to thoſe who are left behind, and advances the general intereſt along with that of the individual. In point of fact, however, he obſerves, that it is far from being true that England has engroſſed all the trade and the wealth of the world for this laſt century. In India, indeed, her influence has preponderated over that of France, ever ſince the war of 1756; yet Holland ſtill holds poſſeſſions in that quarter of great extent and value; and the eſtabliſhments of France were rather neglected than inſignificant, up to the war of the Revolution. In the Weſt Indies, both Spain and France were in poſſeſſion of ſettlements conſiderably more valuable than thoſe that belonged to Englaed; and Holland and Denmark had alſo their ſhare in that lucrative commerce. On the continent of America, England retained nothing but Canada and Nova Scotia, while Spain and Portugal monopolized the trade of a whole quarter of the globe; and France ſhared largely with them in that of its northern diviſion. In this part of the world, England was a power of the ſecond or third order only. In her colonial poſſeſſions, therefore, it is plain, that England has enjoyed no great or decided ſuperiority; and it is equally plain, that, in a political view, the poſſeſſion of thoſe colonies adds ſcarcely any thing to her power. The richeſt of them all brings in no direct revenue to the Government; they pay no taxes; and it is only in their ſubſerviency to her induſtry and trade that they have any real value whatſoever.

The real ſource of the commercial greatneſs of England, then, is to be found in that honeſt induſtry and diſtinguiſhed ſkill which will ſcarcely be imputed to any nation as a crime, and which her rivals ſhould rather imitate than decry. Nay, it is very evident, that they themſelves conſtitute and ſupport that monopoly of which they complain ſo loudly. Who forces the nations of Europe to buy the manufactures of England, and to neglect their own? If it be a crime in us to ſell, it muſt be doubly a crime in them to buy; and if Europe has been enthralled by the commercial policy of England, it is evident that ſhe has forged the fetters for herſelf, and put them on deliberately of her own accord. As to the charge of England having exerted herſelf to depreſs

depreſs and diſcourage the induſtry of all her neighbours, it is confuted by the abſurdities that it involves. The rude and the beggarly can never be good cuſtomers; and they who have nothing to ſell, will not long get any thing to buy. England outſtrips her neighbours, perhaps, in mechanical inventions and commercial activity; and, by means of theſe, ſhe keeps the advantages of her pre-eminence: but ſhe can never deſire to ſee her neighbours unſkilful and indolent, becauſe ſhe ſells, only to buy with advantage; and could not continue to ſubſiſt, if the ſurrounding countries did not ſupply her with commodities as valuable as thoſe which ſhe furniſhes to them in return. If any part of the Engliſh proſperity be referable to the careleſſneſs and neglect of other countries, who might have vindicated a part of thoſe advantages which ſhe now enjoys alone, this is their fault and their loſs, and nothing but the profit and the praiſe is hers. They would not be better, although her enterpriſing ſpirit had not opened the ſources of wealth which they overlooked; and all the reſt of the world would have been worſe; nay, they would have been worſe alſo themſelves; ſince her ſucceſs muſt awaken their emulation, and her diſcoveries direct their undertakings. What is called the monopoly of England, therefore, is nothing elſe than the preference which good and cheap articles will always obtain in the market, over thoſe that are dear and defective. It is not impoſed upon the other nations by England, but conferred by them upon her; and as they thus contribute to it, in ſpite of violent prejudices, and in the midſt of outrageous clamours, it may be preſumed that they find their advantage in its ſubſiſtence. In fact, it promotes their preſent proſperity, by furniſhing them with commodities at an eaſier rate than they could otherwiſe procure them; and contributes to their future greatneſs, by ſetting before them the moſt perfect patterns of manufacturing ingenuity and commercial wiſdom.

In addition to thoſe permanent and inherent ſources of Engliſh proſperity, M. Gentz obſerves, that the war itſelf has given birth to another, of no trifling importance. The naval power of England, and the excellent regulation of her convoys, render the ſeas ſafe to her, while they are impracticable to any other belligerent power. All the *carrying trade*, therefore, that was in the hands of Holland, Spain, and France, naturally fell into hers, when the ſhips of thoſe nations were confined to their harbours, and thus became a new ſource of revenue to anſwer the exigencies of her new ſituation. As this was a benefit ariſing from the attempts of her enemies to injure her, and obtained, in a great meaſure, at their expence, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that their diſappointment and vexation ſhould have made it the object of ſome clamour and detraction. At the ſame time, it is perfectly

exceſs in either, can never afford an excuſe for defrauding induſtry of its reward, or impoſing a check upon that ſalutary ſpirit of commercial enterpriſe which is the main ſource of all permanent improvements among mankind. Naval power is not naturally a weapon of offence, but an implement of induſtry; and the emergency muſt be great and urgent, indeed, that could juſtify the deſtruction of ſo invaluable an implement, becauſe it was capable of being converted into an engine of war. More benefit, in ſhort, is derived to the world at large, from the commercial proſperity in which maritime power has its origin, than would be compenſated by the additional ſecurity which ſome of its rivals might acquire from the abolition of this power and its foundation. To aim at the humiliation of ſuch power, therefore, is to reſiſt the developement of general proſperity; to diſcourage induſtry and all peaceful improvement; and to conſpire againſt the felicity of all future generations in every quarter of the world.

ART. II. *Account of the Engliſh Colony of New South Wales.* By Lieutenant-Colonel Collins of the Royal Marines. Vol. II. 4to. Cadell & Davies, London.

To introduce an European population, and conſequently the arts and civilization of Europe, into ſuch an untrodden country as New Holland, is to confer a laſting and important benefit upon the world. If man be deſtined for perpetual activity, and if the proper objects of that activity be the ſubjugation of phyſical difficulties, and of his own dangerous paſſions, how abſurd are thoſe ſyſtems which proſcribe the acquiſitions of ſcience and the reſtraints of law, and would arreſt the progreſs of man in the rudeſt and earlieſt ſtages of his exiſtence! Indeed, opinions ſo very extravagant in their nature, muſt be attributed rather to the wantonneſs of paradox, than to ſober reflection, and extended inquiry.

To ſuppoſe the ſavage ſtate permanent, we muſt ſuppoſe the numbers of thoſe who compoſe it to be ſtationary, and the various paſſions by which men have actually emerged from it to be extinct: and this is to ſuppoſe man a very different being from what he really is. To prove ſuch a permanence beneficial (if it were poſſible), we muſt have recourſe to matter of fact, and judge of the rude ſtate of ſociety, not from the praiſes of tranquil *literati*, but from the narrative of thoſe who have ſeen it, through a nearer and better medium than that of imagination. There is an argument, however, for the continuation of evil, drawn from the

the ignorance of good; by which it is contended, that to teach men their ſituation *can* be better, is to teach them that it *is* bad, and to deſtroy that happineſs which always reſults from an ignorance that any greater happineſs is within our reach. All pains and pleaſures are clearly by compariſon; but the moſt deplorable ſavage enjoys a ſufficient contraſt of good, to know that the groſſer evils from which civilization reſcues him *are* evils. A New-Hollander ſeldom paſſes a year without ſuffering from famine; the ſmall-pox falls upon him like a plague; he dreads thoſe calamities, though he does not know how to avert them; but, doubtleſs, would find his happineſs increaſed, if they *were* averted. To deny this, is to ſuppoſe that men are reconciled to evils, becauſe they are inevitable; and yet hurricanes, earthquakes, bodily decay, and death, ſtand higheſt in the catalogue of human calamities.

Where civilization gives birth to new compariſons unfavourable to ſavage life, with the information that a greater good is poſſible, it generally connects the means of attaining it. The ſavage no longer becomes aſhamed of his nakedneſs, than the loom is ready to clothe him; the forge prepares for him more perfect tools, when he is diſguſted with the awkwardneſs of his own; his weakneſs is ſtrengthened, and his wants ſupplied, as ſoon as they are diſcovered; and the uſe of the diſcovery is, that it enables him to derive from compariſon the beſt reaſons for preſent happineſs. A man born blind is ignorant of the pleaſures of which he is deprived. After the reſtoration of his ſight, his happineſs will be increaſed from two cauſes;—from the delight he experiences at the novel acceſſion of power, and from the contraſt he will always be enabled to make between his two ſituations, long after the pleaſure of novelty has ceaſed. For theſe reaſons, it is humane to reſtore him to ſight.

But, however beneficial to the general intereſts of mankind the civilization of barbarous countries may be conſidered to be, in this particular inſtance of it, the intereſt of Great Britain would ſeem to have been very little conſulted. With fanciful ſchemes of univerſal good, we have no buſineſs to meddle. Why are we to erect penitentiary houſes and priſons at the diſtance of half the diameter of the globe, and to incur the enormous expence of feeding and tranſporting their inhabitants to, and at ſuch a diſtance, it is extremely difficult to diſcover. It certainly is not from any deficiency of barren iſlands near our own coaſt, nor of uncultivated waſtes in the interior; and if we were ſufficiently fortunate to be wanting in ſuch ſpecies of accommodation, we might diſcover in Canada, or the Weſt Indies, or on the coaſt of Africa, a climate malignant enough, or a ſoil ſufficiently ſterile, to revenge all the injuries which have been

been inflicted on ſociety by pick-pockets, larceniſts, and petty felons.—Upon the foundation of a new colony, and eſpecially one peopled by criminals, there is a diſpoſition in Government (where any circumſtance in the commiſſion of the crime affords the leaſt pretence for the commutation) to convert capital puniſhments into tranſportation; and by theſe means to hold forth a very dangerous, though certainly a very unintentional, encouragement to offences. And when the hiſtory of the colony has been attentively peruſed in the pariſh of St Giles, the ancient avocation of picking pockets will certainly not become more diſcreditable, from the knowledge, that it may eventually lead to the poſſeſſion of a farm of a thouſand acres on the river Hawkeſbury. Since the benevolent Howard attacked our priſons, incarceration has become not only healthy, but elegant; and a county-jail is preciſely the place to which any pauper might wiſh to retire to gratify his taſte for magnificence, as well as for comfort. Upon the ſame principle, there is ſome riſk that tranſportation will be conſidered as one of the ſureſt roads to honour and to wealth; and that no felon will hear a verdict of '*not guilty*,' without conſidering himſelf as cut off in the faireſt career of proſperity. It is fooliſhly believed, that the colony of Botany Bay unites our moral and commercial intereſts, and that we ſhall receive hereafter an ample equivalent, in bales of goods, for all the vices we export. Unfortunately, the expence we have incurred in founding the colony, will not retard the natural progreſs of its emancipation, or prevent the attacks of other nations, who will be as deſirous of reaping the fruit, as if they had ſown the ſeed. It is a colony, beſides, begun under every poſſible diſadvantage: it is too diſtant to be long governed, or well defended: it is undertaken, not by the voluntary aſſociation of individuals, but by Government, and by means of compulſory labour. A nation muſt, indeed, be redundant in capital, that will expend it where the hopes of a juſt return are ſo very ſmall.

It may be a curious conſideration, to reflect what we are to do with this colony when it come to years of diſcretion. Are we to ſpend another hundred millions of money in diſcovering its ſtrength, and to humble ourſelves again before a freſh ſet of Waſhingtons and Franklins? The moment after we have ſuffered ſuch ſerious miſchief from the eſcape of the old tiger, we are breeding up a young cub, whom we cannot render leſs ferocious, or more ſecure. If we are gradually to manumit the colony, as it is more and more capable of protecting itſelf, the degrees of emancipation, and the periods at which they are to take place, will be judged of very differently by the two nations. But we confeſs ourſelves not to be ſo ſanguine

ſanguine as to ſuppoſe, that a ſpirited and a commercial people would, in ſpite of the example of America, even conſent to abandon their ſovereignty over an important colony, without a ſtruggle. Endleſs blood and treaſure will be exhauſted to ſupport a tax on kangaroos' ſkins; faithful Commons will go on voting freſh ſupplies to ſupport a *juſt and neceſſary* war; and Newgate, then become a quarter of the world, will evince a heroiſm, not unworthy of the great characters by whom ſhe was originally peopled.

The experiment, however, is not leſs intereſting in a moral, becauſe it is objectionable in a commercial point of view. It is an object of the higheſt curioſity, thus to have the growth of a nation ſubjected to our examination; to trace it, by ſuch faithful records, from the firſt day of its exiſtence; and to gather that knowledge of the progreſs of human affairs, from actual experience, which is conſidered to be only acceſſible to the conjectural reflections of enlightened minds.

Human nature, under very old governments, is ſo trimmed, and pruned, and ornamented, and led into ſuch a variety of factitious ſhapes, that we are almoſt ignorant of the appearance it would aſſume, if it were left more to itſelf. From ſuch an experiment as that now before us, we ſhall be better able to appretiate what circumſtances of our ſituation are owing to thoſe permanent laws by which all men are influenced, and what to the accidental poſitions in which we have been placed. New circumſtances will throw new light upon the effects of our religious, political, and œconomical inſtitutions, if we cauſe them to be adopted as models in our riſing empire; and if we do not, we ſhall eſtimate the effects of their preſence, by obſerving thoſe which are produced by their non-exiſtence.

The hiſtory of the colony is at preſent, however, in its leaſt intereſting ſtate, on account of the great preponderance of depraved inhabitants, whoſe crimes and irregularities give a monotony to the narrative, which it cannot loſe, till the reſpectable part of the community come to bear a greater proportion to the criminal.

Theſe Memoirs of Colonel Collins reſume the hiſtory of the colony from the period at which he concluded it in his former volume, September 1796, and continue it down to Auguſt 1801. They are written in the ſtyle of a journal, which, though not the moſt agreeable mode of conveying information, is certainly the moſt authentic, and contrives to baniſh the ſuſpicion (and moſt probably the reality) of the interference of a book-maker—a ſpecies of gentlemen who are now almoſt become neceſſary to deliver navel and military authors in their literary labours, though they do not always atone, by orthography and gram-

mar, for the ſacrifice of truth and ſimplicity. Mr Collins's book is written with great plainneſs and candour: he appears to be a man always meaning well; of good, plain, common ſenſe; and compoſed of thoſe well-wearing materials, which adapt a perſon for ſituations, where genius and refinement would only prove a ſource of miſery and of error.

We ſhall proceed to lay before our readers an analyſis of the moſt important matter contained in this volume.

The natives in the vicinity of Port-Jackſon ſtand extremely low, in point of civilization, when compared with many other ſavages, with whom the diſcoveries of Captain Cook have made us acquainted. Their notions of religion exceed even that degree of abſurdity which we are led to expect in the creed of a barbarous people. In politics, they appear to have ſcarcely advanced beyond family-government. Huts they have none; and, in all their œconomical inventions, there is a rudeneſs and deficiency of ingenuity, unpleaſant, when contraſted with the inſtances of dexterity with which the deſcriptions and importations of our navigators have rendered us ſo familiar. Their numbers appear to be very ſmall: A fact, at once, indicative either of the ferocity of manners in any people, or more probably of the ſterility of their country; but which, in the preſent inſtance, proceeds from both theſe cauſes.

'Gaining, every day, (ſays Mr Collins) ſome further knowledge of the inhuman habits and cuſtoms of theſe people, their being ſo thinly ſcattered through the country ceaſed to be a matter of ſurpriſe. It was almoſt daily ſeen, that from ſome trifling cauſe or other, they were continually living in a ſtate of warfare: to this muſt be added, their brutal treatment of their women, who are themſelves equally deſtructive to the meaſure of population, by the horrid and cruel cuſtom of endeavouring to cauſe a miſcarriage, which their female acquaintance effect by preſſing the body in ſuch a way, as to deſtroy the infant in the womb; which violence not unfrequently occaſions the death of the unnatural mother alſo. To this they have recourſe, to avoid the trouble of carrying the infant about when born, which, when it is very young, or at the breaſt, is the duty of the woman. The operation for this deſtructive purpoſe is termed Mee-bra. The burying an infant (when at the breaſt) with the mother, if ſhe ſhould die, is another ſhocking cauſe of the thinneſs of population among them. The fact, that ſuch an operation as the Mee-bra was practiſed by thoſe wretched people, was communicated by one of the natives to the principal ſurgeon of the ſettlement.' p. 124.—125.

It is remarkable, that the ſame paucity of numbers has been obſerved in every part of New Holland which has hitherto been explored; and yet there is not the ſmalleſt reaſon to conjecture that the population of it has been very recent; nor do the

the people bear any marks of deſcent from the inhabitants of the numerous iſlands by which this great continent is ſurrounded. The force of population can only be reſiſted by ſome great phyſical evils; and many of the cauſes of this ſcarcity of human beings, which Mr Collins refers to the ferocity of the natives, are ultimately referable to the difficulty of ſupport. We have always conſidered this phenomenon as a ſymptom extremely unfavourable to the future deſtinies of this country. It is eaſy to launch out into eulogiums of the fertility of nature in particular ſpots; but the moſt probable reaſon why a country that has been long inhabited, is not well inhabited, is, that it is not calculated to ſupport many inhabitants without great labour. It is difficult to ſuppoſe any other cauſes powerful enough to reſiſt the impetuous tendency of man, to obey that mandate for increaſe and multiplication, which has certainly been better obſerved than any other declaration of the Divine will ever revealed to us.

There appears to be ſome tendency to civilization, and ſome tolerable notions of juſtice, in a practice very ſimilar to our cuſtom of duelling; for duelling, though barbarous in civilized, is a highly civilized inſtitution among barbarous people; and, when compared to aſſaſſination, is a prodigious victory gained over human paſſions. Whoever kills another in the neighbourhood of Botany Bay, is compelled to appear at an appointed day before the friends of the deceaſed, and to ſuſtain the attacks of their miſſile weapons. If he is killed, he is deemed to have met with a deſerved death; if not, he is conſidered to have expiated the crime, for the commiſſion of which he was expoſed to the danger. There is, in this inſtitution, a command over preſent impulſes, a prevention of ſecrecy in the gratification of revenge, and a wholeſome correction of that paſſion, by the effects of public obſervation, which evince ſuch a ſuperiority to the mere animal paſſions of ordinary ſavages, and form ſuch a contraſt to the reſt of the hiſtory of this people, that it may be conſidered as altogether an anomalous and inexplicable fact. The natives differ very much in the progreſs they have made in the arts of œconomy. Thoſe to the north of Port-Jackſon evince a conſiderable degree of ingenuity and contrivance in the ſtructure of their houſes, which are rendered quite impervious to the weather, while the inhabitants at Port-Jackſon have no houſes at all. At Port-Dalrymple, in Van Diemen's Land, there was every reaſon to believe the natives were unacquainted with the uſe of canoes; a fact extremely embarraſſing to thoſe who indulge themſelves in ſpeculating on the genealogy of nations; becauſe it reduces them to the neceſſity of ſuppoſing, that the progenitors of this inſular people ſwam over from the main land, or that they were aboriginal; a ſpecies of dilemma,

which effectually bars all conjecture upon the intermixture of nations. It is painful to learn, that the natives have begun to plunder and rob in so very alarming a manner, that it has been repeatedly found necessary to fire upon them; and many have, in consequence, fallen victims to their rashness.

The soil is found to produce coal in vast abundance, salt, lime, very fine iron ore, timber fit for all purposes, excellent flax, and a tree, the bark of which is admirably adapted for cordage. The discovery of coal (which, by the by, we do not believe was ever before discovered so near the line) is probably rather a disadvantage than an advantage; because, as it lies extremely favourably for sea-carriage, it may prove to be a cheaper fuel than wood, and thus operate as a discouragement to the clearing of lands. The soil upon the sea-coast has not been found to be very productive, though it improves in partial spots in the interior. The climate is healthy, in spite of the prodigious heat of the summer-months, at which period the thermometer has been observed to stand in the shade at 107, and the leaves of garden-vegetables to fall into dust, as if they had been consumed with fire. But one of the most insuperable defects in New Holland, considered as the future country of a great people, is, the want of large rivers penetrating very far into the interior, and navigable for small craft. The Hawkesbury, the largest river yet discovered, is not accessible to boats, for more than twenty miles. This same river occasionally rises above its natural level, to the astonishing height of fifty feet; and has swept away, more than once, the labours and the hopes of the new people exiled to its banks.

The laborious acquisition of any good we have long enjoyed, is apt to be forgotten. We walk and talk, and run and read, without remembering the long and severe labour dedicated to the cultivation of these powers, the formidable obstacles opposed to our progress, or the infinite satisfaction with which we overcame them. He who lives among a civilized people, may estimate the labour by which society has been brought into such a state, by reading, in these annals of Botany Bay, the account of a whole nation exerting itself to new-floor the government-house, repair the hospital, or build a wooden receptacle for stores. Yet the time may come, when some Botany-Bay Tacitus shall record the crimes of an Emperor lineally descended from a London pick-pocket, or paint the valour with which he has led his New-Hollanders into the heart of China. At that period, when the Grand Lahma is sending to supplicate alliance; when the spice-islands are purchasing peace with nutmegs; when enormous tributes of green tea and nankeen are wafted into Port-Jackson, and landed on the keys of Sidney, who will ever remember, that the sawing a few planks, and the

the knocking together a few nails, were ſuch a ſerious trial of the energies and reſources of the nation?

The Government of the colony, after enjoying ſome little reſpite from this kind of labour, has begun to turn its attention to the coarſeſt and moſt neceſſary ſpecies of manufactures, for which their wool appears to be extremely well adapted. The ſtate of ſtock in the whole ſettlement, in June 1801, was about 7000 ſheep, 1300 head of cattle, 250 horſes, and 5000 hogs. There were under cultivation at the ſame time, between 9 and 10,000 acres of corn. Three years and a half before this, in December 1797, the numbers were as follows—Sheep, 2500; cattle, 350; horſes, 100; hogs, 4300; acres of land in cultivation, 4000. The temptation to ſalt pork, and ſell it for Government-ſtore, is probably the reaſon why the breed of hogs has been ſo much kept under. The increaſe of cultivated lands between the two periods, is prodigious. It appears (p. 319.), that the whole number of convicts imported between January 1788 and June 1801, (a period of thirteen years and a half), has been about 5000, of whom 1157 were females. The total amount of the population on the continent, as well as at Norfolk iſland, amounted, June 1801, to 6500 perſons: of theſe, 766 were children born at Port-Jackſon. In the returns from Norfolk iſland, children are not diſcriminated from adults. Let us add to the imported population of 5000 convicts, 500 free people, which (if we conſider that a regiment of ſoldiers has been kept up there) is certainly a very ſmall allowance; then, in thirteen years and a half, the imported population has increaſed only by two thirteenths. If we ſuppoſe that ſomething more than a fifth of the free people were women, this will make the total of women 1270; of whom we may fairly preſume, that 300 were capable of child-bearing: and if we ſuppoſe the children of Norfolk iſland to bear the ſame proportion to the adults as at Port-Jackſon, their total number at both ſettlements will be 913:—a ſtate of infantine population which certainly does not juſtify the very high eulogiums which have been made on the fertility of the female ſex in the climate of New Holland.

The Governor, who appears on all occaſions to be an extremely well-diſpoſed man, is not quite ſo converſant in the beſt writings on political œconomy as we could wiſh; and indeed (though ſuch knowledge would be extremely ſerviceable to the intereſts which this Romulus of the Southern Pole is ſuperintending), it is rather unfair to exact from a ſuperintendant of pick-pockets, that he ſhould be a philoſopher. In the 18th page, we have the following information reſpecting the price of labour.

'Some repreſentations having been made to the Governor from the ſettlers in different parts of the colony, purporting, that the wages

demanded by the free labouring people, whom they had occaſion to hire, was ſo exorbitant as to run away with the greateſt part of the profit of their farms, it was recommended to them to appoint quarterly meetings among themſelves, to be held in each diſtrict, for the purpoſe of ſettling the rate of wages to labourers in every different kind of work; that, to this end, a written agreement ſhould be entered into, and ſubſcribed by each ſettler, a breach of which ſhould be puniſhed by a penalty, to be fixed by the general opinion, and made recoverable in a court of civil judicature. It was recommended to them, to apply this forfeiture to the common benefit; and they were to tranſmit to the head-quarters a copy of their agreement, with the rate of wages which they ſhould from time to time eſtabliſh, for the Governor's information; holding their firſt meeting as early as poſſible.'

And again, at p. 24. the following arrangements on that head are enacted:

'In purſuance of the order which was iſſued in January laſt, recommending the ſettlers to appoint meetings, at which they ſhould fix the rate of wages that it might be proper to pay to the different kinds of labour which their farms ſhould require, the ſettlers had met and ſubmitted to the Governor the ſeveral reſolutions that they had entered into; by which he was enabled to fix a rate that he conceived to be fair and equitable between the farmer and the labourer.

'The following prices of labour were now eſtabliſhed, viz.

	£.	s.	d.
'Felling foreſt timber, *per acre*,	0	9	
Do. in bruſh ground, do.	0	10	6
Burning off open ground, do.	1	5	
Do. bruſh ground, do.	1	10	
Breaking up new ground, do.	1	4	
Chipping freſh ground, do.	0	12	3
Chipping in wheat, do.	0	7	0
Breaking up ſtubble or corn ground, 1½d. per rod, or do.	0	16	8
Planting Indian corn, do.	0	7	0
Hilling do. do.	0	7	0
Reaping wheat, do.	0	10	0
Thraſhing do. per buſhel, do.	0	0	9
Pulling and huſking Indian corn, per buſhel	0	0	6
Splitting paling of ſeven feet long, per hundred	0	3	0
Do. of five feet long, do.	0	1	6
Sawing plank, do.	0	7	0
Ditching per rod, three feet wide and three feet deep	0	0	10
Carriage of wheat, per buſhel, per mile	0	0	2
Do. Indian corn, neat	0	0	3
Yearly wages for labour, with board	10	0	0
Wages per week, with proviſions, conſiſting of 4 lib. of ſalt pork, or 6 lib. of freſh, and 21 lib. of wheat, with vegetables	0	6	0

A day's wages, with board	0	1	0
Do. without board	0	2	6
A government-man allowed to officers or settlers in their own time	0	0	10
Price of an axe	0	2	0
New steeling do.	0	0	6
A new hoe	0	1	9
A sickle	0	1	6
Hire of a boat to carry grain, per day	0	5	0

'The settlers were reminded, that, in order to prevent any kind of dispute between the master and servant, when they should have occasion to hire a man for any length of time, they would find it most convenient to engage him for a quarter, half a year, or year, and to make their agreement in writing; on which, should any dispute arise, an appeal to the magistrates would settle it.'

This is all very bad; and if the Governor had cherished the intention of destroying the colony, he could have done nothing more detrimental to its interests. The high price of labour is the very corner-stone on which the prosperity of a new colony depends. It enables the poor man to live with ease; and is the strongest incitement to population, by rendering children rather a source of riches than of poverty. If the same difficulty of subsistence existed in new countries as in old, it is plain that the progress of population would be equally slow in each. The very circumstance which causes the difference, is, that, in the latter, there is a competition among the labourers to be employed; and in the former, a competition among the occupiers of land to obtain labourers. In the one, land is scarce, and men plenty; in the other, men are scarce, and the land is plenty. To disturb this natural order of things (a practice injurious at all times) must be particularly so, where the predominant disposition of the colonists is an aversion to labour, produced by a long course of dissolute habits. In such case, the high prices of labour which the Governor was so desirous of abating, bid fair, not only to increase the agricultural prosperity, but to effect the moral reformation of the colony. We observe the same unfortunate ignorance of the elementary principles of commerce, in the attempts of the Governor to reduce the prices of the European commodities, by bulletins and authoritative interference, as if there were any other mode of lowering the price of an article (while the demand continues the same) but by increasing its quantity. The avaricious love of gain, which is so feelingly deplored, appears to us a principle which, in able hands, might be guided to the most salutary purposes. The object is to encourage the love of labour, which is best encouraged by the love of money. We have very great doubts on the policy of reserving

the beſt timber on the eſtates as government-timber. Such a reſervation would probably operate as a check upon the clearing of lands, without attaining the object deſired; for the timber, inſtead of being immediately cleared, would be ſlowly deſtroyed, by the neglect or malice of the ſettlers whoſe lands it incumbered. Timber is ſuch a drug in new countries, that it is at any time to be purchaſed for little more than the labour of cutting. To ſecure a ſupply of it by vexatious and invidious laws, is ſurely a work of ſupererogation and danger. The greateſt evil which the government has yet had to contend with, is the inordinate uſe of ſpirituous liquors; a paſſion which puts the intereſts of agriculture at variance with thoſe of morals: for, a dram-drinker will conſume as much corn in the form of alcohol, in one day, as would ſupply him with bread for three; and thus, by his vices, opens an admirable market to the induſtry of a new ſettlement. The only mode, we believe, of encountering this evil, is by deriving from it ſuch a revenue as will not admit of ſmuggling. Beyond this, it is almoſt invincible by authority; and is probably to be cured only by the progreſſive refinement of manners.

To evince the increaſing commerce of the ſettlement, a liſt is ſubjoined of one hundred and forty ſhips which have arrived there ſince its firſt foundation; forty only of which were from England. The colony at Norfolk Iſland is repreſented to be in a very deplorable ſituation, and will moſt probably be abandoned for one about to be formed on Van Diemen's Land *, though the capital defect of the former ſettlement has been partly obviated, by the diſcovery of a harbour for ſmall craft.

The moſt important and curious information contained in this volume, is the diſcovery of ſtraits which ſeparate Van Diemen's Land (hitherto conſidered as its ſouthern extremity) from New Holland. For this diſcovery, we are indebted to Mr Baſs, a ſurgeon, after whom the ſtraits have been named, and who was led to a ſuſpicion of their exiſtence by a prodigious ſwell which he obſerved to ſet in from the weſtward, at the mouth of the opening which he had reached on a voyage of diſcovery, proſecuted in a common whale-boat. To verify this ſuſpicion, he proceeded, afterwards in a veſſel of 25 tons, accompanied by Mr Flinders, a naval

* It is ſingular that Government are not more deſirous of puſhing their ſettlements rather to the north, than the ſouth of Port-Jackſon. The ſoil and climate would probably improve, in the latitude nearer the equator; and ſettlements in that poſition would be more contiguous to our Indian colonies.

naval gentleman; and, entering the ſtraits between the latitudes of 39° and 40′ ſouth, actually circumnavigated Van Diemen's Land. Mr Baſs's ideas of the importance of this diſcovery, we ſhall give from his narrative, as reported by Mr Collins.

'The moſt prominent advantage which ſeemed likely to accrue to the ſettlement from this diſcovery was, the expediting of the paſſage from the Cape of Good Hope to Port-Jackſon; for, although a line drawn from the Cape to 44° of ſouth latitude, and to the longitude of the South Cape of Van Diemen's Land, would not ſenſibly differ from one drawn to the latitude of 40°, to the ſame longitude; yet it muſt be allowed, that a ſhip will be four degrees nearer to Port-Jackſon in the latter ſituation, than it would be in the former. But there is, perhaps, a greater advantage to be gained by making a paſſage through the ſtrait, than the mere ſaving of four degrees of latitude along the coaſt. The major part of the ſhips that have arrived at Port-Jackſon have met with N. E. winds, on opening the ſea round the South Cape, and Cape Pillar, and have been ſo much retarded by them, that a fourteen-days paſſage to the port is reckoned to be a fair one, although the difference of latitude is but ten degrees, and the moſt prevailing winds at the latter place are from S. E. to S. in ſummer, and from W. S. W. to S. in winter. If, by going through Baſs Strait, theſe N. E. winds can be avoided, which in many caſes would probably be the caſe, there is no doubt but a week or more would be gained by it; and the expence, with the wear and tear of a ſhip for one week, are objects to moſt owners, more eſpecially when freighted with convicts by the run.

'This ſtrait likewiſe preſents another advantage. From the prevalence of the N. E. and eaſterly winds off the South Cape, many ſuppoſe that a paſſage may be made from thence to the weſtward, either to the Cape of Good Hope, or to India; but the fear of the great unknown bight between the South Cape and the S. W. Cape of Lewen's Land, lying in about 35° ſouth and 113° eaſt, has hitherto prevented the trial being made. Now, the ſtrait removes a part of this danger, by preſenting a certain place of retreat, ſhould a gale oppoſe itſelf to the ſhip in the firſt part of the eſſay; and, ſhould the wind come at S. W., ſhe need not fear making a good ſtretch to the W. N. W., which courſe, if made good, is within a few degrees of going clear of all. There is, beſides, King George the Third's Sound, diſcovered by Captain Vancouver, ſituate in the latitude of 35° 03′ ſouth, and longitude 118° 12′ eaſt; and it is to be hoped, that a few years will diſcloſe many others upon the coaſt, as well as the confirmation or futility of the conjecture, that a ſtill larger than Baſs Strait diſmembers New Holland.' p. 192-193.

We learn from a note ſubjoined to this paſſage, that, in order to verify or refute this conjecture, of the exiſtence of other important

portant inlets on the weſt coaſt of New Holland, Captain Flinders has ſailed with two ſhips under his command, and is ſaid to be accompanied by ſeveral profeſſional men of conſiderable ability.

Such are the moſt important contents of Mr Collins's book, the ſtyle of which we very much approve, becauſe it appears to be written by himſelf: and we muſt repeat again, that nothing can be more injurious to the opinion the public will form of the authenticity of a book of this kind, than the ſuſpicion that it has been trick'd out, and embelliſhed by other hands. Such men, to be ſure, have exiſted as Julius Cæſar; but, in general, a correct and elegant ſtyle is hardly attainable by thoſe who have paſſed their lives in action; and no one has ſuch a pedantic love of good writing, as to prefer mendacious finery to rough and ungrammatical truth. The events which Mr Collins's book records, we have read with great intereſt. There is a charm in thus ſeeing villages, and churches, and farms, riſing from a wilderneſs, where civilized man has never ſet his foot ſince the creation of the world. The contraſt between fertility and barrenneſs, population and ſolitude, activity and indolence, fill the mind with the pleaſing images of happineſs and increaſe. Man ſeems to move in his proper ſphere, while he is thus dedicating the powers of his mind and body to reap thoſe rewards which the bountiful Author of all things has aſſigned to his induſtry. Neither is it any common enjoyment, to turn for a while from the memory of thoſe diſtractions which have ſo recently agitated the Old World; and to reflect, that its very horrors and crimes may have thus prepared a long æra of opulence and peace for a people yet involved in the womb of time.

ART. III. *The Life of Poggio Bracciolini.* By the Reverend William Shepherd. Printed for Cadell & Davies, London. 4to. pp. 487. Liverpool, 1802.

THE too ſplendid reputation which the 'Life of Lorenzo de Medicis' acquired for its author, has attracted, as might naturally be expected, a crowd of candidates for fame in the ſame department of literature. The hiſtory of the revival of letters, and the memoirs of thoſe who, by their labours, reſcued from abſolute deſtruction the monuments of ancient ſcience and art, had hitherto been little handled, except in the pedantic productions of the ſchools; but the approbation ſo laviſhly beſtowed by the public upon Mr Roſcoe's finiſhed performance, ſoon created a rage for dilating and embelliſhing, in imitation of him, a ſubject, which, in its firſt aſpect, aſſumes ſo claſſical an air. But the importance

portance and dignity of these researches have been greatly overrated; and authors of very inferior talents have presumed upon their laborious industry in attempting works which can be recommended to public esteem, almost solely by felicity of execution. An inundation of barbarous names, attached to accounts of civil commotions in the petty states of Italy, or the more frivolous, and therefore more violent dissensions of polemics, is poured before the public, as important history, or valuable learning. The enlightened and scientific philosopher of the present day is called upon to peruse the annals of an ignorant or superstitious age, to study the effusions of scholastic ostentation, and to enlarge his understanding, by contemplating the exploits of monks, in plundering half-demolished libraries, and cleansing their mouldy treasures. Even though the private histories of some of the scholars which those ages produced, had been eminently striking or diversified, the scanty materials which remain to this day are insufficient to display them with advantage. Dry details, interspersed with trifling incidents and silly stories, are eked out into expensive works; which are, however, recommended to the taste and judgement of a very large class of readers, by the beauty of the typography, and the vast expanse of margin.

That the revival of learning in the fifteenth century is an interesting subject in itself, and that, as an epoch in the history of man, it is deserving of contemplation, we very readily admit. The reflecting mind, too, may perhaps with pleasure turn back from the violent political distractions of the present period, to repose upon those remote histories and events, when the dawn of science seemed to promise that the prosperity of nations would now be advanced upon the most enlightened principles, and their tranquillity secured upon the firmest foundations. But these speculations, however amusing, are of inferior moment, and productive of little advantage. It is not from the barbarous ages of the Medicis' that improvements in the modern art of government, or the principles of modern policy, are to be derived. Nor is it in those dark and superstitious periods, that we are to search for models of imitation, either in public or in private life. The memoirs of the doubts and difficulties, the vicissitudes of perplexity and illumination, incident to a host of closeted pedants and a few scholars, cannot be accounted very dignified subjects for the pen of the modern historian. They are barren both of instruction and entertainment, and are at best fitted only to amuse the antiquary or the dilettante. Even the political history of the fifteenth century is scarcely worthy of study, as it consists merely of a succession of civil and ecclesiastical dissensions, tedious by the uniformity of their aspect,

and

and uninſtructive from the rare occurrence of great counſels, or great events. And, aſſuredly, they who have beheld the tremendous convulſions, and gigantic revolutions, which late years have brought forth, cannot but look down with an indifference, mingled perhaps with contempt, upon the petty diſputes of popes and cardinals.

The work under review merits a conſiderable ſhare of the cenſure we have beſtowed upon thoſe productions in general, which over-rate the characters and exploits of the reſtorers of learning. It challenges cenſure too, as a performance (for which there were few materials of intereſting biography, or inſtructive hiſtory) eked out by tedious details of pontifical and ſtate affairs, in which the ſubject of the memoirs had little concern, and from which the reader can derive little amuſement. In truth, Poggio Bracciolini does not form the ſtriking figure of the work; nor dees his hiſtory ſhow, that he was peculiarly diſtinguiſhed above the other ſcholars of the revival. Though he filled an important public office, he rarely appears active in public life; and, amidſt the diſtractions of a turbulent period, he ſeems to have indulged himſelf in a prudent or contemptible quietude. The ſcanty records of his private life are hardly ſufficient to keep alive the intereſt of the reader in his perſonal affairs, through ſo long a narration and ſo crowded a detail of popes and prelates. The points of view in which Poggio moſt engages our attention, and ſolicits our admiration, are in his induſtrious and ſucceſsful labours, as a Reſtorer of letters, and in his learning and claſſical accompliſhments as a Scholar. To his ſkill and aſſiduity we are indebted for the preſervation of ſome of the moſt valuable productions of the Roman authors. His ſearches for ancient manuſcripts and precious reliques were attended with ſingular good fortune: and his zeal in the cauſe, highly meritorious in himſelf, promoted in no ſmall degree the uſeful exertions of others. He was likewiſe active in diſſeminating amongſt his countrymen the love of literature; and perſevered in his own ſtudies to the laſt period of a very long life. As a ſcholar, Poggio certainly merits high encomiums; and the more ſo, that in an age when claſſical learning was not very eaſy of acquiſition, and when bigotry and pedantry were the ordinary produce of the cloſet, he contrived to accompliſh himſelf in all the departments of literature, and to imbibe in ſome degree the liberal ſpirit of his ancient maſters.

But our author ſeems to have cheriſhed a veneration for the ſubject of his memoirs, which neither his talents, nor the ſervices which he rendered to the world, can authorize. The plundering of monaſtic libraries, the ſearching collections of manu-

manuſcripts mouldering under heaps of ruins, and the diſcovering thoſe lights which have ſince illuminated a great portion of the globe, ſound as mighty exploits in the ears of the vulgar and ſuperficial. Even the cultivated admirer of Old Rome views with fond partiality thoſe atchievements, gilded as they are by the diſtance of four centuries. But, in truth, the talents required and exerciſed in theſe occupations are of no very high order: nor, at the ſame time, are we to conſider Poggio and his aſſociates as poſſeſſed of ſome rare and tranſcendent endowments, which peculiarly enabled them to effect the reſtoration of letters. That event muſt be 'conſidered as a ſtep in the natural hiſtory of man,' to which the preceding circumſtances of progreſſive improvement and growing curioſity had led the way, and which muſt have developed itſelf about this period, had Poggio and his circle of claſſical compeers directed their labours to other objects. We have deemed it proper to premiſe theſe remarks, that the nature and importance of thoſe ſtudies, which it is at preſent a good deal the faſhion to exalt, may be fairly eſtimated, and the rank which they are entitled to hold duly aſcertained. It is high time to arreſt the progreſs of that rage, which has a rapid tendency to pervert the judgement, and debauch the taſte of a very large claſs of readers, admirers, and critics. Let the preſs no longer groan under a weight of uſeleſs lumber, treaſured up as valuable knowledge, and of abſurd anecdotes, collected and preſerved as precious reliques. The manes of the departed reſtorers have long ago been appeaſed, by the ample tributes of applauſe which all ages have paid to their labours. Let us not, in the nineteenth century, deify monks of the fifteenth, when the preſent age furniſhes ſubjects infinitely more worthy of thoſe immortal honours.

'Poggio, the ſon of Guccio Bracciolini, was born in the year 1380, at Terranuova, a ſmall town ſituated in the territory of the republic of Florence, not far from Arezzo.' After informing us, by a pompous circumlocution, that nothing is known of his grandfather, the author proceeds to relate, that from his father (who exerciſed the office of notary) Poggio 'inherited no advantages of rank or fortune.' It is probable, therefore, that he was induced to enter upon his literary purſuits, as the road both to emolument and diſtinction. He ſtudied at Florence, and afterwards at Rome, with ardour and ſucceſs. And he appears early to have diſtinguiſhed himſelf, by the amiableneſs of his diſpoſitions, and by the warmth and ſincerity of his friendſhips. The firſt and ſecond chapters of this work preſent us with few particulars of his life. The hero of the piece is thrown into the back-

back-ground, to make way for a long proceſſion of contending pontiffs, and factious demagogues. In the latter chapter, however, ſome amends is made, by the introduction of two very intereſting epiſtles, or rather eſſays of Poggio's: one deſcribing the cuſtoms and amuſements of Baden, a German watering-place in the neighbourhood of the Rhine; the other, reciting an account of the trial, or rather the impeachment, conviction, and execution of Jerome of Prague. Both compoſitions diſplay conſiderable powers: the former exhibits an elegant, cheerful, and verſatile mind; the latter, a liberal ſpirit and manly underſtanding. The next chapter details his induſtrious and ſucceſsful ſearches for ancient MSS., the invaluable remains of Roman learning. Aſſiſted by ſome friends equally zealous with himſelf, he brought to light a complete copy of Quintilian, part of the Argonautics of Valerius Flaccus, and Aſconius Pedianus's comment on Eight of Cicero's orations. He diſcovered, in the courſe of various journies, many of Cicero's orations, 'the poem of Silius Italicus, Lactantius's treatiſe *de ira Dei, et opificio hominis*, Vegetius *de re militari*, Nonius Marcellus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Lucretius, Columella, and Tertullian.' Poggio likewiſe ſent Nicolas of Treves upon journies of reſearch to the monaſteries of Germany; and he had the good fortune to bring back with him Twelve of the Comedies of Plautus, and a fragment of Aulus Gellius. At this period, many ſcholars were engaged in the ſame purſuit; and, in the courſe of a very ſhort time, was effected the moſt aſtoniſhing revolution in literature and civilization that the world had ever witneſſed.

It appears from the narration, that Poggio, like moſt literary adventurers, met with the viciſſitudes of proſperous and adverſe fortune; that he was happy in the patronage and aſſiſtance of ſome great men, and haraſſed by the diſcouragements of others. About the year 1418, Poggio made a viſit to England, by invitation from Beaufort, at that time Biſhop of Wincheſter. Our author conducts his hero thither in great ſtate, and ſenſibly ſympathizes in the mortification which he experienced at the indifferent reception he met with from that ambitious and intriguing prelate. The author here takes the opportunity of digreſſing upon the cauſes of the ignorance and barbariſm which prevailed in England at that period; and then returns with Poggio to Italy; not, however, without duly apprizing the reader, 'that of the incidents of his journey, no record appears in his works.' The incidents thrown in, to relieve the barrenneſs of this chapter, are, a tale about a miſtreſs, (which did not merit relation, either by the ſingularity of the circumſtances, or the connection which it holds with the main

main ſubject); and a jeſt upon an Iriſh ſea-captain, the merit of which we have not been able to diſcover. The latter, however, is introduced with a mock-heroic gravity, under the ſanction of Poggio's authority, who had inſerted it in his lamentable work, entitled *Facetiæ.*

The year 1420 witneſſed the final ſettlement of the diſſenſions and conteſts reſpecting the pontificate. In Martin the Fifth, all parties agreed to recognize the true ſucceſſor to the Papal throne. About this time, Poggio was advanced by Cardinal St Euſebius to the office of Secretary. Our author next repreſents Poggio as exerciſing the amiable office of mediator and peacemaker between Leonardo Aretino and Niccolo Niccoli; in which, after infinite pains, he is at laſt ſucceſsful. In the year 1429, he offered to public notice his firſt literary production, a 'Dialogue on Avarice,' which ſeems to poſſeſs conſiderable merit. In an age of bigotted reverence for every one who profeſſed ſanctity, and of jealouſy and fear of whatever tended to weaken the ſuperſtitious prejudices of the day, the man who boldly arraigned the vices of the clergy, and purſued the voluptuous and ſelfiſh monks into their cloiſtered retreat, for the purpoſe of expoſing their enormities, merited no mean praiſe; and to theſe was Poggio fairly entitled. His ſituation gave him ample opportunities of witneſſing the criminal indulgences and exceſſes which were practiſed by men habited in the garb of religion, and profeſſing abſtemiouſneſs of life, and auſterity of manners; and, in oppoſition to the earneſt and repeated entreaties of his more prudent friends, he embraced every opportunity of fearleſsly expreſſing his deteſtation of them.

The fifth chapter contains a long and not very intereſting detail of the contentions carried on between Pope Eugenius IV. and the Council of Baſil, headed by Angelotto, Cardinal of St Mark. In the end, Eugenius is forced from his throne, and obliged to fly to Florence; whither Poggio, in attempting to follow him, is captured, and for ſome time detained in confinement. By the payment of a ranſom, which his pecuniary circumſtances rendered very oppreſſive, he is ſet free, and, finally, accompliſhes his retreat to Florence. Poggio's reſidence in Florence naturally introduces ſome account of the illuſtrious family of Medicis. And our author quits this ſubject, to detail a fierce quarrel and lampoon war which took place between Poggio and Filelfo, in which they ſeem to have vied with each other in inventing falſehoods of the blackeſt nature, and in diſgracing their pages by the moſt malevolent, indecent, and filthy calumnies. Filelfo, who was a public teacher, appears not to have been deſtitute of talents, but ſcurrilous and inveterate to the laſt degree. A long extract is quoted from his ſatire, and tranſlated in a ſtyle which does

does too much honour to the original. Poggio was content to reply in proſe; and the conteſt between two of the moſt learned men of the age, was thus conducted, no doubt, to the amuſement of their contemporaries, but to the laſting diſgrace of both parties with poſterity.

In the ſeventh chapter, our author conducts into retreat, ſomewhat too pompouſly and pathetically, a man who does not appear ever to have greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in public life. From the preceding part of his hiſtory, the reader would naturally conclude, that the greateſt part of Poggio's time had been devoted to his ſtudies, or to his ſearches for MSS. in monaſteries and ſecluded places. His retirement to a villa which he purchaſed in the delightful diſtrict of Valdarno, might therefore have been announced with leſs parade, as it was indeed only a continuation of his very private life. The taſte and curioſity of Poggio had led him to pay conſiderable attention to ſtatuary; and in his travels, he had not neglected to procure ſome fine ſpecimens of ancient ſkill in this art. His manſion and gardens were adorned by an elegant diſtribution of buſts and ſtatues; and it ſeemed his favourite object to draw together all the literati of his day, to admire his collection, and to enjoy the pleaſures of claſſical converſation.

To this account of Poggio's occupations, ſucceeds the detail of his marriage, which confers on him no new title to praiſe, and the recital of which borders upon the diſguſting. It is ſufficient to ſay, that, at the age of fifty-five, he married a young lady of honourable family in her eighteenth year; and that to this alliance he ſacrificed a miſtreſs, by whom he had had twelve ſons and two daughters, and ſet aſide a bull of legitimacy, which he had procured for them, in order that they might be enabled to inherit his fortune. This anecdote is certainly the principal feature of his private life; and we are inclined to think it a ſufficient proof that ſuch a life need not have been recorded. Not long after this event (1437), his friend Niccolo Niccoli died, and Poggio compoſed and publiſhed his funeral eulogium. The extracts which the author preſents to the reader, exhibit ſome eloquence and pathos.

The eighth chapter is almoſt entirely taken up by a tedious recital of the diſſenſions between the Greek and the Roman churches, and between the Pontiff Eugenius and the Duke of Milan. It concludes with the curſory review of a literary performance of Poggio's, 'A Dialogue on Nobility.' Lorenzo de Medicis and Niccolo Niccoli are the interlocutors, and the ſcene of the diſcuſſion is laid in Poggio's gardens. Such arguments appear at the preſent day trifling and unimportant. To aſcertain

aſcertain the preciſe meaning of the word *nobility*, (upon which the principal part of the diſcuſſion reſted), a term which varies with the cuſtoms of every different nation, if it were poſſible, would be uſeleſs; and to diſpute whether it *ought* to ſignify pre-eminence in wealth, power, or virtue, is to quibble upon what all are agreed, that the higheſt ſpecies of nobility unites all the three. Any ſubject, however, may, to a well-furniſhed mind, afford occaſion for the diſplay of taſte, ſentiment, and even acuteneſs. But what ſhall we ſay of the dilettante, who could ſeriouſly compoſe a formal diſſertation on the queſtion, 'Whether the maſter of a feaſt ought to thank his gueſts for the honour of their company, or whether the gueſts ſhould expreſs their gratitude to their hoſt for his hoſpitality?' p. 448. We agree with our biographer, that this muſt have been a very '*whimſical*' manner of perſon.

The ninth and tenth chapters conduct the reader through a ſeries of pontifical and ſtate affairs. Poggio, as we before obſerved, never appears in the fore-ground of the picture. A circumſtance which induces the reader either to lower his eſtimation of the ſubject, or to cenſure the author of his life, for interweaving with private biography, ſo great a maſs of public and irrelevant matter. It is improbable, however, that Poggio took a more active part in ſtate-buſineſs, than the ſcanty materials of his hiſtory enable us now to aſcertain. In the latter of theſe chapters, are many extracts from his occaſional compoſitions, tranſlated with our author's uſual felicity, ſeveral of which are intereſting and amuſing.

The concluding chapter commences with Poggio's elevation to the Chancellorſhip of Florence, A. D. 1453. At the ſame time, he was choſen one of the *Priori degli arti*. Theſe offices he held till his death, which happened on the 30th of October 1459. He continued, even in his very old age, that unremitting aſſiduity in his ſtudies which he had all along purſued; and ſeems to have concluded his career in the dignified poſſeſſion of univerſal reſpect, and in the tranquil enjoyment of ſocial and domeſtic comforts. His laſt literary production was a Hiſtory of Florence, a work of ſome value, and in high eſteem amongſt his countrymen.

Upon the whole, we are of opinion, that the 'Life of Poggio Bracciolini' diſplays ſome ingenuity, and powers of compoſition. To the mere Engliſh reader, however, it cannot be very intereſting or inſtructive, as the narration is not ſufficiently diverſified to amuſe, nor the political hiſtory ſufficiently important to enlighten. Even for the peruſal of the ſcholar, it is in many parts ponderous; a fault not ſolely proceeding from the nature of the ſubject, but, in a very great meaſure, reſting with the author,

who has injudiciouſly ſwelled into a quarto, materials that would have better ſuited the ſize of a ſmall octavo. We have to regret, that the author did not introduce into his work more ſpecimens of Poggio's Latin compoſitions, and ſome of his Italian, which, however, we know nothing about.

Of Mr Shepherd's ſtyle, we hardly know what judgement to give. It is, for the moſt part, elegant and claſſical; but too much laboured, and in many places ludicrouſly pompous upon a trivial ſubject, or a hackneyed ſentiment. For inſtances of theſe, we refer the reader particularly to pages 476. 477. Many ſimilar ſpecimens of falſe taſte may be found ſcattered throughout the performance. Some of theſe are ſo amuſing, that we cannot forbear gratifying our readers with a ſample, while we ſuppreſs many examples of dullneſs, which could only fatigue and diſguſt.

In p. 475. we are introduced to the author of the '*Art of Love*,' under the title of the '*Amiable Ovid.*' Unleſs this epithet is a wretched pun, (imitated, perhaps, from Poggio's Jeſt-book), it is ludicrouſly falſe. This jeſt-book of Poggio, indeed, frequently appears in Mr Shepherd's narrative, and is the occaſion of an elaborate and impaſſioned defence of jeſt-books in general. In the following paſſage, the '*fancy*' is miſtaken for the *diaphragm* or the *epiglottis*, or whatever part of the body is the ſeat of laughter; and a book is curiouſly termed the '*repreſentative*' of its author. It would have been more intelligible, though leſs uncommon, to have called it 'the work of its author.'

'The idle and the diſſipated are pleaſed with a ſally of hilarity, which gives a ſtimulus to their fancy; and they who are habituated to ſtudy, or who are fatigued by the more weighty concerns of life, are happy to enjoy an opportunity of occaſional relaxation. As a vehicle of ſentiment, a book may be conſidered as the repreſentative of its author; and in a world of anxiety and trouble, he who is endued with the happy talent of cauſing the wrinkle of care to give place to the pleaſing convulſion of mirth, will find few circles of ſociety in which he is not a welcome gueſt.' p. 446.-7.

In the paſſage immediately following, we meet with a groteſque and fantaſtic group of portraits. 'Poggio "*aims a thruſt at Filelfo*"—in a tale. At this ridiculous paſs, '*gravity*,' who happens to be on the ſpot, '*has her ſteady countenance viſibly diſturbed*,' and her '*relative ſtrictly ſeverity*,' falls a '*ſmiling*' at the '*indelicate*' part to which Poggio's ſtroke is directed. Filelfo, in his diſtreſs, is introduced, invoking a being whoſe exiſtence is entirely new to us—the Muſe of Satire; and the friends of both theſe 'redoubted champions' then interfere to make up the matter.

In

In p. 277, our author gives us a parallel between proſe and poetical invective. The former, he ingeniouſly terms 'a ponderous mace, the unmanagable weight of which is the beſt ſecurity of him at whom the blow is aimed.' We do not deſire Mr Shepherd to read Hottoman's Antitribonianus; but we envy him the pleaſure that awaits him, when he ſhall have the curioſity to turn from the age of Eugenius IV. to the times of George III., and take a look at '*the ponderous maces*' which Wilkes and Junius aimed at the devoted heads of the Butes, the Graftons, and the Bedfords.

With the indecent detail of pages 266-7 & 8, excuſed by no neceſſity, and redeemed by no ſpark of genius or merit of any ſpecies, we have been ſo diſguſted, that we entreat the Reverend author (if his work ſhall ſee another edition) to veil, in ſome foreign tongue, ſo odious a collection of images, if he cannot prevail upon himſelf to cleanſe his page of them altogether.

The whole of p. 235 and 6, is abſurdly pompous and empty. The following exclamation is not very novel; yet we really do not remember ever having ſeen it in a book before. "How frequently do events demonſtrate the fallaciouſneſs of human expectations!'

In p. 198, the author is prompted, evidently by the ſame love of truth which dictated the laſt ſentence, to inform us, that 'a mind irritated by diſappointment and diſgrace, is but ill prepared to bear with patience the laſhes of ſatyric wit.' Perhaps the moſt delicate part of the hiſtorian's taſk is, the ſkilful introduction of thoſe general obſervations which at once diverſify the narrative, and ſmooth the different joinings of its parts. But, alas! ſuch obſervations as Mr Shepherd's, though abundantly general, and unqueſtionably true, tend only to render the narration more heavy: they are as little worthy of enunciation, as the facts which they connect are deſerving of record: they preſerve, indeed, that unbroken conſiſtency of inſipidity, which the weary reader of Poggio's life ſo often deplores, and which often forces from him a wiſh that Horace had never ſaid,

'*Qualis ab incepto*,' &c.

At the ſame time, we muſt remark, that in many parts of this work we meet with ſucceſsful attempts at fine writing.

For the benefit of our readers, we ſhall quote the character of Pope Nicolas V.

'Nicolas V. was one of the brighteſt ornaments of the pontifical throne. In the exerciſe of authority over the eccleſiaſtical domi-

tions, he exhibited a happy union of the virtues of gentleneſs and firmneſs. Purely diſintereſted in his views, he did not laviſh upon his relatives the wealth which the prudent adminiſtration of his finances poured into his coffers; but appropriated the revenues of the church to the promotion of its dignity. The gorgeous ſolemnity which graced his performance of religious rites, evinced his attention to decorum, and the grandeur of his taſte. In the ſuperb edifices which were erected under his auſpices, the admiring ſpectator beheld the revival of ancient magnificence. As the founder of the Vatican library, he claims the homage of the lovers of claſſic literature. His court was the reſort of the learned, who found in him a diſcriminating patron, and a generous benefactor. It was the ſubject of general regret, that the brief term of his pontificate prevented the maturing of the mighty plans which he had conceived for the encouragement of the liberal arts. When his lifeleſs remains were conſigned to the grave, the friends of peace lamented the premature fate of a pontiff, who had aſſiduouſly laboured to ſecure the tranquillity of Italy; and they who were ſenſible of the charms of enlightened piety, regretted the loſs of a true father of the faithful, who had dedicated his ſplendid talents to the promotion of the temporal, as well as the ſpiritual welfare of the Chriſtian community.' p. 462-3.

As a ſpecimen of the author's talents for verſification, we ſhall favour the reader with the following extract from the tranſlation of Filelfo's ſatire on Poggio.

'Poggio! ere long thy babbling tongue ſhall feel
The keen impreſſion of the trenchant ſteel;
That tongue, the herald of malicious lies,
That ſheds its venom on the good and wiſe.
What mighty maſter in detraction's ſchool
Thus into knavery has matured a fool?
Has Niccolo—that ſcandal of the times,
Taught thee to dare the laſt extreme of crimes?
Yes!—taught by Niccolo, thou ſpread'ſt thy rage
O'er the wide æra of thy feeble page.
Fain wouldſt thou pour the torrent of thine ire
From lips that glow with all a Tully's fire;
But, thy weak nerves, by pale debauch unſtrung,
Thy half-formed accents tremble on thy tongue.'

One curious circumſtance, which muſt ſtrike every reader of this hiſtory, we cannot avoid remarking: It is the frequent mention that occurs of young ſtudents becoming, at the age of eighteen, public inſtructors and lecturers in the two moſt learned cities of the world at that period. It ſerves to mark the manners, and the cultivation, in reſpect of letters, to which the Italians

lians had then arrived. It may ſuggeſt likewiſe this reflection, that if dignified and momentous ſubjects for hiſtory be required, we need look only to our own times for ample ſcope and abundant materials; where the politician may cultivate and enlarge his ſcience, and the moraliſt learn to aſcertain the proper objects and moſt important duties of human life. In this age, the public would be more edified by dwelling upon the characters of a Waſhington, a Burke, or a Pitt, than a Poggio, or even a Lorenzo de Medicis. And for eminent examples in private life, we need not aſſuredly turn to a period, when ſuperſtition chained down a great part of mankind to abſurd obſervances and uſeleſs duties, when manners had not yet been ſyſtematized into decorum, and when morals were guarded only by looſe rhetorical precepts, and a religion that held out its ſanctions in one hand, and its diſpenſations in the other.

ART. IV. *Accounts of the Egyptian Expedition.*

State of Egypt after the Battle of Heliopolis. By General Reynier, 1802. Robinſon.

Hiſtory of the Britiſh Expedition in Egypt. By Sir R. T. Wilſon. 4to. Egerton. 1803.

Walſh's *Journal of the Campaign in Egypt.* 4to. Cadell & Davies. 1803.

Journal of the Forces which ſailed from the Downs in April 1800, *till their arrival in Minorca; and of their ſubſequent Tranſactions, till the Reduction of Alexandria.* By Æneas Anderſon. Debrett. 4to. 1802.

To avoid unpleaſant repetition, we have preferred including the above-mentioned articles under one head; and, by this means, we ſhall alſo be enabled to correct errors, to refute miſrepreſentation, and to give additional confirmation to narrative that is really accurate and candid. Military authors, who have themſelves participated in the actions which they relate, are too ſtrongly under the influence of perſonal glory, to preſerve a ſteady impartiality in their relations. The feeling of perſonal glory is exaſperated again by national vanity, an amiable (perhaps an uſeful) weakneſs, from which few underſtandings can claim an exemption. Neither is it any degradation of the military character, to ſuppoſe that ſome degree of aſperity may ſtill purſue the me-

mory of men, whom honour and duty have urged their opponents to deſtroy and to haraſs, and who, in their turn, have endeavoured to inflict all the evils by which they have been threatened.

The public are now in poſſeſſion of ſufficiently ample materials, to enable them to form a very correct notion of the campaign in Egypt. The whole period of its duration was ſhort, and the operations ſo few and ſo ſimple, that it is matter of ſome ſurpriſe they were protracted even for the length of time to which they really did extend. It happens fortunately, too, for the intereſts of truth, that the military character of the Engliſh has been ſeverely queſtioned by General Reynier, and warmly defended by Sir Robert Wilſon: ſo that, in thoſe points in which they differ, by knowing the extremes, we may deduce a fair medium, and admit every important fact, redounding to the credit of one party, and uncontradicted by the other, with the utmoſt confidence in its veracity. Before we appeal to theſe four publications as documents, it will be proper to eſtimate the value of each.

The beſt of the Engliſh accounts is certainly that of Sir Robert Wilſon. Of the ſtyle we ſay nothing; and, in fact, it is of very little importance. The narrative is extremely full, and very entertaining. The military queſtions on the conduct of the campaign, are rationally and intelligibly diſcuſſed; the French are ſpoken of with a very commendable liberality; and, conſidering that it is partly a book of controverſy, the candour with which it is conducted, is, upon the whole, extremely creditable to its author.

Mr Walſh's book is plain and conſpicuous, but rather jejune. It is a barren ſummary of events, which affixes the thing done to the correſponding day in the almanack, without pauſing to expatiate and explain, or gratify a curioſity wound up to the higheſt, by novelty of glory, and novelty of ſcene. The life of a ſoldier in actual ſervice, the habits, and interior perſpective of an army, are ſo intereſting, and ſo unknown to men who paſs their lives by their fire-ſide, that we have often lamented this unamuſing brevity of military writers, and deſiderated an annaliſt with ſome genius for anecdote, and ſome talents for deſcription. Though Mr Walſh is ſomewhat dry and ſuccinct, he does not derive that accuracy from the abſence of imagination, which is commonly ſuppoſed to atone for the deficiency. We ſhall have occaſion, in the progreſs of the narrative, to remark ſome errors into which he has fallen, in his enumeration of forces. Too much praiſe cannot be given to the elegance and perſpicuity of his topographical charts, and military plans. The book itſelf is a good ſpecimen of the effect of luxury, in raiſing the price of knowledge. In its preſent ſtate, it cannot ſell for leſs than three or four guineas, though all the narrative might be printed on good paper, and in a legible type, for tenpence.

Mr

Mr Æneas Anderſon we only mention, to evince our willingneſs to conſult every book upon the ſubject by which we are occupied. It may be pronounced to be a wanton deterioration of the Morning Poſt; and will certainly never elevate Mr Æneas Anderſon to thoſe heights of fame, which his pious and erratic Synonim declares himſelf to have reached.

Sum pius Æneas, fama ſuper æthera notus. VIRGIL.

General Reynier's book is the production of a man very ſuperior to any of the preceding writers. His obſervations on the ſtate of ſociety in Egypt, the politics of that country, its revenues, its phyſical ſtate, the mode of attacking or defending it, evince him to poſſeſs an underſtanding of an high taſte, and entitle his book to the praiſe of being very ſuperior to all others which have been written on the ſubject of Egypt ſince the French invaſion. One of the principal objects of the military part of the book, is the depreciation of General Menou; yet it cannot by any means be conſidered as an attack made merely in the ſpirit of party. He allows to him ſome good qualities, particularly praiſes his diſintereſtedneſs; and, in his attack upon that officer's military character, appears to be ſo entirely borne out by matter of fact, that we are ſtrongly inclined to ſubſcribe to the fairneſs of his motives in making it. His criticiſms on the military operations of the Engliſh, are very uncandid in ſome ſubordinate points. If they are not juſt in the more material parts, they are at leaſt ſuch as we are unable to anſwer; of this inability, his opponent, Sir Robert Wilſon, partakes in common with ourſelves; and to him, certainly, no deficiency of zeal can be imputed.

Egypt is acceſſible to an enemy on the north, the north-eaſt, and the eaſt, by the Mediterranean, the Syrian deſart, and the deſart between the Nile and the Red Sea. On the northern coaſt, there are only two or three ſpots (Alexandria, Aboukir Bay, and the Arab's Tower) acceſſible to invaſion. The bars, both at Roſetta and Damietta, are hardly paſſable for ſmall craft; and theſe are the only two remaining mouths of the Nile. The paſſage of a large army over either the Syrian or the Eaſtern deſart, would be attended with great difficulty, from the want of water, as well as from the extraordinary apparatus of camels which it would be neceſſary to collect. To the eaſt, Egypt is bordered by the Arabs of the deſart: to the ſouth, Upper Egypt, only a few miles broad, ſtretches on for an immenſe diſtance in length, towards Nubia; and, from the high mountains to which it is limited on both ſides, preſents a moſt defenſible aſpect to any irruption with which it may be menaced from that quarter. The only ſeaports with which Egypt has any communication, are Coſſir and Suez on the Red Sea, and Alexandria on the Mediterranean.

Both the former ſea-ports are very bad; Suez is utterly devoid of freſh water: Alexandria, though now almoſt inſulated by the repletion of Lake Mareotis, is undoubtedly the key of Egypt to any European power.

Military operations can only be carried on in Egypt for about ſeven months in the year. The ſwelling of the Nile begins in the ſummer ſolſtice, and reaches its greateſt extent in the autumnal equinox, when, having diſplayed its grandeur for a few days, it begins to ſubſide. Its riſe and fall happen earlier or later, by fifteen days, or ſometimes even a month; but it may be eſtabliſhed as a rule, that Lower Egypt is paſſable from the beginning of February to the end of Auguſt. None but the great branches, at this time, contain water; and, on them, may always be found boats for paſſage. It is poſſible, during the other months, to march on the borders of the deſart; but the villages in that quarter are by no means able to ſupply thoſe wants which an army muſt experience after the paſſage of the deſart.

At the time of our arrival in Egypt, the force of the Mamelukes ſeems to have been almoſt ſubdued. The Arabs, after their manner, trafficked with both parties, and waited for the termination of the conteſt, to ſide with the ſtrongeſt. The French, diſpirited with the flight of Bonaparte, and the aſſaſſination of Kleber, appear to have fallen under the command of a man extremely inferior to his predeceſſors in military talents and experience, and who, if he did not foment the parties into which his army was divided at the time of our landing, certainly had not influence enough to overawe them.

The French had made very little progreſs in the fortifications of Egypt. General Reynier complains of the want of wood and of tools, a great quantity of which were loſt with the fleet. He obſerves, that the troops, worn out with change of climate and perpetual marches, and entirely deprived of ſpirituous liquors, were with difficulty brought to work at the fortifications, and hardly tempted to do ſo even by exceſſive prices.

'A very erroneous idea (ſays the General) will be formed of the fortifications conſtructed in Egypt, if the reader applies to them what is underſtood in Europe by the words, ſtrong place, fort, military poſt, &c. What I have ſaid before of the obſtacles that were to be ſurmounted, is always to be called to mind. The French had to create a new kind of fortifications and works applicable to the country, conſiſtent with the materials that could be obtained, and relative to the ſeveral kinds of attack which might be expected. The engineer officers cannot be too highly praiſed for having effected as much as they did within the ſpace of three years.

'Houſes, or the remains of ancient works, with the addition of a battlement, and mounted with a few pieces of cannon, ſmall towers ſurmounted

mounted with a terrace, and one or two pieces of canon, formed posts in which twenty French soldiers fearlessly expected and repulsed all the attacks of the enemy's cavalry, or the insurrections of multitudes, sometimes aided by artillery, although ill-served. Many of the posts which I have called forts were of this kind. Provision and ammunition for a garrison, as well as such as were stored up for the army, were deposited in magazines constructed within these forts, or built against them, and protected by them.

'To cover these posts, in some degree, from the fire of artillery, sometimes they were surrounded with a parapet or covered way, in which case they formed redoubts; and, to attack them with success, the enemy must have gained some ground, and established a battery on the glacis. This plan was adopted for Salahieb, which, by a succession of works, might have been converted into a regular fortress.

'Ancient castles, round which there was no time to sink ditches, and to construct lined counterscarps, bore the name of forts. These forts could not of course resist artillery; the greater number of them were merely field-redoubts, which the French had scarcely begun to line, and were without counterscarp.

'Most of these works were surrounded with palm-trees, ruins, mounds of sand, &c which rendered the approaches to them easy, and from which they could not be disengaged. All these inconveniences were united at Alexandria. The works of that place, although dispersed over a large circuit, reciprocally supported each other; but the approaches were easy, and many important points were necessarily neglected, to strengthen the principal works. Latterly, neither the money nor the hands were given to these works which ought to have been sacredly reserved for them; and Alexandria was not in a condition to resist more than eight days against a regular attack.' p. 35.—37.

This account of the fortifications of Alexandria is fully confirmed by Mr Walsh, p. 229, and not denied by Sir Robert Wilson. In like manner, Reynier's account of the weakness of the fortifications at Cairo, are confirmed by Walsh, and not disputed by Sir Robert. Such was the state of the fortifications of the only two important towns in Egypt. The number of French fighting men in Egypt, at the time of our arrival, are stated to be, by Reynier, 24,732, and 1128 Greek and Copt auxiliaries; by Walsh, 20,950, (p. 124, Appendix); by Sir Robert Wilson, 32,000. The average of these three accounts, two of which are English, gives, in round numbers, 26,000 Frenchmen.* The number

* This includes sailors acting with the army, commissioned and non-commissioned officers, sick military, the artillery cavalry, and every description of persons attached to the army. We follow the same mode of calculation in speaking of the English army, except where we use the expression *rank and file*.

number of Engliſh is ſtated, by Reynier, to have been 23,000; by Walſh and Sir Robert Wilſon, admitted to have been about 26,000 *; to which ought to be added at leaſt 1000 ſailors employed in the gun-boats on the ſea-coaſt, flanking the army on Lakes Mareotis and Aboukir, and on the Nile. The corps of the Capitan-Pacha is admitted, on all ſides, to have amounted to about 6000 men; the Indian army to the ſame number; the army of the Grand Viſier to about 16,000 men, excluſive of a vaſt number of irregular troops.—The Indian army did not arrive till after the concluſion of the campaign.

The plans for the conduct of the campaign, ſuggeſted by General Reynier to Menou, is contained in the following extract of Reynier's letter.

'LETTER from General REYNIER to General MENOU.

"Cairo, the 13th of Ventoſe, 9th year, (*the 4th of March*, 1801.)

"YOU have ſent me, Citizen General, orders to march to Belbeis with two demi-brigades, taking with me General Robin; and I ſhall execute your orders, becauſe the firſt duty of a ſoldier is to obey. But the intereſt of the army conſtrains me to make ſome obſervations, which you will liſten to with candour. I am ordered to defend the frontier which may be attacked by the Viſir. But in our circumſtances it appears to me, that this frontier ought for the preſent to be left to itſelf. The Viſir is arrived, or expected, at El-Ariſh; but it is not probable that he will march before he hears of the ſucceſs of the Engliſh. His preparations to paſs the deſart are not completed; and he will do no more than to puſh ſome parties to Katieh, or perhaps a little further. If he ſhould attack Salahieh, that place is in a condition to hold out till it can be ſuccoured. While we engage the Engliſh, he will puſh, perhaps, ſome troops to Belbeis and Cairo; but that is leſs dangerous than to give the Engliſh opportunity to make any progreſs.

"The army, which is to attempt a landing at Aboukir, muſt amount to between 10 and 12,000 men. If General Friant has not been able to prevent their debarkation, he muſt at this moment be ſhut up in Alexandria; and, to meet the Engliſh with hopes of ſucceſs, we have occaſion for the whole of our diſpoſeable force.

"At

* This number includes the reinforcements that arrived from *Europe* after the battle of the 21ſt. Mr Walſh, in his eſtimate, No. 29, compares only the *rank and file* of the Britiſh army with the groſs amount of the French military; and, even in that compariſon, omits all the Engliſh cavalry, artillery, and marines, amounting to above 2000 rank and file. His ſtatement, as quoted in the text, is taken from his Appendix, No. 36, to the *items* of which he has not attended, in giving his general reſult in the Appendix, No. 29, before quoted.

" At the time of the landing of the Turks at Aboukir, Bonaparte left at Belbeis and Salahieh no more than a hundred men, a very few troops at Damietta, and a very ſmall garriſon at Cairo. He concentrated the army to march to Aboukir. Our ſituation is ſimilar; and we ought to make like diſpoſitions. It is moſt eſpecially in this army, that the great maxim of war ſhould be practiſed, to ſupply the want of numbers by the rapidity of movements.

" I am of opinion, that it would be proper to march my diviſion, with all the diſpoſeable troops, to Alexandria.

" The garriſon of Salahieh is more than ſufficient to its purpoſes. I will throw a ſmall reinforcement into Belbeis. Dromedaries will reconnoitre the deſart; and I will leave the neceſſary inſtructions to the commanding officers of the above places." p. 236, 237.

Fortunately for the Engliſh, this plan of the campaign was rejected. The troops were divided; a conſiderable body ſent to oppoſe the Turks; and by theſe means every facility given to the firſt operations of the Engliſh. The event completely juſtified General Reynier's predictions. The Turks did not arrive on the confines of habitable Egypt till the 27th of April, fifty days after the landing of the Engliſh, who, both on their landing, and on the battle of the 13th, were attacked only by the half of their own numbers, and, on the 21ſt, by a force rather inferior to their own. In the battle of the 13th, by the Engliſh accounts, their own army conſiſted of about 14,000 rank and file, who, they admit, were oppoſed by only 6000 French, with the loſs, nevertheleſs, by their own admiſſion, of 1300 men. We have the higheſt opinion of the courage of our countrymen; but we cannot avoid thinking, that the event would have been extremely problematical, if the whole French army, with their numerous train of artillery, and their great ſuperiority in cavalry, had been brought down to the coaſt, before their opponents could have gained time to organize and arrange their forces.

General Reynier imputes to both Engliſh and French a want of enterprize. We have not the ſmalleſt pretenſions to military knowledge; but the facts upon which he grounds theſe animadverſions do certainly *appear* to us to warrant his concluſions:—not that we have received theſe facts upon General Reynier's aſſertions; but, after having compared his accounts with thoſe of the oppoſite party, we have ſatisfied ourſelves, that he is in general an accurate writer; and that he by no means merits thoſe invectives which Sir Robert Wilſon ſo liberally beſtows upon him.

The charges againſt the Engliſh are thus ſummed up at the concluſion of his work:

'The only military operation that does honour to the Engliſh, is their debarkation; and the ſucceſs of that they owe to their fleet; for 6000 men that they threw at once upon the coaſt were checked by 1700, forced to watch at the ſame time over the whole extent of the Bay of Aboukir, and conſequently incapable of acting together at the point of attack.

'The Engliſh army, after its landing, did not attempt to approach Alexandria until the 2d of Ventoſe. There they ought to have found the whole French army concentrated; but they found only 4000 men; who nevertheleſs diſputed the ground, intimidating them to ſuch a degree, that they dared not attack the town; and, far from availing themſelves of their advantages, ſtood on the defenſive, and entrenched themſelves.

'On the 30th of Ventoſe, the French marched out to attack them, in a ſtrong and narrow poſition, time to fortify which had been given them. Gun-boats on the ſea and Lake Maadieh covered their flanks. Their troops were double in number. The darkneſs of the night, and the death of ſeveral commanding officers, threw diſorder into the French army; and the Commander in Chief, keeping himſelf at a diſtance, neither could form the troops anew himſelf, nor would confide the charge to any other officer. His movements overthrew and diſperſed the cavalry. The army is compelled to retire, and the Engliſh loſe this occaſion alſo to avail themſelves of their ſucceſs.

'Shut up in their entrenchments, they attempt no movement till twenty days afterwards, when they marched to Roſetta, an important poſt to them, but which the French army did not attempt to preſerve.

'They remain a month at Roſetta, before they proceed towards Rhamanieh, which it was equally important for them to occupy, to intercept the communication between Alexandria and Cairo. The troops they found there, too few to reſiſt, retired towards Cairo. It was the intereſt of the Engliſh to follow them by rapid marches, and they employed forty days in marching over a ſpace that the French uſually traverſed in four.

'They finally arrived at Cairo with the Capitan-Pacha, where they are joined by the Viſir: and theſe armies, ſix times more numerous than the French, ſtill fear the hazards of an engagement, and receive, rather than dictate, the law in the treaty of evacuation.

'They then deſcend towards Alexandria, and the ſame ſupineneſs infects all their operations; and it is the want of proviſions, rather than their enterprize, which accelerates the fall of that place.

'The expedition of the Engliſh has ſucceeded; but they have gathered only the laurels of ſucceſs; for never did they inſure victory either by their military movements, their courage, or their enterprize. Their timid march, notwithſtanding their enormous ſuperiority, perfectly points out what would have been their fate, if the Chief of the army of the Eaſt had been worthy of his troops.' p. 346-349.

The

The whole campaign in Egypt was, in fact, fought in the firſt ten days, by the three battles of the 8th, the 13th, and the 21ſt *. The merit of the 8th, the General ſeems very reluctantly to admit; on the 13th, the Engliſh loſt no reputation, but they gained none. The battle of the 21ſt undoubtedly reflects upon them the higheſt credit; it is unworthy of General Reynier to deny it, and impoſſible to read the details of the engagement (in which the whole French army were engaged with the right wing of the Engliſh), without admiring the extraordinary firmneſs of our troops. After this period, both parties appear to have remained in a ſtate of inertneſs and ſtupefaction; the Engliſh ſurpriſed at their own ſucceſs, and the French waiting quietly to ſee them improve it. After the battle of the 21ſt March, we waited till the 14th of April, before we preſented ourſelves at the gates of Roſetta, which were flung open at our approach. From the 21ſt of March to the 5th of May, the only oppoſition we experienced, and the only military operation we performed, was the capture of Fort Julien, garriſoned by 260 men, which we took in two days. On the 5th of May, General Hutchinſon began his march for Cairo from El-Hamed, a diſtance which cannot exceed 120 miles, and which he traverſed in forty-two days. The only oppoſition he experienced was at Rhamanieh, where he loſt twenty men. This ſkirmiſh at Rhamanieh took place on the 9th of May. The French, who retired from thence before General Hutchinſon, reached Cairo in three days †. General Hutchinſon travelled the ſame diſtance in thirty-eight days, without ſeeing an enemy, or firing a ſhot the whole of the way. The Turks fought the French (including the ſame very troops which had retreated before the Engliſh at Rhamanieh) at the ſprings of El-Hanka, ſix miles from Cairo, on the 16th of May, a whole month before our troops appeared before the town. The army had the entire command of the Nile all the way from Rhamanieh to Cairo, and was accompanied by a large flotilla. This deliberate progreſs is the more unintelligible, as any delay in the formation and operations of the ſiege approximated the period at which all military operations would be ſuſpended by the riſe of the Nile. Cairo capitulated on the 26th of June. The ſiege of Alexandria was begun fifty days after ‡, and it capitulated in fifteen.

On

* In the battle of the 21ſt, Walſh aſſerts in his text, that the French brought 12 or 13,000 effective men into the field. To his plan of the battle, he ſubjoins the number of 10,000, of which, he ſays, the French forces conſiſted.

† Walſh, p. 138. ‡ Not a ſhot was fired in theſe fifty days.

On the other hand, it is extremely ſingular, that General Coote ſhould have remained with an inferior force ſo long before Alexandria, in the abſence of General Hutchinſon, without having experienced the ſlighteſt attack on the part of the French; that General Beliard ſhould have employed his numerous garriſon to ſo little purpoſe; and that the ſame troops who, under other leaders, had attracted the admiration of Europe, ſhould retreat before an army of Turks at El-Hanka.

In ſtating theſe facts, which we have endeavoured to do with the greateſt impartiality, we truſt we ſhall not be accuſed of want of patriotiſm; for patriotiſm does not conſiſt in loving our country better than truth: neither do the real merits of the Engliſh in this expedition require the aid of miſrepreſentation. We were diſpirited by the bad ſucceſs of our previous military expeditions: the French, guided by extraordinary men, at one of thoſe periods when extraordinary men have opportunities of ſhewing themſelves, and univerſally under the influence of the moſt inſpiring paſſions, had aſtoniſhed all Europe by the ſplendour of their military atchievements. The Engliſh expedition was oppoſed to their *immortals*, to troops covered with trophies and feats, who in every new climate had breathed the ſame courage—who had triumphed alike over the tactics of Europe, and the furious crowds of the Eaſt. We are upon an element not natural to us; unſkilful, becauſe we were without experience; and unexperienced, becauſe we had no opportunities of improvement. The whole bent of our genius, our reſources, and our pride, is turned to another ſpecies of glory. In that war we were, and in every war we are, not ſoldiers, but diſembarked marines, dragged out of our ſhips to effect a particular object; doubtful creatures, hardly ſure of our feet, and expoſed to all the inconvenience of amphibious awkwardneſs. The fair way of eſtimating the merits of ſuch a conqueſt, is not by numbering men, and counting fortified places; but by reflecting on the habits and characters of the different people oppoſed to each other, by remembering what each nation ſtudies; what it affects; upon what cardinal points it founds its claim to the reſpect and admiration of other people. In this manner of viewing the queſtion, the wonder is, not that we did not effect our object in a more maſterly manner, but that we were able to effect it at all. Modes may be queſtioned; the fact remains, and reflects the higheſt credit upon the energy of our government, and the courage of our ſoldiers.

There is an attack, in Sir Robert Wilſon's book, upon the character of the Firſt Conſul, which, in our opinion, either ſhould not have been made at all, or ſhould have been better proved. Bonaparte is ſaid by Sir Robert to have maſſacred

3800 * Turks at Jaffa, three days after the ſurrender of the place, and to have poiſoned 580 of his own ſoldiers at the ſame place, who were infected with the plague. This may be very true; but to prove it Sir Robert Wilſon merely ſays, 'It was General Bon's diviſion who fired upon the Turks. Inquire of any of the officers ſerving in it, if the facts be as I have related. Inquire of the members of the Inſtitute at Cairo, if the ſtory of the poiſon be true. They have both been confirmed to me; but I cannot mention the names of thoſe from whom I derived my information, on account of the dangers to which I ſhould expoſe them by ſuch a publication.' In ſuch tremendous imputations, this is hardly a fair mode of attack. Delicacy ſhould ſuppreſs the fact, if it ſuppreſſes the evidence on which the fact is founded. We are no very violent partizans for the morality of the Firſt Conſul; but we love juſtice, and reſpect the old Engliſh proverb ſo much, that we would give even the devil his due, and by no means ſay any ill of him which we could not prove.

At the beginning of the campaign, Sir Sydney Smith ſerved with the armies, and evinced, in his advice given to Sir Ralph Abercromby, the ſame ſpirit of military enterprize, for which we are indebted to the moſt extraordinary event to which this war has given birth—the defence of Acre. When the army advanced towards Cairo, by a very unworthy compliance with the antipathies of the Capitan Pacha, he was ſent on board his ſhip. The following reaſon is aſſigned by Sir Robert Wilſon for the averſion of the Capitan to Sir Sydney.

'Sir Sydney, on receiving Lord Keith's refuſal to the convention of El-Ariſh, inſtantly ſent off an expreſs with it to Cairo, as he knew General Kleber was to evacuate that city immediately on the faith of that treaty; thus preferring the maintenance of his own and nation's honour, to a temporary advantage. The meſſenger arrived a few hours before the evacuation was to have been completed, and the conſequences are well known. But certainly the Turks had ſo fully depended on its execution, as to have advanced without artillery or ammunition.' p. 64.

Independently of the ignominy of permitting our barbarous allies to dictate what officers we ſhould, or ſhould not employ, we have conſiderable doubts whether the preſence of Sir Sydney was not of more importance to the army, than that of the Capitan-Pacha and all his forces.

We

* The account given by General Berthier, in his Memoirs, is, that the garriſon of Jaffa, conſiſting of 1200 Turks, and 2500 Arnauts and Magranbians, were put to the ſword in ſtorming of the city.—*Relation des Campagnes*, p. 60.

We have been enabled, from the long reſidence of ſuch numerous bodies of Europeans in Egypt, to form ſome more correct notions of the nature and the fatality of the plague. Of 380 Engliſh attacked by this diſorder, 173 died, and 200 recovered: the French ſaved about two out of three of their patients. It is highly probable, that the viruluence of the plague would ſo far yield to the cleanlineſs, the watchfulneſs, and the ſcience of Europeans, as to be ranked with ordinary fevers in danger and malignancy. We may carry our views ſtill farther, and conſider the powerful influence which Egypt, colonized by Europeans, would exerciſe upon the civilization of Africa. We may amuſe ourſelves with the imaginary ſpectacle of Europe carrying back to the banks of the Nile the arts and ſciences, which ſhe received from thence 3000 years ago; and raiſing from the duſt thoſe venerable cities which were animated with commerce, and adorned with learning, ages before the naked ſavage of Europe could delve, or ſpin, or govern, or obey. But this is a ſhort-ſighted benevolence. Europe is the light of the world, and the ark of knowledge: upon the welfare of Europe, hangs the deſtiny of the moſt remote and ſavage people. Europe to be great and happy, muſt be free; and to be free, ſhe muſt ever ſtrive againſt the uſurpations of faithleſs ambition, with the ſame unquenchable courage which this little iſland has always diſplayed in the perils of nations, and which ſhe will never loſe, but in the extinction of that manly race in whoſe hearts it lives.

ART. IX. *The Life and Poſthumous Writings of William Cowper, Eſq. With an Introductory Letter to the Right Honourable Earl Cowper.* By William Hayley, Eſq. Two volumes, 4to. Chicheſter, 1803.

THIS book is too long: but it is compoſed on a plan that makes prolixity unavoidable. Inſtead of an account of the poet's life, and a view of his character and performances, the biographer has laid before the public a large ſelection from his private correſpondence, and merely inſerted as much narrative between each ſeries of letters, as was neceſſary to preſerve their connection, and make the ſubject of them intelligible.

This ſcheme of biography, which was firſt introduced, we believe, by Maſon, in his Life of Gray, has many evident advantages in point of livelineſs of colouring, and fidelity of repreſentation. It is ſomething intermediate between the egotiſm of *confeſſions*, and the queſtionable narrative of a ſurviving friend, who muſt be partial, and may be miſtaken: It enables the reader

reader to judge for himſelf, from materials that were not provided for the purpoſe of determining his judgement, and holds up to him, inſtead of a flattering or unfaithful portrait, the very living lineaments and features of the perſon it intends to commemorate. It is a plan, however, that requires ſo much room for its execution, and conſequently ſo much money, and ſo much leiſure in thoſe who wiſh to be maſters of it, that it ought to be reſerved, we conceive, for thoſe great and eminent characters that are likely to excite an intereſt among all orders and generations of mankind. While the biography of Shakeſpeare and Bacon ſhrinks into the corner of an octavo, we can ſcarcely help wondering that the hiſtory of the ſequeſtered life and ſolitary ſtudies of Cowper ſhould have extended into two quarto volumes.

The little Mr Hayley writes in theſe volumes, is by no means well written. In the very firſt paragraph, we ſtumble upon the following involved and unintelligible ſentences.

'This lady, the wife of Colonel Madan, tranſmitted her own poetical and devout ſpirit to her daughter Frances-Maria, who was married to her couſin Major Cowper, and whoſe amiable character will unfold itſelf in the courſe of this work, as the friend and correſpondent of her more eminent relation, the ſecond grandchild of the judge, deſtined to honour the name of Cowper, by diſplaying, with peculiar purity and fervour, the double enthuſiaſm of poetry and devotion. The father of the great author to whom I allude, was John Cowper, the judge's ſecond ſon, who took his degrees in divinity, was chaplain to King George the Second, and reſided at his rectory of Great Berkhamſtead, in Hertfordſhire, the ſcene of the poet's infancy.' Vol. i. p. 2.

The book, however, is written, upon the whole, with a very amiable gentleneſs of temper, and with the ſtrongeſt appearance of a ſincere veneration and affection for the departed friend to whoſe memory it is conſecrated. It will be very hard, too, if it do not become popular, as Mr Hayley ſeems to have exerted himſelf to conciliate readers of every deſcription, not only by the moſt laviſh and indiſcriminate praiſe of every individual he has occaſion to mention, but by a general ſpirit of approbation and indulgence towards every practice and opinion which he has found it neceſſary to ſpeak of. Among the other ſymptoms of *book-making* which this publication contains, we can ſcarcely forbear reckoning the expreſſions of this obſequious and unoffending philanthrophy.

Our readers, we preſume, will be ſatisfied with the account of the poet's genealogy contained in the ſentences we have already extracted; the remainder of his hiſtory ſhall be given as much

much as poſſible in his own words. The conſtitutional ſhyneſs and diffidence of Cowper appeared in his earlieſt childhood, and was not ſubdued in any degree by the buſtle and contention of a Weſtminſter education, where, though he acquired a conſiderable portion of claſſical learning, he has himſelf declared, that 'he was never able to raiſe his eye above the ſhoe-buckles 'of the elder boys, who tyrannized over him.' From this ſeminary, he ſeems to have paſſed, without any academical preparation, into the Society of the Inner Temple, where he continued to reſide to the age of thirty-three. Neither his biographer nor his letters give any ſatisfactory account of the way in which this large, and moſt important part of his life was ſpent. Although Lord Thurlow was one of his moſt intimate aſſociates, it is certain that he never made any proficiency in the ſtudy of the law; and the few ſlight pieces of compoſition, in which he appears to have been engaged in this interval, are but a ſcanty produce for fifteen years of literary leiſure. That a part of theſe years was very idly ſpent, indeed, appears from his own account of them. In a letter to his couſin, in 1786, he ſays,

'I did actually live three years with Mr Chapman, a ſolicitor, that is to ſay, I ſlept three years in his houſe; but I lived, that is to ſay, I ſpent my days in Southampton-Row, as you very well remember. There was I, and the future Lord Chancellor, conſtantly employed, from morning to night, in giggling, and making giggle, inſtead of ſtudying the law.' Vol. i. p. 178.

And, in a more ſerious letter to Mr Roſe, he makes the following juſt obſervations.

'The colour of our whole life is generally ſuch as the three or four firſt years, in which we are our own maſters, make it. Then it is that we may be ſaid to ſhape our own deſtiny, and to treaſure up for ourſelves a ſeries of future ſucceſſes or diſappointments. Had I employed my time as wiſely as you, in a ſituation very ſimilar to yours, I had never been a poet perhaps, but I might by this time have acquired a character of more importance in ſociety; and a ſituation in which my friends would have been better pleaſed to ſee me. But three years miſ-ſpent in an attorney's office, were almoſt of courſe followed by ſeveral more equally miſ-ſpent in the Temple; and the conſequence has been, as the Italian epitaph ſays, "*Sto qui.*"—The only uſe I can make of myſelf now, at leaſt the beſt, is to ſerve *in terrorem* to others, when occaſion may happen to offer, that they may eſcape (ſo far as my admonitions can have any weight with them) my folly and my fate.' Vol. i. p. 333-4.

Neither the idleneſs of this period, however, nor the gaiety in which it appears to have been waſted, had corrected that radical

dical defect in his conſtitution, by which he was diſabled from making any public diſplay of his acquiſitions; and it was the exceſs of this diffidence, if we rightly underſtand his biographer, that was the immediate cauſe of the unfortunate derangement that overclouded the remainder of his life. In his thirty-firſt year, his friends procured for him the office of reading-clerk to the Houſe of Lords; but the idea of reading in public, was the ſource of ſuch torture and apprehenſion to him, that he very ſoon reſigned that place, and had intereſt enough to exchange it for that of clerk of the journals, which was ſuppoſed to require no attendance whatſoever. An unlucky diſpute in Parliament, however, made it neceſſary for him to appear in his place; and the conſequences of this requiſition are ſtated by Mr Hayley, in the following words:

'His terrors on this occaſion aroſe to ſuch an aſtoniſhing height, that they utterly overwhelmed his reaſon:—for although he had endeavoured to prepare himſelf for his public duty, by attending cloſely at the office, for ſeveral months, to examine the Parliamentary journals, his application was rendered uſeleſs by that exceſs of diffidence, which made him conceive, that whatever knowledge he might previouſly acquire, it would all forſake him at the bar of the Houſe. This diſtreſſing apprehenſion increaſed to ſuch a degree, as the time for his appearance approached, that when the day ſo anxiouſly dreaded arrived, he was unable to make the experiment. The very friends, who called on him for the purpoſe of attending him to the Houſe of Lords, acquieſced in the cruel neceſſity of his relinquiſhing the proſpect of a ſtation ſo ſeverely formidable to a frame of ſuch ſingular ſenſibility.

'The conflict between the wiſhes of juſt affectionate ambition, and the terrors of diffidence, ſo entirely overwhelmed his health and faculties, that after two learned and benevolent divines (Mr John Cowper his brother, and the celebrated Mr Martin Madan, his firſt couſin) had vainly endeavoured to eſtabliſh a laſting tranquillity in his mind, by friendly and religious converſation, it was found neceſſary to remove him to St Alban's, where he reſided a conſiderable time, under the care of that eminent phyſician Dr Cotton, a ſcholar and a poet, who added to many accompliſhments a peculiar ſweetneſs of manners, in very advanced life, when I had the pleaſure of a perſonal acquaintance with him.' Vol. i. p. 25-6.

In this melancholy ſtate he continued for upwards of a year, when his mind began ſlowly to emerge from the depreſſion under which it had laboured, and to ſeek for conſolation in the ſtudy of the Scriptures, and other religious occupations. In the city of Huntingdon, to which he had been removed in his illneſs, he now formed an acquaintance with the family of the Reverend Mr Unwin, with whoſe widow the greater part of his

after life was paſſed. The ſeries of letters, which Mr Hayley has introduced in this place, are altogether of a devotional caſt, and bear evident ſymptoms of continuing depreſſion and anxiety. He talks a great deal of his *converſion*, of the levity and worldlineſs of his former life, and of the *grace* which had at laſt been vouchſafed to him; and ſeems ſo entirely and conſtantly abſorbed in thoſe awful meditations, as to conſider not only the occupations of his earlier days, but all temporal buſineſs or amuſement, as utterly unworthy of his attention. We do not think it neceſſary to make any extract from this part of the publication; and perhaps Mr Hayley might have ſpared ſome of the Methodiſtical raptures and diſſertations that are contained in theſe letters, without any injury either to the memory of his friend, or the reputation of his own performance. The life of Cowper at this time was more like that of a penitentiary friar, than of a Proteſtant layman. He deſcribes it himſelf in the following manner:

'We breakfaſt commonly between eight and nine; till eleven, we read either the Scripture, or the ſermons of ſome faithful preacher of theſe holy myſteries: at eleven, we attend divine ſervice, which is performed here twice every day; and from twelve to three we ſeparate, and amuſe ourſelves as we pleaſe. During that interval, I either read in my own apartment, or walk, or ride, or work in the garden. We ſeldom ſit an hour after dinner, but, if the weather permits, adjourn to the garden, where, with Mrs Unwin and her ſon, I have generally the pleaſure of religious converſation till tea-time. If it rains, or is too windy for walking, we either converſe within doors, or ſing ſome hymns of Martin's collection, and, by the help of Mrs Unwin's harpſichord, make up a tolerable concert, in which our hearts, I hope, are the beſt and moſt muſical performers. After tea, we ſally forth to walk in good earneſt. Mrs Unwin is a good walker, and we have generally travelled about four miles before we ſee home again. When the days are ſhort, we make this excurſion in the former part of the day, between church-time and dinner. At night, we read and converſe as before till ſupper, and commonly finiſh the evening either with hymns or a ſermon; and laſt of all, the family are called to prayers.' Vol. i. p. 55.

After the death of Mr Unwin, he retired with his widow to the village of Olney in 1768, where he continued in the ſame pious and ſequeſtered habits of life to which he had devoted himſelf ever ſince his recovery, till the year 1772, when a ſecond, and more protracted viſitation of the ſame tremendous malady obſcured his faculties for a melancholy period of eight years, during which he was attended by Mrs Unwin with a conſtancy and tenderneſs of affection, which it was the great buſineſs of his

his life to repay. In 1780, he began gradually to recover; and, in a letter of that year to his couſin, deſcribes himſelf in this manner:

'You ſee me ſixteen years older, at the leaſt, than when I ſaw you laſt; but the effects of time ſeem to have taken place rather on the outſide of my head, than within it. What was brown is become grey, but what was fooliſh remains fooliſh ſtill. Green fruit muſt rot before it ripens, if the ſeaſon is ſuch as to afford it nothing but cold winds and dark clouds, that interrupt every ray of ſunſhine. My days ſteal away ſilently, and march on (as poor mad King Lear would have made his ſoldiers march) as if they were ſhod with felt; not ſo ſilently but that I hear them; yet were it not that I am always liſtening to their flight, having no infirmity that I had not when I was much younger, I ſhould deceive myſelf with an imagination that I am ſtill young.' Vol. i. p. 96-7.

One of the firſt applications of his returning powers of attention, was to the taming and education of the three young hares, which he has ſince celebrated in his poetry; and very ſoon after, the ſolicitations of his affectionate companion firſt induced him to prepare ſome moral pieces for publication, in the hope of giving a ſalutary employment to his mind. At the age of fifty, therefore, and at a diſtance from all the excitements that emulation and ambition uſually hold out to a poet, Cowper began to write for the public, with the view of diverting his own melancholy, and doing ſervice to the cauſe of morality. Whatever effect his publications had on the world, the compoſition of them certainly had a moſt beneficial one on himſelf. In a letter to his couſin, he ſays,

'Dejection of ſpirits, which I ſuppoſe may have prevented many a man from becoming an author, made me one. I find conſtant employment neceſſary, and therefore take care to be conſtantly employed. Manual occupations do not engage the mind ſufficiently, as I know by experience, having tried many. But compoſition, eſpecially of verſe, abſorbs it wholly. I write, therefore, generally three hours in a morning, and in an evening I tranſcribe. I read alſo, but leſs than I write.' Vol. i. p. 147.

In a preceding letter, he ſpeaks of his motives for publication in this manner;

'It is a bold undertaking at this time of day, when ſo many writers of the greateſt abilities have gone before, who ſeem to have anticipated every valuable ſubject, as well as all the graces of poetical embelliſhment, to ſtep forth into the world in the character of a bard, eſpecially when it is conſidered, that luxury, idleneſs, and vice, have debauched the public taſte, and that nothing hardly is welcome but

childiſh fiction, or what has at leaſt a tendency to excite a laugh. I thought, however, that I had ſtumbled upon ſome ſubjects that had never before been poetically treated, and upon ſome others, to which I imagined it would not be difficult to give an air of novelty by the manner of treating them. My ſole drift is to be uſeful; a point which, however, I knew I ſhould in vain aim at, unleſs I could be likewiſe entertaining. I have therefore fixed theſe two ſtrings upon my bow, and, by the help of both, have done my beſt to ſend my arrow to the mark. My readers will hardly have begun to laugh, before they will be called upon to correct that levity, and peruſe me with a more ſerious air.' Vol. i. p. 107-8.

There is another paſſage in which he talks of his performance in ſo light and eaſy a manner, and aſſumes ſo much of the pleaſing, though antiquated language of Pope and Addiſon, that we cannot avoid extracting it.

'My labours are principally the production of the laſt winter; all, indeed, except a few of the minor pieces. When I can find no other occupation, I think; and when I think, I am very apt to do it in rhyme. Hence it comes to paſs, that the ſeaſon of the year which generally pinches off the flowers of poetry, unfolds mine, ſuch as they are, and crowns me with a winter-garland. In this reſpect, therefore, I and my cotemporary bards are by no means upon a par. They write when the delightful influences of fine weather, fine proſpects, and a briſk motion of the animal ſpirits, make poetry almoſt the language of nature; and I, when icicles depend from all the leaves of the Parnaſſian laurel, and when a reaſonable man would as little expect to ſucceed in verſe, as to hear a blackbird whiſtle. This muſt be my apology to you for whatever want of fire and animation you may obſerve in what you will ſhortly have the peruſal of. As to the public, if they like me not, there is no remedy.' Vol. i. p. 105-6.

The ſucceſs of his firſt volume, which appeared in the end of the year 1781, was by no means ſuch as to encourage him to proceed to a ſecond; and, indeed, it ſeems now to be admitted by every body but Mr Hayley, that it was not well calculated for becoming popular. Too ſerious for the general reader, it had too much ſatire, wit, and criticiſm, to be a favourite with the devout and enthuſiaſtic: the principal poems were alſo too long and deſultory, and the verſification throughout was more harſh and negligent, than the public had yet been accuſtomed to. The book therefore was very little read, till the increaſing fame of the author brought all his works into notice; and then, indeed, it was diſcovered, that it contained many traits of ſtrong and original genius, and a richneſs of idiomatical phraſeology, that has been but ſeldom equalled in our language.

In

In the end of this year, Cowper formed an accidental acquaintance with the widow of Sir Thomas Auſten, which, in ſpite of his inſuperable ſhyneſs, ripened gradually into a mutual and cordial friendſhip, and was the immediate ſource of ſome of his happieſt hours, and moſt celebrated productions. The facetious hiſtory of 'John Gilpin' aroſe from a ſuggeſtion of that lady, in circumſtances, and in a way that marks the perilous and moody ſtate of Cowper's underſtanding more ſtrikingly than any general deſcription.

'It happened one afternoon, in thoſe years, when his accompliſhed friend Lady Auſten made a part of his little evening circle, that ſhe obſerved him ſinking into increaſing dejection; it was her cuſtom, on theſe occaſions, to try all the reſources of her ſprightly powers for his immediate relief. She told him the ſtory of John Gilpin (which had been treaſured in her memory from her childhood) to diſſipate the gloom of the paſſing hour. Its effect on the fancy of Cowper had the air of enchantment. He informed her the next morning, that convulſions of laughter, brought on by his recollection of her ſtory, had kept him waking during the greateſt part of the night, and that he had turned it into a ballad.—So aroſe the pleaſant poem of John Gilpin.' Vol. i. p. 128, 129.

In the courſe of the year 1783, however, Lady Auſten was fortunate enough to direct the poet to a work of much greater importance, and to engage him, from a very accidental circumſtance, in the compoſition of 'The Taſk,' by far the beſt and the moſt popular of all his performances. The anecdote, which is ſuch as the introduction of that poem has probably ſuggeſted to moſt readers, is given in this manner by Mr Hayley.

'This lady happened, as an admirer of Milton, to be partial to blank verſe, and often ſolicited her poetical friend to try his powers in that ſpecies of compoſition. After repeated ſolicitation, he promiſed her, if ſhe would furniſh the ſubject, to comply with her requeſt. "O!" ſhe replied, "you can never be in want of a ſubject:—you can write upon any:—write upon this ſofa!" The poet obeyed her command; and, from the lively repartee of familiar converſation, aroſe a poem of many thouſand verſes, unexampled, perhaps, both in its origin and its excellence.' Vol. i. p. 135.

This extraordinary production was finiſhed in leſs than a year, and became extremely popular from the very firſt month of its publication. The charm of reputation, however, could not draw Cowper from his ſecluſion; and his ſolitude became ſtill more dreary about this period, by the ceſſation of his intercourſe with Lady Auſten, with whom certain little jealouſies on the part of Mrs Unwin (which the biographer might as well have paſſed

over in ſilence) obliged him to renounce any farther connection. Beſides the Taſk, and John Gilpin, he appears to have compoſed ſeveral ſmaller poems for this lady, which are publiſhed, for the firſt time, in the work now before us. We were particularly ſtruck with a ballad on the unfortunate loſs of the Royal George, of which the following ſtanzas may ſerve as a ſpecimen.

'Toll for the brave!
Brave Kempenfelt is gone;
His laſt ſea-fight is fought;
His work of glory done.

'It was not in the battle;
No tempeſt gave the ſhock;
She ſprang no fatal lake;
She ran upon no rock.

'His ſword was in its ſheath;
His fingers held the pen,
When Kempenfelt went down,
With twice four hundred men.' Vol. i. p. 127.

The ſame year that ſaw the concluſion of 'The Taſk,' found Cowper engaged in the tranſlation of Homer. This laborious undertaking is ſaid, by Mr Hayley, to have been firſt ſuggeſted to him by Lady Auſten alſo; though there is nothing in the correſpondence he has publiſhed, that ſeems to countenance that idea. The work was pretty far advanced before he appears to have confided the ſecret of it to any one. In a letter to Mr Hill, he explains his deſign in this manner.

'Knowing it to have been univerſally the opinion of the literati, ever ſince they have allowed themſelves to conſider the matter coolly, that a tranſlation, properly ſo called, of Homer, is, notwithſtanding what Pope has done, a deſideratum in the Engliſh language, it ſtruck me, that an attempt to ſupply the deficiency would be an honourable one; and having made myſelf, in former years, ſomewhat critically a maſter of the original, I was, by this double tranſlation, induced to make the attempt myſelf. I am now tranſlating into blank verſe, the laſt book of the Iliad, and mean to publiſh by ſubſcription.' Vol. i. p. 154.

In another letter to his couſin, he explains his idea of the taſk in which he was now engaged, in this manner.

'I wiſh that all Engliſh readers had your unſophiſticated, or rather unadulterated taſte, and could reliſh ſimplicity like you. But I am well aware, that in this reſpect I am under a diſadvantage, and that many, eſpecially many ladies, miſſing many turns and prettineſſes of expreſſion that they have admired in Pope, will account my tranſlation in thoſe particulars

particulars defective. But I comfort myself with the thought, that in reality it is no defect; on the contrary, that the want of all such embellishments as do not belong to the original, will be one of its principal merits with persons indeed capable of relishing Homer. He is the best poet that ever lived, for many reasons, but for none more than for that majestic plainness that distinguishes him from all others. As an accomplished person moves gracefully without thinking of it, in like manner the dignity of Homer seems to have cost him no labour. It was natural to him to say great things, and to say them well; and little ornaments were beneath his notice.'

Some observations that were made by Dr Maty and others, upon a specimen of his translation, about this time, seem to have drawn from him the following curious and unaffected delineation of his own thoughts and feelings.

'The frown of a critic freezes my poetical powers, and discourages me to a degree that makes me ashamed of my own weakness. Yet I presently recover my confidence again. The half of what you so kindly say in your last, would at any time restore my spirits; and, being said by you, is infallible. I am ashamed to confess, that, having commenced an author, I am most abundantly desirous to succeed as such. *I have (what perhaps you little suspect me of) in my nature, an infinite share of ambition.* But with it, I have at the same time, as you well know, an equal share of diffidence. To this combination of opposite qualities it has been owing, that, till lately, I stole through life without undertaking any thing, yet always wishing to distinguish myself. At last I ventured, ventured too in the only path that, at so late a period, was yet open to me; and I am determined, if God hath not determined otherwise, to work my way through the obscurity that hath been so long my portion, into notice. Every thing, therefore, that seems to threaten this, my favourite purpose, with disappointment, affects me nearly. I suppose that all ambitious minds are in the same predicament. He who seeks distinction must be sensible of disapprobation, exactly in the same proportion as he desires applause.' Vol. i. p. 190.

As he advanced in his work, however, he seems to have become better pleased with the execution of it; and, in the year 1790, addresses to his cousin the following candid and interesting observations:

'To say the truth, I have now no fears about the success of my translation, though in time past I have had many. I knew there was a style somewhere, could I but find it, in which Homer ought to be rendered, and which alone would suit him. Long time I blundered about it, ere I could attain to any decided judgement on the matter. At first I was betrayed, by a desire of accommodating my language to the simplicity of his, into much of the quaintness that belonged to our writers of the fifteenth century. In the course of

of many reviſals I have delivered myſelf from this evil, I believe, entirely; but I have done it ſlowly, and as a man ſeparates himſelf from his miſtreſs, when he is going to marry. I had ſo ſtrong a predilection in favour of this ſtyle, at firſt, that I was crazed to find that others were not as much enamoured with it as myſelf. At every paſſage of that ſort which I obliterated, I groaned bitterly, and ſaid to myſelf, I am ſpoiling my work to pleaſe thoſe who have no taſte for the ſimple graces of antiquity. But in meaſure, as I adopted a more modern phraſeology, I became a convert to their opinion; and in the laſt reviſal, which I am now making, am not ſenſible of having ſpared a ſingle expreſſion of the obſolete kind. I ſee my work ſo much improved by this alteration, that I am filled with wonder at my own backwardneſs to aſſent to the neceſſity of it; and the more, when I conſider, that Milton, with whoſe manner I account myſelf intimately acquainted, is never quaint, never twangs through the noſe, but is every where grand and elegant, without reſorting to muſty antiquity for his beauties. On the contrary, he took a long ſtride forward, left the language of his own day far behind him, and anticipated the expreſſions of a century yet to come.' Vol. i. p. 360, 361.

The tranſlation was finiſhed in the year 1791, and publiſhed by ſubſcription immediately after. Several applications were made to the Univerſity of Oxford for the honour of their ſubſcription, but without ſucceſs. Their anſwer was, 'that they ſubſcribed to nothing.'—'It ſeems not a little extraordinary,' ſays the offended poet on this occaſion, 'that perſons ſo nobly patronized themſelves on the ſcore of literature, ſhould reſolve to give no encouragement to it in return.' We think ſo too.

The period that elapſed from the publication of his firſt volume in 1781, to that of his Homer in 1791, ſeems to have been by far the happieſt and moſt brilliant part of Cowper's exiſtence. It was not only animated by the vigorous and ſucceſsful exertions of genius in which he was engaged, but enlivened, in a very pleaſing manner, by the correſpondence and ſociety of his couſin Lady Heſketh, who renewed, about this time, an intimacy that ſeems to have endeared the earlier days of their childhood In his letters to this lady, we have found the moſt intereſting traits of his ſimple and affectionate character, combined with an innocent playfulneſs and vivacity, that becomes the more ſtriking, when it is contraſted with the gloom and horror to which it ſucceeded, and by which it was unfortunately replaced. Our limits will not allow us to make many extracts from this part of the publication. We inſert the following letter, in anſwer to one from Lady Heſketh, promiſing to pay him a viſit during the ſummer.

'I

'I ſhall ſee you again—I ſhall hear your voice, we ſhall take walks together; I will ſhew you my proſpects, the hovel, the alcove, the Ouſe, and its banks, every thing that I have deſcribed. I anticipate the pleaſure of thoſe days not very far diſtant, and feel a part of it at this moment. Talk not of an inn; mention it not for your life. We have never had ſo many viſitors, but we could eaſily accommodate them all, though we have received Unwin, and his wife, and his ſiſter, and his ſon, all at once. My dear, I will not let you come till the end of May, or beginning of June, becauſe before that time my greenhouſe will not be ready to receive us; and it is the only pleaſant room belonging to us. When the plants go out, we go in. I line it with mats, and ſpread the floor with mats, and there you ſhall ſit with a bed of mignonette at your ſide, and a hedge of honeyſuckles, roſes, and jaſmine; and I will make you a bouquet of myrtle every day. Sooner than the time I mention, the country will not be in complete beauty. And I will tell you what you ſhall find at your firſt entrance. *Imprimis*, as ſoon as you have entered the veſtibule, if you caſt a look on either ſide of you, you ſhall ſee on the right hand a box of my making. It is the box in which have been lodged all my hares, and in which lodges puſs at preſent. But he, poor fellow, is worn out with age, and promiſes to die before you can ſee him. On the right hand ſtands a cupboard, the work of the ſame author. It was once a dove-cage, but I transformed it. Oppoſite to you ſtands a table, which I alſo made; but a mercileſs ſervant having ſcrubbed it until it became paralytic, it ſerves no purpoſe now but of ornament; and all my clean ſhoes ſtand under it. On the left hand, at the farther end of this ſuperb veſtibule, you will find the door of the parlour into which I ſhall conduct you, and where I will introduce you to Mrs Unwin (unleſs we ſhould meet her before), and where we will be as happy as the day is long. Order yourſelf, my couſin, to the Swan at Newport, and there you ſhall find me ready to conduct you to Olney.

'My dear, I have told Homer what you ſay about caſks and urns; and have aſked him whether he is ſure that it is a caſk in which Jupiter keeps his wine. He ſwears that it is a caſk, and that it will never be any thing better than a caſk to eternity. So if the god is content with it, we muſt even wonder at his taſte, and be ſo too.' Vol. i. p. 161.—163.

The following is very much in the ſame ſtyle—

'This houſe accordingly, ſince it has been occupied by us, and our *Meubles*, is as much ſuperior to what it was when you ſaw it, as you can imagine. The parlour is even elegant. When I ſay that the parlour is elegant, I do not mean to inſinuate that the ſtudy is not ſo. It is neat, warm, and ſilent, and a much better ſtudy than I deſerve, if I do not produce in it an incomparable tranſlation of Homer. I think every day of thoſe lines of Milton, and congratulate myſelf on having

having obtained, before I am quite ſuperannuated, what he ſeems not to have hoped for ſooner.

" And may at length my weary age,
Find out the peaceful hermitage!"

For if it is not a hermitage, at leaſt it is a much better thing; and you muſt always underſtand, my dear, that when poets talk of cottages, hermitages, and ſuch like things, they mean a houſe with ſix ſaſhes in front, two comfortable parlours, a ſmart ſtair-caſe, and three bed-chambers of convenient dimenſions; in ſhort, exactly ſuch a houſe as this.' Vol. i. p. 227, 228.

In another letter, in a graver humour, he ſays—

'I am almoſt the only perſon at Weſton, known to you, who have enjoyed tolerable health this winter. In your next letter give us ſome account of your own ſtate of health, for I have had my anxieties about you. The winter has been mild; but our winters are in general ſuch, that when a friend leaves us in the beginning of that ſeaſon, I always feel in my heart a *perhaps*, importing that we have poſſibly met for the laſt time, and that the Robins way whiſtle on the grave of one of us before the return of ſummer.

'Many thanks for the cuckow, which arrived perfectly ſafe, and goes well, to the amuſement and amazement of all who hear it. Hannah lies awake to hear it; and I am not ſure that we have not others in the houſe that admire his muſic as much as ſhe.' Vol. i. p. 331.

In the following paſſage, we have all the calmneſs of a ſequeſtered and good-natured man—

'The French, who, like all lively folks, are extreme in every thing, are ſuch in their zeal for freedom; and, if it were poſſible to make ſo noble a cauſe ridiculous, their manner of promoting it could not fail to do ſo. Princes and peers reduced to plain gentlemanſhip, and gentles reduced to a level with their own lacques, are exceſſes of which they will repent hereafter. Difference of rank and ſubordination, are, I believe, of God's appointment, and conſequently eſſential to the well-being of ſociety: but what we mean by fanaticiſm in religion, is exactly that which animates their politics; and, unleſs time ſhould ſober them, they will, after all, be an unhappy people. Perhaps it deſerves not much to be wondered at, that at their firſt eſcape from tyrannic ſhackles, they ſhould act extravagantly, and treat their kings, as they have ſometimes treated their idols. To theſe, however, they are reconciled in due time again; but their reſpect for monarchy is at an end. They want nothing now but a little Engliſh ſobriety, and that they want extremely. I heartily wiſh them ſome wit in their anger; for it were great pity that ſo many millions ſhould be miſerable for want of it.' Vol. i. p. 379.

Homer

Homer was ſcarcely finiſhed, when a propoſal was made to the indefatigable tranſlator, to engage in a magnificent edition of Milton, for which he was to furniſh a verſion of his Latin and Italian poetry, and a critical commentary upon his whole works. Mr Hayley had, at this time, undertaken to write a life of Milton; and ſome groundleſs reports, as to an intended rivalry between him and Cowper, led to a friendly explanation, and to a very cordial and affectionate intimacy. In the year 1792, Mr Hayley paid a viſit to his newly acquired friend at Weſton; and happened to be providentially preſent with him, when the agony which he experienced from the ſight of a paralytic attack upon Mrs Unwin, had very nearly affected his underſtanding. The anxious attention of his friend, and the gradual recovery of the unfortunate patient, prevented any very calamitous effect from this unhappy occurrence; but his ſpirits appear never to have recovered the ſhock; and the ſolicitude and apprehenſion that he conſtantly felt for his long tried and affectionate companion, ſuſpended his literary exertions, aggravated the depreſſion to which he had always been occaſionally liable, and rendered the remainder of his life a very precarious ſtruggle againſt that overwhelming malady by which it was at laſt obſcured. In the end of ſummer, he returned Mr Hayley's viſit at Eartham; but came back again to Weſton, with ſpirits as much depreſſed, and forebodings as gloomy as ever. His conſtant and tender attention to Mrs Unwin, was one cauſe of his neglect of every thing elſe. 'I cannot ſit,' he ſays in one of his letters, 'with my pen in my hand, and my books before me, while ſhe is, in effect, in ſolitude, ſilent, and looking in the fire.' A ſtill more powerful cauſe was, the conſtant and oppreſſive dejection of ſpirits that now began again to overwhelm him. 'It is in vain,' he ſays, 'that I have made ſeveral attempts to write ſince I came from Suſſex. Unleſs more comfortable days arrive, than I have now the confidence to look for, there is an end of all writing with me. I have no ſpirits. When Roſe came, I was obliged to prepare for his coming, by a nightly doſe of laudanum.'

In the courſe of the year 1793, he ſeems to have done little but reviſe his tranſlation of Homer, of which he meditated an improved edition. Mr Hayley came to ſee him a ſecond time at Weſton, in the month of November; and gives this affecting and prophetic account of his ſituation—

'He poſſeſſed completely at this period all the admirable faculties of his mind, and all the native tenderneſs of his heart; but there was ſomething indeſcribable in his appearance, which led me to apprehend, that without ſome ſignal event in his favour, to re-animate his ſpirits,

'Tis not with either of theſe views,
That I preſume to addreſs the Muſe;
But to divert a fierce banditti,
(Sworn foes to every thing that's witty!),
That, with a black, infernal train,
Make cruel inroads in my brain,
And daily threaten to drive thence
My little garriſon of ſenſe:
The fierce banditti which I mean,
Are gloomy thoughts, led on by ſpleen.
Then there's another reaſon yet,
Which is, that I may fairly quit
The debt which juſtly became due
The moment when I heard from you:
And you might grumble, crony mine,
If paid in any other coin.' Vol. i. p. 15.

It is remarkable, however, that his proſe was at this time uncommonly eaſy and elegant. Mr Hayley has preſerved three numbers of the Connoiſſeur, which were written by him in 1756, and which exhibit a great deal of that point and politeneſs, which has been aimed at by all our periodical eſſayiſts ſince the days of Addiſon.

The perſonal character of Cowper is eaſily eſtimated, from the writings he has left, and the anecdotes contained in this publication. He ſeems to have been chiefly remarkable for a certain feminine gentleneſs, and delicacy of character, that ſhrunk back from all that was boiſterous, preſumptuous, or rude. His ſecluded life, and awful impreſſions of religion, concurred in fixing upon his manners ſomething of a ſaintly purity and decorum, and in cheriſhing that penſive and contemplative turn of mind by which he was ſo much diſtinguiſhed. His temper appears to have been yielding and benevolent; and though ſufficiently ſteady and confident in the opinions he had adopted, he was very little inclined, in general, to force them upon the conviction of others. The warmth of his religious zeal made an occaſional exception: but the habitual temper of his mind was toleration and indulgence; and it would be difficult, perhaps, to name a ſatirical and popular author ſo entirely free from jealouſy and faſtidiouſneſs, or ſo much diſpoſed to ſhow the moſt liberal and impartial favour to the merit of others in literature, in politics, and in the virtues and accompliſhments of ſocial life. No angry or uneaſy paſſions, indeed, ſeem at any time to have found a place in his boſom; and, being incapable of malevolence himſelf, he probably paſſed through life, without having once excited that feeling in the breaſt of another.

As the whole of Cowper's works are now before the public, and as death has finally cloſed the account of his defects and excellencies,

cellencies, the public voice may ſoon be expected to proclaim the balance, and to pronounce that impartial and irrevocable ſentence which is to aſſign him his juſt rank and ſtation in the poetical commonwealth, and to aſcertain the value and extent of his future reputation. As the ſucceſs of his works has, in a great meaſure, anticipated this ſentence, it is the leſs preſumptuous in us to offer our opinion of them.

The great merit of this writer appears to us to conſiſt in the boldneſs and originality of his compoſition, and in the fortunate audacity with which he has carried the dominion of poetry into regions that had been conſidered as inacceſſible to her ambition. The gradual refinement of taſte had, for nearly a century, been weakening the figure of original genius. Our poets had become timid and faſtidious, and circumſcribed themſelves both in the choice and the management of their ſubjects, by the obſervance of a limited number of models, who were thought to have exhauſted all the legitimate reſources of the art. Cowper was one of the firſt who croſſed this enchanted circle, who regained the natural liberty of invention, and walked abroad in the open field of obſervation as freely as thoſe by whom it was originally trodden; he paſſed from the imitation of poets, to the imitation of nature, and ventured boldly upon the repreſentation of objects that had not been ſanctified by the deſcription of any of his predeceſſors. In the ordinary occupations and duties of domeſtic life, and the conſequences of modern manners, in the common ſcenery of a ruſtic ſituation, and the obvious contemplation of our public inſtitutions, he has found a multitude of ſubjects for ridicule and reflection, for pathetic and picturеſque deſcription, for moral declamation, and devotional rapture, that would have been looked upon with diſdain, or with deſpair, by moſt of our poetical adventurers. He took as wide a range in language, too, as in matter; and, ſhaking off the tawdry incumbrance of that poetical diction which had nearly reduced the art to the ſkilful collocation of a ſet of appropriated phraſes, he made no ſcruple to ſet down in verſe every expreſſion that would have been admitted in proſe, and to take advantage of all the varieties with which our language could ſupply him.

But while, by the uſe of this double licence, he extended the ſphere of poetical compoſition, and communicated a ſingular character of freedom, force, and originality, to his own performances, it muſt not be diſſembled, that the preſumption which belongs to moſt innovators, has betrayed him into many defects. In diſdaining to follow the footſteps of others, he has frequently miſtaken the way, and has been exaſperated, by their blunders, to ruſh into an oppoſite extreme. In his contempt for their

ſcrupulous ſelection of topics, he has introduced ſome that are unqueſtionably low and unintereſting; and in his zeal to ſtrip off the tinſel and embroidery of their language, he has torn it (like Jack's coat in the Tale of a Tub) into terrible rents and beggarly tatters. He is a great maſter of Engliſh, and evidently values himſelf upon his ſkill and facility in the application of its rich and diverſified idioms: but he has indulged himſelf in this exerciſe a little too fondly, and has degraded ſome grave and animated paſſages by the unlucky introduction of expreſſions unqueſtionably too colloquial and familiar. His impatience of controul, and his deſire to have a great ſcope and variety in his compoſitions, have led him not only to diſregard all order and method ſo entirely in their conſtruction, as to have made each of his larger poems profeſſedly a complete miſcellany, but alſo to introduce into them a number of ſubjects that prove not to be very ſuſceptible of poetical diſcuſſion. There are ſpecimens of argument, and dialogue, and declamation, in his works, that partake very little of the poetical character, and make rather an awkward appearance in a metrical production, though they might have had a lively and brilliant effect in an eſſay or a ſermon. The ſtructure of his ſentences, in like manner, has frequently much more of the copiouſneſs and looſeneſs of oratory, than the brilliant compactneſs of poetry; and he heaps up phraſes and circumſtances upon each other, with a profuſion that is frequently dazzling, but which reminds us as often of the exuberance of a practiſed ſpeaker, as of the holy inſpiration of a poet.

Mr Hayley has pronounced a warm eulogium on the ſatirical talents of his friend: but it does not appear to us, either that this was the ſtyle in which he was qualified to excel, or that he has made a judicious ſelection of ſubjects upon which to exerciſe it. There is ſomething too keen and vehement in his invective, and an exceſs of auſterity in his doctrine, that is not atoned for by the truth or the beauty of his deſcriptions. Foppery and affectation are not ſuch hateful and gigantic vices, as to deſerve all the anathemas that are beſtowed upon them; nor can we believe that ſoldierſhip, or Sunday muſic, have produced all the terrible effects which he aſcribes to them. There is ſomething very undignified, too, to ſay no worſe of them, in the protracted parodies and mock-heroic paſſages with which he ſeeks to enliven ſome of his graveſt productions. The *Sofa* (for inſtance, in the *Taſk*) is but a feeble imitation of 'The Splendid Shilling;' the *Monitor* is a copy of ſomething ſtill lower; and the tedious directions for *raiſing cucumbers*, which begin with calling a hotbed 'a *ſtercorarious* heap,' ſeem to have been intended as a counterpart to the tragedy of Tom Thumb. All his ſerious pieces

pieces contain ſome fine devotional paſſages: but they are not without a taint of that enthuſiaſtic intolerace which religious zeal ſeems ſo often to produce. In a few places, there are ſymptoms of ſuperſtition, alſo, that do not produce even a good poetical effect. The ſtory of 'Young Miſagathus,' whoſe horſe pitched him over its head into the ſea, as a puniſhment for his blaſphemy, is fit only for the Miſſionary, or the Wonderful Magazine.

It is impoſſible to ſay any thing of the defects of Cowper's writings, without taking notice of the occaſional harſhneſs and inelegance of his verſification. From his correſpondence, however, it appears that this was not with him the effect of negligence merely, but that he really imagined that a rough and incorrect line now and then had a very agreeble effect in a compoſition of any length. This prejudice, we believe, is as old as Cowley among Engliſh writers; but we do not know that it has of late received the ſanction of any one poet of eminence. In truth, it does not appear to us to be at all capable of defence. The very eſſence of verſification is uniformity; and while any thing like verſification is preſerved, it is evident that uniformity continues to be aimed at. What pleaſure is to be derived from an occaſional failure in this aim, we cannot exactly underſtand. It muſt afford the ſame gratification, we ſhould imagine, to have one of the buttons on a coat a little larger than the reſt, or one or two of the pillars in a collonade a little out of the perpendicular. If variety is wanted, let it be variety of excellence, and not a relief of imperfection: Let the writer alter the meaſure of his piece, if he thinks its uniformity diſagreeable; or let him interchange it every now and then, if he thinks proper, with paſſages of plain and profeſſed proſe; but do not let him torture an intractable ſcrap of proſe into the appearance of verſe, nor ſlip in an illegitimate line or two among the genuine currency of his poem. It can afford no pleaſure, we ſhould imagine, to a reviewing general to ſee a miſerable rickety and diſtorted creature ſtaggering along in uniform amidſt the tall and ſtately battalions that march paſt in ſplendid regularity before him.

There is another view of this matter that has a little more reaſon in it. A ſmooth and harmonious verſe is not ſo eaſily written, as a harſh and clumſy one; and, in order to make it ſmooth and elegant, the ſtrength and force of the expreſſion muſt often be ſacrificed. This ſeems to have been Cowper's view of the ſubject, at leaſt in one paſſage. 'Give me,' ſays he in a letter to his publiſher, 'a manly rough line, with a deal of meaning in 'it, rather than a whole poem full of muſical periods, that have 'nothing but their ſmoothneſs to recommend them.' It is obvious, however, that this is not a defence of harſh verſification,

but a confeſſion of inability to write ſmoothly. Why ſhould not harmony and meaning go together? It is difficult, to be ſure; and ſo it is, to make meaning and verſe of any kind go together; but it is the buſineſs of a poet to overcome theſe difficulties, and if he do not overcome them both, he is plainly deficient in an accompliſhment that others have attained. To thoſe who find it impoſſible to pay due attention both to the ſound and the ſenſe, we would not only addreſs the preceding exhortation of Cowper, but ſhould have no ſcruple to exclaim, 'Give us a ſentence of plain proſe, full of ſpirit and meaning, rather than a poem of any kind that has nothing but its verſification to recommend it.'

Though it be poſſible, therefore, to read the productions of Cowper, without being delighted with his force, his brilliancy, and his variety; and although the enchantment of his moral enthuſiaſm frequently carries us inſenſibly through all the mazes of his digreſſions, it is equally true, that we can ſcarcely read a ſingle page with attention, without being offended at ſome coarſeneſs or lowneſs of expreſſion, or diſappointed by ſome 'moſt lame and impotent concluſion.' The dignity of his rhetorical periods is often violated by the intruſion of ſome vulgar and colloquial idiom, and the full and tranſparent ſtream of his diction is broken upon ſome obſtreperous verſe, or loſt in the dull ſtagnation of a piece of abſolute proſe. The effect of his ridicule is ſometimes impaired by the acrimony with which it is attended; and the exquiſite beauty of his moral painting and religious views is injured in no ſmall degree by the darkneſs of the ſhades which his enthuſiaſm and auſterity have occaſionally thrown upon the canvas. With all theſe defects, however, Cowper will probably very long retain his popularity with the readers of Engliſh poetry. The great variety and truth of his deſcriptions; the minute and correct painting of thoſe home-ſcenes and private feelings with which every one is internally familiar; the ſterling weight and ſenſe of moſt of his obſervations, and, above all, the great appearance of facility with which every thing is executed, and the happy uſe he has ſo often made of the moſt common and ordinary language; all concur to ſtamp upon his poems the character of original genius, and remind us of the merits that have ſecured immortality to Shakeſpeare.

After having ſaid ſo much upon the original writings of Cowper, we cannot take our leave of him without adding a few words upon the merits of the tranſlation with which we have found him engaged for ſo conſiderable a portion of his life. The views with which it was undertaken have already been very fully explained in the extracts we have given from his correſpondence; and it is impoſſible to deny, that his chief object has been attained

ed in a very conſiderable degree. That the tranſlation is a great deal more cloſe and literal, than any that had previouſly been attempted in Engliſh verſe, probably will not be diſputed by thoſe who are the leaſt diſpoſed to admire it; that the ſtyle into which it is tranſlated is a true Engliſh ſtyle, though not perhaps a very elegant or poetical one, may alſo be aſſumed; but we are not ſure that a rigid and candid criticiſm will go farther in its commendation. The language is often very tame, and even vulgar; and there is by far too great a profuſion of antiquated and colloquial forms of expreſſion. In the dialogue part, the idiomatical and familiar turn of the language has often an animated and happy effect; but in orations of dignity, this dramatical licence is frequently abuſed, and the tranſlation approaches to a parody. In the courſe of one page, we obſerve that Neſtor undertakes 'to intreat Achilles *to a calm.*' Agamemnon calls him, 'this wrangler here.' And the godlike Achilles himſelf complains of being treated 'like a *fellow* of no worth,'

'Ye critics ſay,
How poor to this was Homer's ſtyle!'

In tranſlating a poetical writer, there are two kinds of fidelity to be aimed at. Fidelity to the *matter*, and fidelity to the *manner* of the original. The beſt tranſlation would be that, certainly, that preſerved both. But, as this is generally impracticable, ſome conceſſions muſt be made upon both ſides, and the largeſt upon that which will be leaſt regretted by the common readers of the tranſlation. Now, though antiquarians and moral philoſophers may take great delight in contemplating the ſtate of manners, opinions, and civilization, that prevailed in the age of Homer, and be offended, of courſe, at any diſguiſe or modern embelliſhment that may be thrown over his repreſentations, ſtill, this will be but a ſecondary conſideration with moſt readers of poetry; and if the ſmoothneſs of the verſe, the perſpicuity of the expreſſion, or the vigour of the ſentiment, muſt be ſacrificed to the obſervance of this rigid fidelity, they will generally be of opinion, that it ought rather to have been ſacrificed to them, and that the *poetical beauty* of the original was better worth preſerving than the literal import of his expreſſions. The ſplendour and magnificence of the Homeric diction and verſification is altogether as eſſential a part of his compoſition, as the ſenſe and the meaning which they convey. His poetical reputation depends quite as much on the one as on the other; and a tranſlator muſt give but a very imperfect and unfaithful copy of his original, if he leave out the half of thoſe qualities in which the excellence of the original conſiſted. It is an indiſpenſable part of his duty,

therefore, to imitate the harmony and elevation of his author's language, as well as to expreſs his meaning; and he is equally unjuſt and unfaithful to his original, in paſſing over the beauties of his diction, as in omitting or diſguiſing his ſentiments. In Cowper's elaborate verſion, there are certainly ſome ſtriking and vigorous paſſages, and the cloſeneſs of the tranſlation continually recals the original to the memory of a claſſical reader; but he will look in vain for the melodious and elevated language of Homer in the unpoliſhed verſes and colloquial phraſeology of his tranſlator.

ART. VI. *Lettres ſur l'Angleterre.* Par J. Fievée. 1802.

OF all the ſpecies of travels, that which has moral obſervation for its object is the moſt liable to error, and has the greateſt difficulties to overcome, before it can arrive at excellence. Stones, and roots, and leaves, are ſubjects which may exerciſe the underſtanding without rouſing the paſſions. A mineralogical traveller will hardly fall foul upon the granite and the felt ſpar of other countries than his own; a botaniſt will not conceal its non-deſcripts; and an agricultural touriſt will faithfully detail the average crop per acre: but the traveller who obſerves on the manners, habits, and inſtitutions of other countries, muſt have emancipated his mind from the extenſive and powerful dominion of aſſociation, muſt have extinguiſhed the agreeable and deceitful feelings of national vanity, and cultivated that patient humility which builds general inferences only upon the repitition of individual facts. Every thing he ſees ſhocks ſome paſſion, or flatters it; and he is perpetually ſeduced to diſtort facts, ſo as to render them agreeable to his ſyſtem and his feelings. Books of travels are now publiſhed in ſuch vaſt abundance, that it may not be uſeleſs, perhaps, to ſtate a few of the reaſons why their value ſo commonly happens to be in the inverſe ratio of their number.

1*ſt*, Travels are bad, from a want of opportunity for obſervation in thoſe who write them. If the ſides of a building are to be meaſured, and the number of its windows to be counted, a very ſhort ſpace of time may ſuffice for theſe operations; but to gain ſuch a knowledge of their prevalent opinions and propenſities, as will enable a ſtranger to comprehend (what is commonly called) the *genius* of people, requires a long reſidence among them, a familiar acquaintance with their language, and an eaſy circulation among their various ſocieties. The ſociety into which a tranſient ſtranger gains the moſt eaſy acceſs in any country, is not often that which ought to ſtamp the national character; and

no

no criterion can be more fallible, in a people ſo reſerved and inacceſſible as the Britiſh, who (even when they open their doors to letters of introduction) cannot for years overcome the awkward timidity of their nature. The ſame expreſſions are of ſo different a value in different countries, the ſame actions proceed from ſuch different cauſes, and produce ſuch different effects, that a judgement of foreign nations, founded on rapid obſervation, is almoſt certainly a mere tiſſue of ludicrous and diſgraceful miſtakes; and yet a reſidence of a month or two ſeems to entitle a traveller to preſent the world with a picture of manners in London, Paris, or Vienna, and even to dogmatize upon their political, religious, and legal inſtitutions, as if it were one and the ſame thing to ſpeak of *abſtract* effects of ſuch inſtitutions, and of their effects combined with all the peculiar circumſtances in which any nation may be placed.

2*dly*, An affectation of quickneſs in obſervation, an intuitive glance that requires only a *moment*, and a *part* to judge of a *perpetuity* and a *whole*. The late Mr Petion, who was ſent over into this country to acquire a knowledge of our criminal law, is ſaid to have declared himſelf thorough informed upon the ſubject, after remaining preciſely *two and thirty minutes* in the Old Bailey.

3*dly*, The tendency to found obſervation on a ſyſtem, rather than a ſyſtem upon obſervation. The fact is, there are very few original eyes and ears. The great maſs ſee and hear as they are directed by others, and bring back from a reſidence in foreign countries, nothing but the vague and cuſtomary notions concerning it, which are carried and brought back for half a century, without verſification or change. The moſt ordinary ſhape in which this tendency to prejudge makes its appearance among travellers, is by a diſpoſition to exalt, or, a ſtill more abſurd diſpoſition, to depreciate their native country. They are incapable of conſidering a foreign people but under one ſingle point of view—the relation in which they ſtand to their own; and the whole narrative is frequently nothing more than a mere triumph of national vanity, or the oſtentation of ſuperiority to ſo common a failing.

But we are waſting our time in giving a theory of the faults of travellers, when we have ſuch ample means of exemplifying them all from the publication now before us, in which Mr Jacob Fievée, with the moſt ſurpriſing talents for doing wrong, has contrived to condenſe and agglomerate every ſpecies of abſurdity that has hitherto been made known, and even to launch out occaſionally into new regions of nonſenſe, with a boldneſs which fairly entitles him to the merit of originality in folly, and diſ-

covery in impertinence. We consider Mr Fievée's book as extremely valuable in one point of view. It affords a sort of limit or mind-mark, beyond which we conceive it to be impossible in future that pertness and petulance should pass. It is well to be acquainted with the boundaries of our nature on both sides; and to Mr Fievée we are indebted for this valuable approach to *pessimism*. The height of knowledge no man has yet scanned; but we have now pretty well fathomed the gulph of ignorance.

We must, however, do justice to Mr Fievée when he deserves it. He evinces, in his preface, a lurking uneasiness at the apprehension of exciting war between the two countries, from the anger to which his letters will give birth in England. He pretends to deny that they will occasion a war; but it is very easy to see he is not convinced by his own arguments; and we confess ourselves extremely pleased by this amiable solicitude at the probable effusion of human blood. We hope Mr Fievée is deceived by his philanthropy, and that no such unhappy consequences will ensue, as he really believes, though he affects to deny them. We dare to say the dignity of this country will be satisfied, if the publication in question is disowned by the French government, or, at most, if the author is given up. At all events, we have no scruple to say, that to sacrifice 20,000 lives, and a hundred millions of money, to resent Mr Fievée's book, would be an unjustifiable waste of blood and treasure; and that to take him off privately by assassination, would be an undertaking hardly compatible with the dignity of a great empire.

To shew, however, the magnitude of the provocation, we shall specify a few of the charges which he makes against the English.—That they do not understand fire-works as well as the French; that they charge a shilling for admission to the exhibition; that they have the misfortune of being incommoded by a certain disgraceful privilege, called the liberty of the press; that the opera band plays out of tune; that the English are so fond of drinking, that they get drunk with a certain air called the gas of Paradise; that the privilege of electing members of Parliament is so burthensome, that cities sometimes petition to be exempted from it; that the great obstacle to a Parliamentary reform is the mob; that women sometimes have titles distinct from those of their husbands; although, in England, any body can sell his wife at market with a rope about her neck. To these complaints he adds—that the English are so far from enjoying that equality of which their partizans boast, that none but the servants of the higher nobility can carry canes behind a carriage; that the power

which

which the French Kings had of pardoning before trial, is much the same thing as the English mode of pardoning after trial; that he should conceive it to be a good reason for rejecting any measure in France, that it was imitated from the English, who have no family-affections, and who love money so much, that their first question, in an inquiry concerning the character of any man, is, as to his degree of fortune. Lastly, Mr Fievée alledges against the English, that they have great pleasure in contemplating the spectacle of men deprived of their reason. And indeed we must have the candour to allow, that the hospitality which Mr Fievée experienced seems to afford some pretext for this assertion.

One of the principal objects of Mr Fievée's book, is to combat the Anglomania, which has raged so long among his countrymen, and which prevailed at Paris to such an excess, that even Mr Neckar, a foreigner, (incredible as it may seem), *after having been twice minister of France*, retained a considerable share of admiration for the English government. This is quite inexplicable. But this is nothing to the treason of the *Encyclopedists*, who, instead of attributing the merit of the experimental philosophy, and the reasoning by induction to a Frenchman, have shewn themselves so lost to all sense of the duty which they owed to their country, that they have attributed it to an Englishman *, *of the name of Bacon*, and this for no better reason, than that he really was the author of it. The whole of this passage is written so entirely in the genius of Mr Fievée, and so completely exemplifies that very caricature species of Frenchmen from which our gross and popular notions of the whole people are taken, that we shall give the passage at full length, cautiously abstaining from the sin of translating it.

'Quand je reproche aux philosophes d'avoir vanté l'Angleterre, par haine pour les institutions qui soutenoient la France, je ne hasarde rien, et je fournirai une nouvelle preuve de cette assertion, en citant les encyclopédistes, chefs a voués de la philosophie moderne.

'Comment nous ont-ils présenté l'Encyclopédie? Comme un monument immortel, comme le dépôt précieux de toutes les connoissances humaines. Sous quel patronage l'ont-ils élevé ce monument immortel? Est-ce sous l'égide des écrivains dont la France s'honoroit? Non, ils ont choisi pour maître et pour idole, un Anglais, Bâcon; ils lui on fait dire tout ce qu'ils ont voulu, parce que cet auteur, extraordinairement volumineux, n'étoit pas connu en France, et ne l'est guère en Angleterre que de quelques hommes studieux; mais les philosophes sentoient que leur

* 'Gaul was conquered by a person of the name of Julius Cæsar,' is the first phrase in one of Mr Newberry's little books.

leur ſuccès, pour introduire des nouveautés, tenoit à faire croire qu'elles n'étoient pas *neuves* pour les grandsesprits; et comme les grands eſprits français, trop connus, ne ſe prêtoient pas à un pareil deſſein, les philoſophes ont eu recours à l'Angleterre. Ainſi, un ouvrage fait en France et offert à l'admiration de l'Europe comme l'ouvrage par excellence, fut mis par des Français ſous la protection du génie Anglais. O honte! Et les philoſophes ſe ſont dit patriotes, et la France, pour prix de ſa dégradation, leur a élevé des ſtatues? Le ſiècle qui commence, plus juſte, parce qu'il a le ſentiment de la véritable grandeur, laiſſera ces ſtatues et l'Encyclopédie s'enſevelir ſous la même pouſſière.'

When to this are added the commendations that have been beſtowed on Newton, the magnitude and the originality of the diſcoveries which have been attributed to him, the admiration which the works of Locke have excited, and the homage that has been paid to Milton and Shakeſpeare, the treaſon which lurks at the bottom of it all, will not eſcape the penetrating glance of Mr Fievée; and he will diſcern that ſame cauſe from which every good Frenchman knows the defeat of Aboukir and of the firſt of June to have proceeded—*the monſter Pitt, and his Engliſh guineas.*

Art. VII. *John Woodvil:* a Tragedy. By Charles Lamb. To which are added, Fragments of Burton, the author of the Anatomy of Melancholy. Robinſons. London. 1802.

We have often regretted, in peruſing the dramatic compoſitions of the ancients, that we do not poſſeſs any of thoſe earlier ſpecimens of the art in its ſtate of rudeneſs, from which the merit of ſucceeding dramatiſts might beſt be determined. It is always a conſolation to badneſs, that there is ſomething worſe; and the greater number of our tragic writers have therefore a juſt ground of complaint againſt the fraud of the ſtages of antiquity, which, by tranſmitting only their beſt productions, have deprived them of the power of looking back to pieces inferior to their own. We have dramas of Eſchylus indeed; but Eſchylus, 'pallæ repertor honeſtæ,' had already raiſed poor barefoot Tragedy on buſkins, and given her a comfortable cloak to her back. Our loſs would be irreparable, were it not for a fact, which, though very obvious, has been ſtrangely overlooked:—*we have ſtill among us men of the age of Theſpis*, and indeed of every age, ſince men firſt ventured to compoſe. There is not a ſingle century, to which we cannot find at preſent correſponding taſtes and faculties of every kind: and it is ſurely by *their own qualities* that men ſhould be eſtimated and arranged, and not by the revolutions of planets, which are foreign bodies, and have no more relation

to

to the earth which is animated, than to that which was burned or buried in the earlieſt prieſts of Bacchus.

In the drama, however, though we have had innumerable ſpecimens of the *imperfect*, which in compoſition is by much the moſt common ſpecies of *paſt time*, we have long expected in vain a ſpecimen ſo truly *perfect*, as to approach the purity of the great father of the ſtage; and we own that our diſappointment has been greater at this failure of genius, as in that inferior diviſion of the art which conſiſts in recitation, we have often been gratified with a glimpſe of the original *plauſtrum*. At length, however, even in compoſition, a mighty veteran has been born. Older than Eſchylus, and with all the ſpirit of originality, in an age of poets who have had before them the imitations of ſome thouſand years, he comes forward, to eſtabliſh his claim to the ancient *hircus*, and to ſatiate the moſt remote deſires of the philoſophic antiquary.

The tragedy of Mr Lamb may indeed be fairly conſidered as ſupplying the firſt of thoſe loſt links which connect the improvements of Eſchylus with the commencement of the art. We ſhall not, however, inſiſt that it be received with complete acquieſcence, till we have given a ſhort account of its fable, and afterwards compared it with thoſe ideas of the *moſt* ancient drama, which may be inferred as beſt ſuited to the known manners of the time.

Sir Walter Woodvil, having been an active partizan of the Commonwealth, is obliged to fly, at the Reſtoration of Charles; and a price is ſet upon his head. He chooſes, however, to remain in England, with his younger ſon Simon; and they ſpend their time chiefly in Sherwood Foreſt;

> 'Nigh which place, they have ta'en a houſe
> In the town of Nottingham, and paſs for foreigners,
> Wearing the dreſs of Frenchmen.'

His elder ſon, the hero of the tragedy, who, with views of ambition, had attached himſelf to the Royal party, takes poſſeſſion of his paternal eſtate, and abandons himſelf to every profligacy, with a crowd of riotous companions. In a fit of intoxication, he reveals to Lovel, one of his pretended friends, the place of his father's concealment; and Lovel, with a *ſingle* companion, haſtens to the foreſt to ſeize Sir Walter; but, awed by the undaunted appearance of the father and the ſon, '*they both ſlink off*;' and Sir Walter, knowing by whom the information muſt have been given, dies of horror at John's treachery. On learning all the conſequences of the communication he had made, the wretched inebriate is ſeized at once with headach and remorſe; and the drama concludes with a narrative of his myſterious feeling of the forgiveneſs

forgiveneſs of heaven, at an early hour, on Sunday morning, as he was kneeling in the church of St Mary Ottery, 'on a little haſſock in the family-pew.' On riſing, he had 'yearned to ſay his prayers in the church;' and flying to it, 'found the door wide open, whether by negligence he knew not, or ſome peculiar grace to him vouchſafed, for all things felt like myſtery.' The narrative is addreſſed to Margaret, an orphan ward of his father, who, early betrothed to John, and feeling herſelf ſlighted by him, had fled from the profligacy of his houſe to Sir Walter in the foreſt, on whoſe death ſhe returned to comfort his repentant ſon. The artifice with which the poet prepares his audience for the narrative, muſt be admirably productive of theatrical effect. It introduces, what we believe is a novelty on the ſtage, a peal of church-bells giving their ſummons to morning-ſervice.

'*(A noiſe of bells heard.)*

MARGARET.

'Hark the bells, John.

JOHN.

Thoſe are the church bells of St Mary Ottery.

MARGARET.

I know it.

JOHN.

St Mary Ottery, my native village,
In the ſweet ſhire of Devon.
Thoſe are the bells.' p. 100.

The exactneſs of John's information is of peculiar uſe; as Margaret, having been ſome time at Nottingham, may be ſuppoſed to have forgotten the name of the pariſh, and perhaps of the ſweet ſhire itſelf; and the cautious and ſolemn iteration at the cloſe, in an affair of ſo much moment, gives an emphaſis to the whole, that is almoſt inimitable.

Of the *moſt* ancient drama, the plot would certainly have no regular union of events all gradually converging into one. It would be ſimple, in what may ſtrictly be called fable, though apparently complicated, from the want of bearing of the few parts upon each other. Above all, it would be very turbulent, and would probably conſiſt chiefly of the buffooneries of ſlaves, and the incoherent follies of intoxication. The firſt great actors are ſaid to have been 'perunctî fæcibus ora,' a viſor admirably typical of a drunkard, and of peculiar beauty in the eyes of a 'ſpectator functuſque ſacris, et potus, et exlex.' Accordingly, we find in Mr Lamb's tragedy, that half of the dialogue is ſpoken by ſervants and drunkards; nor is it wonderful, ſince, at the period of the action, as the hero of the piece expreſſes it,

'now

'now universal England getteth drunk.' On drunkenness, indeed, the whole is founded; for the only tragical incidents of the piece arise from a discovery made in the thoughtlessness of intoxication.

With the importance of gesture on the ancient stage we are well acquainted; and it is evident, that the author means a great part of his eloquence to be performed in that expressive way, as he has introduced a considerable portion of dialogue, which in mere language is almost insignificant. In the following passage, in which four servants are represented drinking, all the eloquence is in the cup, which has thus as fair a claim as any of those who hold it, to be considered as a person of the drama.

'DANIEL.
'Here's to thee, brother Martin. *(drinks.)*
MARTIN.
And to thee, Daniel. *(drinks.)*
FRANCIS.
And to thee, Peter. *(drinks.)*
PETER.
Thank you, Francis. And here's to thee. *(drinks.)*
MARTIN.
I shall be fuddled anon.' p. 4. 5.

In the same scene, the characters become so very brief, that if due care be taken by the manager to give them grave faces, they might almost pass for ministers of state, in the disguise of serving men.

'FRANCIS.
'Well, I have my suspicions.
PETER.
And so have I.
MARTIN.
And I can keep a secret.
FRANCIS.
(To Peter) Warwickshire you mean. *(aside.)*
PETER.
Perhaps not.
FRANCIS.
Nearer perhaps.
PETER.
I say nothing.' p. 11.

The ministerial silence of Lord Burleigh is *great*; but even silence itself is nothing to this. Three characters are afterwards introduced, that appear but once, and say only a few words: so that, as they must have been created for some great purpose, it is evident, that a vast deal has been left to the bodily eloquence of the actors.

'*(Enter,*

'*(Enter, at another door, Three calling for Harry Freeman.)*
Harry Freeman, Harry Freeman.
He is not here. Let us go look for him.
Where is Freeman?
Where is Harry?
(Exeunt the Three, calling for Freeman.)' p. 33.

We may remark here, as tending to increaſe that confuſion ſo happily expreſſive of drunkenneſs, the ingenuity of the artifice, by which four ſpeeches are given to three perſons, without ſtating to whom the fourth ſhall belong.

If the plot and characters of 'John Woodvil' be not ſufficient to eſtabliſh its antiquity, its language will powerfully concur. The moſt ancient verſification was probably very rude. That of Mr Lamb is at leaſt of equal rudeneſs, and has ſometimes even a greater reſemblance to the varieties of ancient meaſure, than to the unvarying Engliſh heroic. The ſervants, to preſerve that due reſpect which ſhould always be paid to rank, ſpeak in proſe; but the gradation is not nicely obſerved, as Mr Sandford, the ſteward, talks as good blank verſe as his maſter. He thus heroically rates his inferiors:

'Which of you, as I entered, ſpake of betraying?
Was it you, or you? or, thin-face, was it you?' p. 14.

Margaret the ward, though a tender female, talks alſo in very becoming and reſolute blank verſe:

'I pray you ſpare me, Dr Sandford,
And once for all believe, nothing can ſhake my purpoſe.' p. 21.

Nor are the ſentiments leſs characteriſtic of the *age*, than the verſification. The figures are often very bold, and have all the careleſs indelicacy of ancient manners. In a ſoliloquy, John thus deſcribes the power of his paſſions:

'Ambition, pleaſure, vanity, all by turns,
Shall lie in my bed, and keep me freſh and waking.' p. 26.

Even old Sir Walter gives the following advice to his ſon:

'You to the court where now your brother John
Commits a rape on fortune.' p. 47.

In p. 74, after the very courteous queſtion, 'Or ſtay; you keep no wench?' The laſt word is beautifully varied in a climax of ſynonimes; and, in p. 77, there is a protracted ſimile, for which our page is much too modern.

Of the real language of feeling, there is not any which can offend the niceſt antiquary. On the contrary, there is a very laudable want of it, in a ſituation in which there was great riſk of error. We allude to the ſpeech of Simon after the ſudden death

death of his father, which is ſo ſtriking an inſtance of danger ſhunned, that it is worthy of inſertion:

'How is it with you, Sir Walter? Look up, Sir; the villains are gone. He hears me not; and this deep diſgrace of treachery in his ſon has touched him even to the death. O moſt diſtuned, and diſtempered world, where ſons talk their aged fathers into their graves! Garrulous and diſeaſed world, and ſtill empty, rotten and hollow *talking* world, where good men decay, ſtates turn round in an endleſs mutability, and ſtill for the worſe, nothing is at a ſtay, nothing abides, but vanity, chaotic vanity.—Brother, adieu!

There lies the parent ſtock which gave us life,
Which I will ſee conſigned with tears to earth.
Leave thou the ſolemn funeral rites to me,
Grief and a true remorſe abide with thee.' p. 83.

The prediction, that he is to weep at the funeral, has a pathos truly original, though certainly rather inconſiſtent with the unequal diviſion which he afterwards makes, reſerving only the funeral rites to himſelf, and conſigning all the grief to his brother, to have and to hold for ever.

The paſſages which we have already quoted, are, we truſt, ſufficient to juſtify our opinion of the age of the preſent drama. We might have ſelected many other paſſages of equal antiquity. The whole is indeed almoſt uniformly venerable, and will be juſtly appretiated by all who are deſirous of poſſeſſing a complete ſpecimen of the drama in its ſtate of priſtine rudeneſs.

The tragedy is accompanied with two little pieces, a '*balad* from the German, which, though it have not made Schiller more pathetic, has certainly, in converting him to Methodiſm, made him much more pious; and 'Helen,' a ſong, in which, though we ſometimes diſcerned the manner of that perſon of quality who aſſiſted the Wits of Queen Anne's reign, we thought, till we had read the appended fragments of Burton, that it was in every reſpect an original piece, and an original of more value, from the probable rarity of any future productions which might reſemble it. It is addreſſed to a lady, whoſe love the author is ſuppoſed to have long ſought in vain, and for whom, when at length compliant, he finds that his love has periſhed. But the moſt ſingular circumſtance is, that, with love ſurpaſſing that of Pygmalion, he ſtill weeps to the picture of her whom he ſcorns, 'nor ever ſleeps, complaining all night long to her.' Such violence of diſtreſs muſt be merely the continuance of an old habit: and it is perhaps only phyſically, becauſe her tenderneſs would interfere with this habit, that he no longer feels regard for the *living* Helen. The real reaſon of his coolneſs he leaves us to gueſs, by putting it in the form of a query.

'Can

'Can I, who loved my beloved
But for the ſcorn was in her eye;
Can I be moved for my beloved,
When ſhe returns me ſigh for ſigh?' p. 106.

We own, that we do not diſcover the reaſon of this impoſſibility. That any one ſhould love ſcorn *merely as ſcorn*, is inconceivable; and her ſympathy is certainly no reaſon for the change, unleſs he prefer his own ſolitary grief to her for whom he grieves. If he had frankly owned, that ſhe was now not ſo lovely as when younger, we ſhould at leaſt have underſtood his meaning; but, in that caſe, he would not have been enamoured, till the very moment of her melting, as the deteriorations of age muſt have been gradual, and not dependent on a ſingle ſmile. The two lines which cloſe the poem,

'Helen grown old, no longer cold,
Said, "You to all men I prefer." p. 107.

are moſt ſingularly placed. At the beginning they would have been very communicative; but at the concluſion they tell us nothing; ſince the fact, without the knowledge of which the preceding verſes muſt have been unintelligible, was therefore graciouſly expreſſed before. Mr Lamb had perhaps heard, that poems of this kind ſhould end with a point; and wiſely reflecting, that the beginning of any thing is as much a point as its end, was too good an œconomiſt of his time, to conſume it in elaborating and poliſhing an uſeleſs concluſion.

The extracts from a common-place book of Burton, are recommended only by their quaintneſs and party-coloured learning. There is one ſentence which Mr Lamb introduced perhaps as deſcriptive of his own compoſitions.

'The fruit, iſſue, children, of theſe my morning meditations, have been certain crude, impolite, incompoſite, hirſute, (what ſhall I ſay?) verſes.' p. 125.

If this was really intended by him, we muſt add to the praiſe we have already given him for poetic talent, our ſtill higher commendation of the juſtneſs of his criticiſm: nor is it a matter of little moment to us, that we are thus able to commend with a ſafe conſcience, when we remember, that Mr Lamb is that friend of Coleridge, whoſe verſes he deems ſo worthy of all honour, as to fix his direſt anathema on the preſumptuous critics who ſhall venture to expreſs their diſapprobation: Quem ſi quis non amet, *illum omnes Gratiæ et Veneres odere.*' *

ART.

* Preface to the Poems of Coleridge, Lloyd, and Lamb, 2d edit.

ART. VIII. *A Method of Examining Refractive and Diſperſive Powers by Priſmatic Reflection.* By William Hyde Woolaſton, M. D. F. R. S. From Philoſophical Tranſactions. 1802.

THIS is a very intereſting and ingenious paper. The object is extremely important to the optician and aſtronomer; and this invention is one of the many obligations under which the latter has been laid by the former.

The great reflection of light at the inner ſurface of a denſe refracting medium, was applied by Sir Iſaac Newton to the conſtruction of teleſcopes, in his priſmatic eye-glaſs; and the ſame principle is here extended to the examination of the powers of any medium rarer than glaſs. The invention is extremely ſimple and elegant. The medium to be examined is placed under the ſide of a priſm, and made to enter into contact with the glaſs. This is eaſily done, if the medium is a fluid; if it is a ſolid, a fluid or cement muſt be interpoſed, of higher refractive power than the medium under examination. For the purpoſe of actual meaſurement, a rectangular priſm is moſt convenient, and requires the ſimpleſt apparatus for the computation of the fines. Two or three rulers, with two ſights, and a nonius, or, as our author rather affectedly calls it, a *vernier*, form the whole of this ingenious contrivance, ſo infinitely ſuperior to any method in uſe. It is evident that the ſmalleſt quantity is ſufficient; conſequently, ſubſtances of the moſt perfect opacity may be ſubjected to trial. Our author gives an amuſing inſtance, in his examination of a ſubſtance brought from the North Pacific Ocean, and ſuſpected to be bees-wax, although there are no bees in the country. This trial completed the proof; for the refractive power was found to be preciſely the ſame with that of bees-wax.

Another advantage of this method is its application to ſubſtances of variable denſity; as, for inſtance, the cryſtalline lens. Our author found the variation of the power of an ox's chryſtalline to be from 1.447 to 1.380; that of water being 1.336. Upon this we have only to remark, that there may be ſome inaccuracy in the method of examining the power of ſolids, by interpoſing a fluid medium. Great errors may take place, if the ſides containing this medium are not parallel. Now, it is perfectly well known, that we can never meet with two poliſhed ſurfaces perfectly even. This is evident, from the adaptation of all priſms to exhibit the colours of thin plates by preſſure, which could not happen unleſs their ſides were ground to a ſphere, or other curve of a large diameter. Beſides, it really ſtrikes us, that if a medium is interpoſed, different from that to be examined, the experiment will only, or chiefly, meaſure the refractive power of the medium interpoſed.

The author applies his method, with ſimilar advantage, to examine the diſperſive powers of bodies. The metals, he finds, greatly increaſe the diſperſive powers of nitric and muriatic acids, Gold and platina are the moſt remarkable for this property; zinc, the leaſt remarkable. The remark is made with reſpect to the earths. Jargon and magneſia have it in a degree equal to nitric acid. Siliceous earth, on the contrary, is inferior to water.

Our author concludes his obſervations on diſperſion, by remarking, that there are, properly ſpeaking, not ſeven primary colours, as ſome people have imagined, nor three, as others have ſuppoſed, but four, which, he ſays, he proved by examining, through a priſm of pure flint glaſs, a very narrow beam of day-light received upon the eye. We have no heſitation in ſaying, that this is a moſt imperfect and erroneous experiment; and that the weak light appears to be choſen, in preference to the ſun's direct light, in a manner that muſt infallibly render the phenomenon indiſtinct, and the whole trial inconcluſive.

Our author adds, in a note, by far the moſt important obſervation in his whole paper; we will venture to ſay, in this whole volume of the Tranſactions. By a moſt ſimple contrivance, he has proved the exiſtence of inviſible rays beyond the violet in the upper part of the priſmatic ſpectrum. This is diſcovered by the blackening of muriate of ſilver, expoſed at that part. Several years ago, we ourſelves had an opportunity of making a ſimilar experiment upon the inferior end of the ſpectrum; and we were led to conclude, from the invariable blackneſs of the muriate, expoſed about a quarter of an inch below the red, that ſome ſtrange diſperſion of rays took place, though in ſo ſmall a quantity as not to affect the ſenſes. The experiments of Dr Herſchell perhaps lead, ſtrictly ſpeaking, to no other inference; but another experiment of Mr Woollaſton's clearly proves, that the inviſible rays have peculiar properties. By narrowing the pencil of light received on the priſm, he made the diſcolouring rays fall almoſt entirely beyond the ſpectrum; and he moſt juſtly infers, that the viſible light has not this power, but owes its diſcolouring influence to the admixture of inviſible light. We do not heſitate to pronounce this the moſt important diſcovery that has been made for many years in phyſical ſcience; and we earneſtly recommend it to the author, to proſecute a line of experiment which promiſes ſo rich a harveſt of diſcovery.

ART.

ART. IX. *On the Oblique Reflection of Iceland Chryſtal.* By William Hyde Woollaſton, M. D. F. R. S. From Phil. Tranſ. 1802.

WE were much diſappointed to find, that ſo acute and ingenious an experimentaliſt had adopted the wild optical theory of vibrations. After ſtating it, however, chiefly from Huygens, and applying to explain the properties of the ſpar, he goes on to examine, by accurate experiments, whether the undulatory ſyſtem agrees with the facts. The hypotheſis is, that the different undulations of the elaſtic medium are ſpherical in almoſt all caſes, but that, in the Iceland chryſtal, thoſe undulations are ſpheroidal; and it muſt be acknowledged, the near coincidence of the experiments, which are extremely well contrived, and appear to be accurately conducted, give this theory a plauſibility which it did not before poſſeſs. We would, however, remark, that the hypotheſis of Aepinus himſelf, by far the moſt conſiſtent, ſimple, and univerſally applicable, of any that has ever been propoſed, is ſtill only a gratuitous hypotheſis; has acquired to its author only the praiſe of fanciful ingenuity; and has perhaps done more harm than good to the ſcience of magnetiſm, by withdrawing the attention of philoſophers from the patient and difficult, but profitable obſervation of nature, to the more eaſy, but empty amuſement of indulging their fancy.

The hypotheſis of Huygens is not, as Dr Woollaſton ſeems to think, the ſame with that of Euler and other unphiloſophical inquirers. It approaches more nearly to that of Newton, and aſſumes the exiſtence of an elaſtic medium, acting upon, and influenced by the rays of light. Theſe authors, miſled by the nature of ſound, do not admit the materiality of light, but aſſert that it is a vibration propagated through the medium. But, ſhort as theſe remarks are, we are loath to waſte any more time on ſuch a feeble and ill-conducted defence of an untenable and uſeleſs hypotheſis.

ART. X. *An Analyſis of a Mineral Subſtance from North America, containing a Metal hitherto unknown.* By Charles Hatchett, Eſquire, F. R. S.

THE rapid progreſs of chemiſtry within theſe few years paſt, and the accuracy and preciſion with which experimental reſearches are conducted, have greatly extended our knowlede of this intereſting ſcience. Excluſive of the diſcovery of Mr Hat-

chett, which is the ſubject of this paper, the exiſtence of ſix new metals has been clearly aſcertained ſince the year 1781.

In the ſummer of 1781, Hatchett found, in the Britiſh Muſeum, a heavy mineral ſubſtance, of a dark colour, which, from its reſemblance to Siberian chromate of iron, on which he was then employed in making experiments, attracted his attention, and led him to inſtitute a ſet of experiments, which terminated in the diſcovery of the new metal. The mineral, as appears from a reference made to Sir Hans Sloane's catalogue, was ſent, along with other minerals, to that naturaliſt, from Maſſachuſets in North America. But it is to be regretted, that no mention is made of the particular ſpot where it was found. As an abridged view of Mr Hatchett's experiments, which is all that our limits permit us to attempt, can only be intereſting to chemical readers, we ſhall content ourſelves with giving a ſhort account of the phyſical properties of the mineral, and the general reſult of the analyſis.

The external colour of the mineral is dark browniſh grey; the internal colour is the ſame, but inclining to iron grey. The longitudinal fracture is imperfectly lamellated; the croſs fracture ſhows a fine grain. The luſtre is vitreous, and ſlightly inclining, in ſome parts, to the metallic. It is moderately hard, and very brittle. The colour of the ſtreak is dark chocolate brown. The particles are not attracted by the magnet. The ſpecific gravity at the temperature of 65° is 5.918.

After digeſting ſome part of one of the minerals reduced to a fine powder, in the ſulphuric, nitric, and muriatic acids, it was found that it could not readily be decompoſed by their direct application. But the mode of analyſis which Mr Hatchett afterwards adopted, (for the account of which we muſt refer our readers to the paper itſelf, yielded from 200 grains of the pulverized one.

	Grains.
Oxide of iron - - -	42
Unknown ſubſtance in the form of white precipitate - -	155
Grains	197

The precipitate, which is pure white, and not extremely heavy, was ſubjected to a very elaborate ſeries of experiments, the reſult of which led Mr Hatchett to conclude, that it is a metallic ſubſtance, different from any of the metals formerly known. It is an acidifiable metal. The oxide reddens litmus paper, expels carbonic acid and forms combinations with the fixed alkalis. But the following characteriſtic properties ſhow that it is different from any of the acidifiable metals which have lately been diſcovered.

1. It remains white, when digeſted with nitric acid. 2. It is ſoluble in the ſulphuric and muriatic acids, and forms colourleſs ſolutions, from which it may be precipitated, in the ſtate of a white flocculent oxide, by zinc, by the fixed alkalis, and by ammonia. Water alſo precipitates it from the ſulphuric ſolution in the ſtate of ſulphate. 3. Pruſſiate of potaſh produces a copious and beautiful olive-green precipitate. 4. Tincture of galls forms orange or deep yellow precipitate. 5. Unlike the other metallic acids, it refuſes to unite with ammonia. 6. When mixed and diſtilled with ſulphur, it does not combine with it, ſo as to form a metallic ſulphurate. 7. It does not tinge any of the fluxes, except phoſphoric acid, with which, even in the humid way, it appears to have a very great affinity. 8. When combined with potaſh, and diſſolved in water, it forms precipitates, upon being added to ſolutions of tungſtate of potaſh, molybdate of potaſh, cobaltate of ammonia, and the alkaline ſolution of iron.

Mr Hatchett has often diſtinguiſhed himſelf as an able and ingenious analyſt; and although we have no reaſon to doubt the preciſion and accuracy of the preſent analyſis, yet it would be more ſatisfactory were his experiments confirmed by a repetition of them by himſelf, or ſome other chemiſt. This remark is ſuggeſted to us by Mr Hatchett's own reſearches into the nature of a mineral ſubſtance from Sydney Cove in New South Wales, by which the exiſtence of a new earth, which the ſame ſubſtance, from the analyſis of the late Mr Wedgewood, was ſuppoſed to contain, was fully diſproved. But this ſatisfaction is not to be expected till more ſpecimens of the mineral have been diſcovered. The ſpecimen from which the analyſis was made being ſmall, and the only one known, admits not of being farther broken down. To the new metal, Mr Hatchett has given the name of *Columbium.*

ART. XI. *Guineas an unneceſſary and expenſive Incumbrance on Commerce:* or, The Impolicy of repealing the Bank Reſtriction Bill, conſidered. London. Nicols. 1802. pp. 123.

NOTHING but the ſubject of this tract, and the attention which we are aſtoniſhed to hear it has received from the public, could have induced us to trouble our readers with any account of it. We have ſeldom met with a more contemptible performance. Ignorant of the very language of political œconomy, and groſsly miſtaken in the firſt principles of the ſcience, the author has the confidence to treat of the moſt difficult matters of finance, and to utter his crude, half-formed, and incoherent opinions, upon

queſtions likely to remain for ever the ſubject of diſpute, with more certainty than Sir Iſaac Newton has diſplayed in ſtating his moſt celebrated diſcoveries in phyſical ſcience.

As we wiſh to be impartial, and are diſpoſed to give commendation where it is due, we admit that the motto is well choſen.

' *Quid juvat immenſum te argenti pondus et auri*
Furtim defoſſa timidum deponere terra ? ' HOR. SAT.

With reſpect to the thing itſelf, we have to lament that our author ſhould have ſo miſerably miſtaken his line of talent as to write at all, more eſpecially upon ſuch ſubjects as paper-credit. It is clear, from the whole of this long pamphlet, that he does not know what is meant by ' *public credit.*' All other writers uſe this word to denote the credit of the ſtate: he applies it to all the operations of banking, negotiation of bills, making of promiſſory payments, ſtriking contingent bargains about moveables, &c. At leaſt ſuch is one meaning which he affixes to the phraſe. But what is the ſenſe of the words, in paſſages like the following ?

' It ſeems to have been received as a financial *maxim not to be diſputed*, that the precious metals are the only true ſign of proſperity, and the only legitimate medium through which public credit can be advantageouſly circulated.' p. iv.

Who ever thought that public credit could be circulated by gold and ſilver ? Or, who ever talked of circulating public credit, or any ſort of credit ? The gold and ſilver, or the obligation to pay thoſe metals, or the obligation to pay any thing elſe, may be circulated. But did any one ever talk of circulating credit by means of coin ? What need of credit when payment is made ? Yet ſuch is the doctrine which our author formally combats in the whole of his firſt chapter, and indeed through the whole of his work, as if it required a proof, that a guinea is not an obligation in favour of the holder. He ſhould have extended the ſame to cattle, moveables, land, and all other intrinſically valuable articles.

Sometimes public credit and paper-credit are the ſame. Sometimes the latter is the criterion and ſupport of the former. In the ſame ſentence (p. 15. 16.), paper-credit is the viſible ſign of public credit, and identical with it. Our author adds, ' paper, and not metallic money, repreſents public credit.' (ibid)

Now, honeſty and induſtry are the ſupports of public credit; and now, all accommodation-bills are iniquitous, becauſe they expreſs a direct lie, the actual transference of value. Yet our wiſe author's chief purpoſe is, to demonſtrate the expediency and juſtice of the ſtatute 1797 for ſtopping the caſh-payments, which converts every bank-note into a direct lie. And how induſtry can ſupport credit, we cannot imagine; for an idle man, who is honeſt,

neſt, will juſt receive as much credit as an induſtrious man, in proportion to his ſtock; nay, the bills and notes of an idle rich man will paſs current, while a poor, induſtrious, honeſt perſon, is unable to find an indorſee for a five ſhilling bill. It is clear, that credit and national wealth are here perpetually confounded.

The next chapter contains a ſimilarly unintelligible inquiry, whether ſpecie be neceſſary for ſupporting credit? Our author ſettles it in the negative, with his uſual happy tone of certainty. Does he mean to aſſert, that if all the bank-coffers are drained of gold, means taken to prevent a ſhilling from ever getting into them, and prohibitions paſt upon the diſcharging of a ſingle obligation, the Bank Directors will ſtill have the power of iſſuing promiſſory notes, that is, reams of promiſes to perform what they neither can nor will perform, and that all mankind will give value for ſuch pieces of 'lying paper,' to uſe an idea of this author's? If the continuance of confidence were conceivable under ſuch circumſtances, that is to ſay, if the Bank poſſeſſed an unlimited power, not from Parliament, but from the nature of things, to iſſue as many notes as it pleaſed without incurring any obligation, and with no riſk of depretiation, unleſs the directors and propritors were an uncommonly diſintereſted ſort of perſonages, they would be the ſole proprietors of this iſland in half a year. On the other hand, no one ever thought of denying the poſſibility of rearing a vaſt fabric of credit, without having a ſingle guinea in circulation. In fact, guineas are only one object of credit, one commodity which may be transferred by promiſe, and borrowed upon obligation; and the credit is the confidence which gives riſe to ſuch tranſactions. After ſuch a ſpecimen of our author's political acquirements, our readers will not be ſurpriſed to learn, that he is conſtantly talking of caſh as a meaſure of price, a repreſentative of value, a ſtandard of exchange, as if pots and pans (to uſe Dr Smith's illuſtration) might not juſt as well receive the ſame epithets.

One method of argument we hold to be nearly allied to impoſture:—After enumerating all the unqueſtionable drawbacks of ſpecie money, (and every former writer gives the enumeration much better), he concludes, that paper muſt be advantageous, becauſe it ſaves thoſe loſſes. In a ſeparate chapter, he pompouſly enumerates the benefits of paper-currency, by taking the converſe of his former ſtatements; and concludes, *à fortiori*, in favour of this ſort of medium; becauſe it has not the inconvenience of metallic money. This is making the moſt of an argument, according to thoſe rules of good faith and ingenuity, by which certain practical ſpeculators make the moſt of their ten fingers. But our author can *hector* as well as *fineſſe*. At the end, after various hints, we are bombaſtically told, that all the outcry againſt paper-currency aroſe from the new philoſophy. Our

poor author now loſes all command of himſelf; every thing is atheiſm, blood, aſſaſſination, Jacobiniſm, French principles, in a word, reform. By a tranſition, happy for the extrication of one who has unwarily entangled himſelf in the ſubject of paper-credit, and not unnatural to a frantic perſon, he comes to the Britiſh conſtitution, on which he pronounces a laboured and ludicrous eulogium; becauſe, in civil matters, all power is concentrated in the Monarch, who is endued by it with godlike attributes; becauſe, in things eccleſiaſtical, the church diſpenſes all the ſuperlative charities beſtowed by the moſt high God (p. 103.); and becauſe, in things judicial, the Judges are rendered learned and incorruptible! Why? Becauſe they are not allowed to make laws! (P. 104.-5.)

Our author has a happy knack at calculation: He fixes the average amount of bills of exchange always in circulation at juſt 20,000,000, the number of clerks that every merchant ſaves by the inſtitution of Banks at twenty for one, and the total ſavings of paper-currency at $\frac{19}{20}$. His notes are amuſing: They generally contain ſome aliquot parts of the ſentences, of which it is intended that the text ſhould be compoſed.

The ſtyle of this ſtrange production is truly groteſque; want of grammar, Scotticiſms, neologiſms, metaphors, double ſuperlatives, proverbs, ſcripture-quotations, perſonifications, mercantile vulgariſms, all dance through each page in the moſt groteſque and giddy array.

Now we hear of a capital of fifty-ſix millions being raiſed from the dead (p. 64). Suddenly it is attacked with a conſumption, (p. 71); but it retains the power of generation, (ibid.) Then we are amuſed with a grumbling confederacy, and a few '*doubtful neutrals*.' An animated picture rapidly ſucceeds, of the mighty coalition foiled, univerſal invaſion, rebellion burſting, a palladium in a ſtate of mutiny, London blockaded by ſea, ſedition ſowing on the ſhore, a barometer falling in a congregation of perils, credit imploring protection, and committing acts of bankruptcy from compulſion. Public credit is now introduced, complaining, in the bitterneſs of diſtreſs, with the good old patriarch, "All theſe things are againſt me, and they will bring me down with ſorrow to the grave." But no, ſays our author; thoſe things were tending to unchain paper-credit from the more than leaden weight of gold, (p. 72.). The poor damſel (Paper-credit) is ſaved by the Bank reſtriction-bill, and order reſtored to the univerſe. All this is literally preſented to us in two pages. In the next, our author, not recovered from his fit of inſpiration, amuſes us with the figure courteouſly called *hyperbole* by thoſe who love a longer and a more learned word than our own language ſupplies for the occaſion. He ſays, that the unhypothecated part of the income-tax was a fund of ways and means,

means, ſufficient for borrowing a hundred millions of new debt! The Latin in p. 102, is a proof that our author does not enjoy the benefit of an acquaintance with that language.

The only abuſe of paper-credit, according to him, is ſpeculation by accommodation-bills. This he ſeems to think one of the higheſt of human crimes; and he extends his anathemas to ſuch bills, provided the value transferred is in land or other immoveable property! Query, What crime is a man guilty of, on theſe tight-drawn principles, who grants his bill for the price of a ſhip?—The effects of paper-money, in encouraging forgery, he holds very light. 'That is the fault of the forgers,' ſaith he, 'not of the lawgiver.' There is much acuteneſs in the diſtinction; but we ſubmit it as a ſort of inſinuation, whether ſyſtems are not, *ceteris paribus*, to be condemned, which bring forward ſtrong and obvious temptations to fraud, eſpecially if the only reform that our cautious author will hear of, is a reform of character in the people. P. 102.

The bold ſtyle of declamation in which our author arraigns of Jacobiniſm every one who differs from him, makes us fear that even on the dry ſubject of paper-credit, we ſhall ſoon ſee Bowles's, and Giffords, and Playfairs, thundering out their artillery of new light, overthrow of thrones, reform, French principles, &c. &c.; and then, is the ſcience of number and quantity itſelf ſafe? To the preſent writer we have only to hint, that when he aſcribes all the arguments uſed againſt paper-credit to Jacobin principles, he forgets the millions of aſſignats poured forth by thoſe *dabblers* in the paper-ſyſtem who lately ruled over the Pariſian mobility, the paper-currency of the American rebels, and the alarm againſt all ſuch inventions which followed the ſpeculations carried on under the reigns of Louis XIV. and George I. when Jacobin was as yet the appellation of a ſet of monks.

From the whole, our author draws concluſions partly ſelf-evident, partly vague and unintelligible, partly nonſenſical. He loudly demands that the tinſel of declamation ſhall be brought to the teſt of demonſtration. We may accede to this, when we ſhall comprehend its meaning. He farther inſiſts upon being allowed only to 'weigh unvarniſhed facts.' We ſcarcely yet perceive his object; but his final claim is modeſt and plain, 'Let the preponderating balance prevail.' We believe it would be a new ſight, to ſee the light ſcale preponderate. He adds a notice, that, in this publication, he has no intereſt to ſerve. We think this lucky, inaſmuch as the performance would never be able to ſerve any intereſt; and are inclined to believe, that whenever the author may have any intereſt to ſerve in addreſſing the public, he will find it neceſſary to act by *proxy*.

Hitherto, we have given our readers ſuch ſpecimens of our author's opinions and aſſertions, as carry their refutation or condemnation

demnation along with them. We are now to obſerve the general drift and tenor of the book, ſince we hear this is ſupported by high authorities.

In one of the notes to this ſecond chapter, we meet with a ſingular vindication of what moſt men have been accuſtomed to regard as a breach of truſt—the interference of the managers with the ſpecie and other valuables contained in the Depoſit Bank of Amſterdam. That thoſe valuables were entruſted to the cuſtody of the directors and other functionaries of that celebrated body, under the expreſs compact of a ſafe depoſit, no one can entertain a doubt, who is in the leaſt acquainted with the hiſtory of the inſtitution. The premium paid was actually, as Dr Smith obſerves, a warehouſe-rent; the recipices, or receipts, acknowledged the nature of the charge to be that of a ſimple depoſit. No one ever had the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion that his property was moved from the coffers of the Bank; and although Mr Smith ſeems to ſuſpect that the money for which receipts had been long expired, and which would in all probability remain for ever undemanded, was not ſo ſacredly treaſured up; yet he adds, on the authority of Mr Hope, the Dutch merchant, that at Amſterdam no point of faith is better eſtabliſhed than a belief in the exiſtence of a guilder in the Bank cheſts, for every guilder circulated in the form of paper-money. 'The city,' ſays he, 'is guarantee that it ſhould be ſo. The Bank is under the direction of the four reigning burgomaſters, who are changed every year. Each new ſet of burgomaſters viſits the treaſure, compares it with the books, receives it upon oath, and delivers it over, with the ſame awful ſolemnity, to the ſet which ſucceeds; and in that ſober and religious country, oaths are not yet diſregarded.'—*Wealth of Nations, Book IV. chap.* 3. Now, we do not inquire, whether or not the inviolability of this depoſit was neceſſary for the commercial proſperity of Holland; we do not argue that the original purpoſe of the inſtitution could not have been obtained by other means, viz. the raiſing of a depreciated medium of exchange; we do not even contend, that the locking up ſo enormous a treaſure as the depoſits, was conſiſtent either with mercantile prudence, or with the public ſafety. It is enough for us that the bargain was made, and has been broken; that the depoſit was ſacred, ought to have been inviolable, and has been infringed; that the ſolemn oaths of endleſs ſucceſſions of functionaries have been wilfully given; that perjury has as conſtantly followed; and that the plighted faith and honour of the Dutch republic has been ſquandered away. When late events brought about a diſcloſure of this ſcene of perfidy, which no views of expediency can juſtify, and which only the moſt ſhort-ſighted and temporary conceptions of policy can vindicate as expedient, is it not fair to conclude that public credit muſt have received a ſhock all over Holland?—

land?—a ſhock, for its magnitude, worthy of being admitted to explain ſome of the effects ſo univerſally aſcribed by our author to the machinations of Jacobiniſm? After the ſtatements of Mr Hope, to which we have referred, we may be permitted to doubt whether the diſcloſure of the tranſaction dignified by our author with the appellation of wiſe policy, in whatever manner it might have been effected, would not have ruined the credit of the Dutch republic, although no French invaſion had been combined with this ſhock. We muſt be allowed to denominate by our author's favourite epithet of '*Jacobinical*,' the policy practiſed by Holland, of interfering with private property, in ſpite of the moſt ſolemn and holy ſanctions of public and individual guarantee.

We have thought it neceſſary to take particular notice of this ſingular remark, becauſe it is introduced as a parallel caſe; a vindication of the breach of contract which the reſtrictions have enabled the Bank of England to commit. We do not intend at all to diſcuſs, on this occaſion, that very intricate and difficult queſtion connected with this ſubject; we are only arguing the matter upon one ſimple and limited ground—the nature of the contract or obligation which a promiſſory note implies. It would, however, be difficult, by any caſuiſtry, to convince a perſon of plain common ſenſe, that the meaſure which this author recommends, the perpetual eſtabliſhment of the reſtriction, can be reconciled, either to the principles of honeſty and good faith, or to the moſt ound and obvious views of expediency. 'The meaſure, (ſays he, p. iv.) was at firſt juſtified on the ground of neceſſity, and its term prolonged on that of temporary expedience; whereas, the following remarks, if juſt, prove the advantages of continuing it as a permanent meaſure of prudence and ſound policy.' Accordingly, it is the avowed object of the whole publication to recommend the perpetual ſtoppage of ſpecie-iſſues at the Bank; and we lament to hear, that the propoſition of ſo ſtrange an expedient ſhould have been favourably received in certain high financial circles. We ſhall therefore take the liberty of ſubjoining a few remarks upon this new, and, we truſt, fruitleſs attempt to injure the commercial reſources of Great Britain, in order to favour a ſmall claſs of perſons engaged in one branch of the banking trade, and in order to give them the power of aſſiſting the financial meaſures of the Government.

The grounds on which the advocates of the order of Council in 1797, and the ſubſequent ſtatutes, have hitherto maintained their practical doctrines, have been the danger of the Bank loſing all its ſpecie in conſequence of an unfavourable balance of trade—ſudden and extenſive alarm occaſioned by great mercantile failures—dread of invaſion, and, more generally, in conſequence of the exceſs of the market over the mint-price of gold, which rendered it profitable to melt down guineas, and export the bullion.

lion. To theſe circumſtances were added others, which, we confeſs, have never been to us very intelligible; ſuch as the deſigns which the enemy was ſuppoſed to entertain againſt the credit of Great Britain *.

Now, it is evident, that all theſe grounds can only be occupied by the advocates of a temporary reſtriction or ſuſpenſion of Bank payments. In their very nature and eſſence, they are unfit for the ſupport of any thing farther than a temporary meaſure. The circumſtances enumerated are in themſelves temporary cauſes of a rapid drain of ſpecie; the exiſtence of ſuch cauſes can only juſtify a temporary ſcheme of prevention. Accordingly, Mr Thorton, and all the other friends of the meaſures which Government purſued, have been content with ſupporting the temporary neceſſity or expediency of thoſe meaſures. They are abundantly ſatisfied with their ſucceſs, if they can convince their readers that the circumſtances of the country in 1797 juſtified the order of Council; that the continuation of thoſe circumſtances required a ſubſequent renewal of the ſuſpenſion; and that the inconveniencies or loſſes which may ariſe from the operation of thoſe unprecedented meaſures, are palliated by the neceſſities of the caſe, or compenſated by oppoſite advantages, ariſing from the circumſtances of the times, or partially counteracted by various cauſes unobſerved by the noiſy declaimers who at firſt condemned the whole ſyſtem of reſtriction.

The Bank is a great company, incorporated by an act of Government, and binding itſelf, like other trading copartneries, by the authoriſed obligations which its officers incur on its account. The extent of thoſe obligations, and the confidence of the public in ſo wealthy an aſſociation, have conſpired to give this company a very great influence upon the motions of Government, and the commercial operations of the country. If the Bank is concerned in the proſperity of the community, the community is reciprocally intereſted in the exiſtence of the Bank; and the Government is of courſe intereſted in the welfare of both. The credit of the Bank, that is, the confidence of the public in its fidelity and ability to diſcharge all its obligations, (which are indeed the ſame thing†), depend upon its will and power (which are the ſame thing) to fulfil ſuch obligations as the creditors may from time to time wiſh to have fulfilled. As this number of obligations can never, in common probability, be equal to the ſum of all that have been contracted, it is perfectly fair and prudent in the Bank to uſe the funds deſtined to ſupply the power of fulfilling

* *Vide* Parliamentary Debates.

† We ſay, that in common caſes the integrity and proſperity of the Bank muſt be ſynonymous terms, becauſe an over iſſue of paper is unqueſtionably a breach of good faith in any company whoſe notes already circulate; it is a ſpecies of fraudulent bankruptcy.

ling the remaining obligations, in a way profitable to itſelf and the community at large; and if, on any emergency, the criſis of public affairs ſhould render it dangerous to the company and to the country, that the obligations of the former to the latter ſhould be fulfilled, it is evidently their mutual intereſt that thoſe obligations ſhould, for a ſeaſon, be rendered ineffectual. If a merchant has become bound to pay a certain ſum to his correſpondent at a certain day, and if, on the day before, the debtor finds that he ſhall not have a ſufficient quantity of money in his cheſt, and that his creditor muſt have the money, it is in vain that he complains of his creditor's rigour—he muſt either pay or break. If, on the other hand, the circumſtances of the creditor render the payment diſadvantageous to him at that particular day; if, for example, his receipt of the money will ſanction the extravagant demands of his needy perſonal friends, or force him to diſcharge debts of honour, or conſtrain him to fulfil conditional obligations, it will clearly be for the intereſt both of the debtor and the creditor, that the payment ſhould be delayed, and the ſecurity or contract renewed. The parties in this caſe will meet, and immediately come to an underſtanding; ſo would the country and the Bank, if the former were not an immenſe congregation of individuals, who cannot act together, and whoſe intereſts, or views of intereſt, are in certain caſes far from uniform. But as many individuals will always preſiſt in requiring the fulfilment of the obligations contrary to the general good, and as the minority, whoſe peculiar intereſts or fancies thus ſtand oppoſed to the common cauſe, are ſufficiently numerous and important to ruin both the Bank and the country, it becomes neceſſary, that in this, as in all other caſes, the part ſhould yield to the whole; and the only method of effecting ſo requiſite an end, is the ordinary mode of ſinking partial in general intereſts—the interference of the common Government. Thus, the Legiſlature, on behalf of the majority of the country, that is, on behalf of the country, is juſtified in abſolving the Banking Company of England from fulfilling thoſe obligations which a part of the country might otherwiſe require to be fulfilled in defiance of the general ſafety.

Such is the only manner in which we have ever been able to ſtate the great queſtion of the reſtriction to our minds, conſiſtently with the plaineſt principles of juſtice and expediency. The whole arguments of thoſe who have diſcuſſed this queſtion, have been directed to prove the caſe—to evince the incompatibility of the fulfilment of the obligations with the public ſafety—to ſhew by evidence that the circumſtances of the times render a ſtoppage of Bank payments neceſſary, ſo long as thoſe circumſtances laſt. No one has ever yet denied, that a trading company, whether incorporated by charter, or by private agreement, is bound in ſtrict juſtice to fulfil its contracts. The utmoſt extent

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of the argument in favour of the late meaſures has been an attempt to demonſtrate the dangers of allowing the fulfilment of thoſe contracts in the caſe of the Bank—an endeavour to prove, that the mutual intereſt of the parties, the Bank and the country, required the ſuſpenſion of the contract, ſo long as the criſis of public affairs ſhould continue.

Now, we have no heſitation to admit the whole concluſions of all thoſe who have adopted this opinion. We firmly believe, that an unprecedented concurrence of circumſtances and events rendered the reſtriction, or modification of the original contract, eſſentially neceſſary to the intereſts, nay, to the ſafety of both the parties concerned. We are yet to learn, that a ſhadow of argument can be advanced, either in point of juſtice or expediency, to vindicate ſo monſtrous an abſurdity, as the propoſition ſupported in the preſent publication—the propriety of rendering the breach of contract abſolute and perpetual. No powers of argument can ever perſuade us, that an extenſive trading company, endowed by Government with the power of iſſuing promiſſory notes for a valuable conſideration, and abſolved from keeping the promiſes upon which the value was obtained, is any thing elſe than a monſter in political creation. For a time, circumſtances may preſcribe to any great commercial body a regimen analogous to this, in the ſame manner that arſenic or foxglove may be adminiſtered to the animal ſyſtem. But a man feeding upon arſenic, and drinking tincture of foxglove, would not preſent to our minds a more accurate idea of a monſter in phyſiology, than a copartnery, allowed to benefit by contracts, from the fulfilment of which it is abſolved, would do in policy.

We are told, that paper-credit is a much more advantageous method of aſſiſting the operations of commerce, than the uſe of a metallic money. The former is unqueſtionably a cheaper medium of exchange than the latter; and the uſe of it, no doubt, enables a country to employ a conſiderable part of its capital in a profitable manner; whereas the uſe of that capital in the form of money is attended with loſs. Of all this there can be very little doubt. If any method could be invented, of conferring upon paper the important qualities which render the precious metals ſubſervient to the purpoſes of commerce, an ineſtimable benefit would be derived to the nation poſſeſſing ſo grand a ſecret; or if one of thoſe qualities could he procured for paper, if the public could be induced to take it inſtead of money in all payments, nearly the ſame advantages would accrue to the national wealth. But unhappily, there is almoſt as much difficulty attendant upon the plans for endowing paper-money with this one property, as upon thoſe which would give it all the uſeful attributes of gold. In one way only can it be ſupported as a perpetual medium of exchange.

change. The public conſent muſt be procured to receive, for all the valuable commodities which form the ſubjects of commerce, the pieces of paper iſſued by a certain body of men, in whoſe wiſdom and integrity entire confidence is to be repoſed. Since no proſpect, we fear, exiſts of ever ſeeing ſo deſirable an event accompliſhed as the production of this confidence, we muſt be contented with an approximation; and the circumſtance which have given riſe to banking, furniſh an approximation ſufficiently near to ſatisfy any temperate lover of paper-credit. We know only one method of giving to paper the attributes of the precious metals in commercial operations: we can, indeed, conceive no other in the preſent ſtate of mankind. It conſiſts in the erection of certain companies, whoſe reſources and probity are ſufficient to gain the entire confidence of the community—whoſe contracts are held by themſelves to be inviolable, and are therefore believed to be ſo by their countrymen, without trial. While thoſe obligations continue to be fulfilled every time that a requiſition is made by the creditors, the companies may ſafely count upon a great proportion of the creditors abſtaining from making any requiſitions. The ſum of metallic money anſwering to the debts thus allowed to remain due, is diſplaced by the paper containing the conſtitution of thoſe debts; and this ſeems to be the utmoſt extent of paper-credit that the wit of man can introduce into the affairs of trade. In peculiar emergencies, a neglect of thoſe obligations may be permitted, on the part of the debtor, without any material ceſſation of confidence on the part of the creditor. We have already deſcribed the nature of thoſe emergencies: and the circumſtances which render the temporary defalcation juſtifiable in point of natural equity, render it alſo ſafe to public credit; that is to ſay, prevent it from deſtroying the confidence of the creditor. But this confidence is only maintained by the idea, that the emergency is to be temporary. It cannot poſſibly ſurvive the belief, that upon a reſtoration of the former arrangements, the defalcation will immediately ceaſe. It is a confidence which may be prolonged, but cannot poſſibly be perpetuated: an expectation which may continue after a temporary delay of fulfilment ſufficiently accounted for, but cannot, in the nature of mens' minds, remain in exiſtence, when the day of fulfilment is removed to an infinite diſtance.

In a word, the reaſon why, out of a hundred bank-notes, only ten are ever preſented for payment, is, that the holders of the remaining ninety believe in the certainty of the ten being regularly and fully paid, and can thus circulate them among other perſons equally convinced of the debtor's integrity and wealth (which are one and the ſame thing). If the ten holders begin to find difficulty in procuring payment, their number will immediately

immediately increaſe; and if the ſtill greater increaſe of this demand would be prejudicial to the majority of the hundred, and to the bulk of the community of which they form part, the Government is juſtified (as repreſenting the majority) in ſuſpending all the payments while the emergency laſts. The knowledge that this ſuſpenſion is neceſſary, and the abſolute certainty that it is temporary, prevents the majority of holders, and, in conſequence, the whole holders of the notes, from diſtruſting their debtors. By law, the notes are rendered a full tender of payment in all bargains previouſly made. This the enactment can effect; but other conſequences follow which no ſtatute could ſecure. By common conſent, it is agreed to receive the ſame notes as a valuable commodity in all future bargains; and the confidence in the debtor continues exactly as high as formerly, merely becauſe the defalcation is known to be neceſſary and temporary.

Suppoſe that, in this ſtate of things, a law is paſſed, rendering the reſtriction perpetual, or extending it far beyond the probable duration of the emergency which cauſed and juſtified it, can we for a moment ſuppoſe that confidence will now continue? The law may force creditors to receive payments in this uſeleſs paper; that is, may cheat all thoſe who have previouſly entered into contracts for time: but no law can force men to enter into new bargains—no law can force them to give valuable commodities for a paper-money which it deprives of all value. The ninety holders of notes who do not preſent for payment, may now, with the ten who do preſent, burn the whole as uſeleſs, if they have no debts to pay—no creditors with whom to ſhare their loſs, and no chance of obtaining juſtice from the Bank. But they will not ſurely give away more of their property for more of thoſe notes: and if the Bank is again forced to pay, they will be rendered wiſe by the attempt to cheat them, they will inſtantly demand payment.

Can the imagination of man, indeed, figure a caſe ſo full of irreconcileable contradictions, as that which the pamphlet before us preſents to our view? Confidence ſought for in ſyſtematic breach of faith; credit built upon neceſſary failure; obligations to pay, iſſued by men incapacitated from paying; promiſſory notes received at par, by thoſe who are previouſly aſſured that the promiſe muſt neceſſarily be broken! With all the contradictions and paradoxes of human nature before our eyes, and as little diſpoſed as poſſible to extenuate or diſbelieve them, we do not believe man to be quite ſo ridiculous a creature, as the projectors of this truly original ſcheme would require, for the reception of their unlimited paper-ſyſtem. If paper-credit is neceſſary to a mercantile ſtate, in a much greater extent than the ſimple arrangements of former times have of themſelves attained by a natural and intelligible proceſs,

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we fear human commerce wants a wheel which the eternal nature of things has doomed it never to acquire. The materials of which this wheel is propoſed to be conſtructed, are obviouſly of ſuch a deſcription, that their union would neceſſarily prevent it from laſting a ſingle ſecond. If the exiſtence of the work were poſſible, when ſo conſtructed, would it not inſtantaneouſly derange the whole machine, and crumble the ſurrounding fabric into duſt? or, if the poſſibility of reconciling all thoſe contradictions be for a moment admitted, would not the operations of this new power concentrate in the additional wheel all the motions and force of the engine, to the infallible deſtruction of every other component part?

The ſupporters of this unprecedented ſyſtem, more particularly the practical friends of the perpetual reſtriction, will moſt probably couch their propoſal in the form of a new temporary meaſure. Accordingly, the author of this pamphlet, although at the outſet he ſpeaks plainly of a permanent reſtriction, (p. 5.), in ſeveral parts of his inferences, talks vaguely of a renewal of the former meaſure. The whole reaſonings, however, if ſuch they can be called, and all the general ſtatements of thoſe who favour the ſyſtem of unlimited paper-credit, proceed not upon any appeal to preſent circumſtances, but on ſpeculative views of the advantages derived from paper-money. Indeed, although the meaſure ſhould be propoſed in the inſidious form of a conſtant renewal of the previous arrangement, (as it moſt probably will be), ſuch a plan only deſerves the more ſerious reprobation. It may gull the public for a few repetitions; but the bubble muſt burſt, as ſoon as men perceive that the neceſſity no longer exiſts, which rendered the meaſures of 1797 neceſſary and excuſeable. And let it be remembered, that all the fundemental objections urged againſt a reſtriction profeſſedly perpetual, apply equally to the unneceſſary prolongation of the former law, for however ſhort a time.

In theſe obſervations, we have confined ourſelves entirely to the moſt general and fundamental view of the queſtion. We have ſtated, that the ſubject appeared to us entirely new; and the ſtandard to which the arguments that it involves muſt be brought, is obviouſly different from the criterion by which we muſt judge of the reaſonings in favour of a temporary reſtriction. It may be proper enough, in diſcuſſing this laſt meaſure, to argue that the circumſtances of the times render it neceſſary. No circumſtances can ſo far alter the nature of human intercourſe, and the ideas of obligation, as to render neceſſary the perpetual breach of promiſe, and abuſe of confidence, required by the ſyſtem of the new projectors. It may be fair, in oppoſing the temporary reſtriction, to ſtate the evils of Government ever interfering with

Bank-affairs; the dangers of ſo unnatural a connection, as that between the executive, or even the legiſlative branch of a regular conſtitution, and a large, but private trading aſſociation; the abuſes to which ſuch an intercourſe may naturally lead, both on the part of the Government, and of the company. But, in expoſing the abſurdity of the perpetual reſtriction, or rather of the total abolition of caſh-payments, ſuch puny arguments would be ſuperfluous and nugatory; the innovation is beſt reſiſted in that quarter which it firſt and moſt inſufferably attacks. Nor can we be accuſed of placing the queſtion upon ground of too metaphyſical or abſtract a nature, when it is conſidered, that the very form and outward ſhape, aſſumed by the inſtrument of the propoſed circulation, neceſſarily reminds us of the contradiction inherent in its nature, and the groſs abſurdity, not to ſay palpable fraud, in which its origin is involved.

The remarks into which we have unwarily been led, by the importance, and, we rejoice to ſay, by the entire novelty of the ſubject, apply rather to the general opinion and projects of thoſe who ſupport the doctrine of unlimited paper-circulation, than to the weak and vain attempts of this publication in recommendation for the ſcheme. We have already given a few ſpecimens of the ignorance and ſtupidity which characterizes the whole pamphlet. We ſhall now add a few more, ſufficient, we conceive, to juſtify the contempt which it has excited in our minds, and the manner in which we have ventured to expreſs this contempt. In the following paſſage, our author explains the foundation of his general doctrines:

'Our own country, ſince the eſtabliſhment of the Bank of England, with comparatively a ſmall circulation of ſpecie, and ſince the year 1797, with almoſt none at all, has increaſed in commerce, riches, and national credit, to the envy of all neighbouring nations *.

'The more theſe momentous truths are conſidered, the more they confirm this *important fact*—that gold and ſilver coin do not eſtabliſh or maintain public credit: but that it is beſt ſupported by a well-regulated paper-currency, united with honeſty and punctuality.' p. 25.

In almoſt every page, indeed, we meet with the ſame phraſes—honeſty, punctuality, *bona fide*, regularity, &c. But in this work they are evidently unintelligible. For what does honeſty, punctuality, &c. mean in the mouth of him who denies the expediency,

'* In Scotland, paper-money has been almoſt the excluſive currency for the laſt fifty years, and the rental of that part of the kingdom has increaſed during that period tenfold; while its commercial riches have kept pace with the improvement of its ſoil.'

pediency, and recommends the prohibition of merchants performing obligations? Does not the perſon laugh at us, as well as cheat us, who talks of *bona fide* paper, when he would have the promiſe contained in it ſyſtematically broken? Should we not be inclined to fling ſuch traſh in his face, if he handed it to us at once as an equivalent for our property, and as a mark of his good faith? For the reſt, we do not maintain—no one, for a long time paſt, has maintained, that 'gold and ſilver coin alone eſtabliſh public credit.' But this we will venture to ſtate, that public credit, or confidence, muſt neceſſarily depend upon the performance of the obligations by the party which claimed that credit or confidence; whether the obligation is to pay metallic money, or leather, or ſhells, or cattle; that ſo long as the notes, which are propoſed to be made the circulating medium, conſiſt of obligations to pay money, their reputation and circulation depends, firſt of all, upon the belief, that this obligation will be fulfilled at the option of the holder of the note; and that all credit and confidence muſt ceaſe as ſoon as the refuſal to pay money is the ſyſtematic line of conduct purſued by the iſſuer, although credit and confidence may be maintained, while the refuſal forms only a tranſient and obviouſly neceſſary exception to his general behaviour.

In chapter third, we meet with the following very ſtrange remark, which we notice, becauſe it ſhews the ſingular effects produced upon weak and ſuperficial minds, by a miſapprehenſion of ſome of the moſt undoubted truths in the ſcience of political œconomy:

'Some may *wiſh* to believe the ſpecie in circulation more than we can account for, and think a great ſtock a proof of proſperity; whereas it would rather be a proof of indigence. France has at preſent a great deal of ſpecie, and no public credit.' p. 54.

Now, if this propoſition has any meaning, it is, that a nation is not the better for poſſeſſing much coined bullion—a groſs miſconception of the doctrines held by thoſe who attack the mercantile ſyſtem. For, which of thoſe political philoſophers has ſaid, that a great ſtock of coin, like a great ſtock of cattle, land, houſes, or any other valuable commodity, is not a proof of national wealth? When Dr Smith, with an inimitable vein of pleaſantry, ridicules the anxious care of the mercantile ſtateſmen and ſpeculatiſts, to multiply the quantity of the precious metals, and contraſts this with an anxiety for multiplying the pots and pans of the ſtate, (Wealth of Nations, B. iv. c. 1.)—he does not deny that a nation poſſeſſing a large ſtock of ſpecie, or of pots and pans, would be wealthy and proſperous: he only contends, that every ſtate will, if induſtrious, poſſeſs as much of the former as

its commerce, and as many of the latter as its cookery requires; and concludes, that the endeavour to amass an over-proportion of money, is as absurd as the project of encumbering our warehouses with a load of culinary utensils. If France possesses much specie, she must soon acquire public credit. It is a proof that her commercial dealings are extensive: it is the demand which these occasion for money that attracts and retains money in the country; and all beyond the sum required to supply this demand, must be immediately turned into active stock. Indeed, as a proof of consistency, and an answer to our author from his own words, we quote the following passage in the preceding chapter:

'It is to be observed, that we are not speaking of the *commerce of bullion*, but *the putting it out of commerce* by coinage or hoarding. As commodities, as articles of commerce, the precious metals are highly valuable; it is the *prohibition* we deprecate.' p. 32.

ART. XII. *Prospectus of a Dictionary of the Language of the Aire Coti, or Ancient Irish, compared with the Language of the Cuti, or Ancient Persians, with the Hindostanee, the Arabic, and Chaldean Languages.* By Lieutenant-General Charles Vallancey, Author of the Vindication of the Ancient History of Ireland. With a Preface, containing an Epitome of the Ancient History of Ireland, corroborated by late discoveries in the Puranas of the Brahmins, and by our learned countrymen in the East. And an account of the Ogham Tree-Alphabet of the Irish, lately found in an ancient Arabic MS. in Egypt. Dublin. Graisberry & Campbell. 4to.

THE ancient language of Ireland has long deserved the attention of the learned, both from the intimate connection which it holds with the history of the British islands, and the neglected state in which it has hitherto been suffered to perish. Though now confined to the mountains of Scotland, and a few of the wildest Irish counties, it possesses many qualities which merit an accurate examination; it is entitled to a share of the labours of the philologist, on account of its antiquity; and particularly endeared to a patriotic Briton, as the primitive language of his country. More important reasons might have induced the antiquary to study it, and transmit it to posterity. A considerable number of ancient MSS., the work of the dark and middle ages, are written in Irish. The monks of that kingdom, without deserving the praise of being more enlightening than their brethren on the continent, had, however, the good fortune to escape, in some measure, the Saxon and Danish conquests, which extinguished learning in Britain. The historians and antiquaries,

to

to whoſe care it fell to peruſe the materials left by thoſe unpoliſhed writers, might have effected much for the elucidation of Celtic manners and hiſtory, had their judgement been proportionate to their reſources, and their zeal for antiquity uncorrupted by prejudice. Such, however, has not been the fate of Celtic literature. The early Iriſh and Scotch hiſtorians have adopted the wildeſt fictions of the monks. They have embelliſhed the dull reveries of the cloiſter, in which the pride of national ignorance had traced the origin of an obſcure and unlettered people, up to Gomer, Japhet, the Pharaohs of Egypt, and the Phœnicians. Not contented with recording theſe fictions in the barren ſtate in which they found them, they have embelliſhed them with whatever knowledge the improvements of better ages could beſtow. They have tortured their own peculiar dialect to make it appear like the Oriental languages; have broken their words into monoſyllables; and perverted all their vowels and conſonants, to eſtabliſh a ridiculous affinity with Egypt and Aſſyria.

In the degenerate ages that ſucceeded the fall of ancient learning, it was a taſk worthy of the recluſe clergy of Ireland, to compoſe Oghams, *Tree*-Alphabets, and fictitious genealogies. To form theſe, required only groſs ignorance of hiſtory, a love of fable, and their profeſſional acquaintance with the books of Moſes. To attain the ſummit of all poſſible extravagance in hiſtory and philology, demanded powers and reſources, however, of a much more extenſive kind. It required the primeval wiſdom of the Indian Puranas, the labours of Golius and Mininſki, the holy vocabularies of the Zend and Pelhvi, the quinteſſence of Engliſh diſcovery in Eaſtern literature, and (what may ſeem of more importance to his printer and Oriental reader) a beautiful fount of Arabic types, with thirty years of veteran experience, to procure this enviable ſtation for General Vallancey. He has paſſed that bourne in hiſtory and etymology, from which few travellers ever return.

To expoſe the continual error of his theory, will not cure his inveterate diſeaſe. It can only excite hopes of preventing infection, by ſhewing that he has reduced that kind of writing to abſurdity; and raiſing a warning monument to all antiquaries and philologians that may ſucceed him.

In order to give our readers ſome idea of this ſingular publication, it may be proper to obſerve, that it conſiſts of three parts, an Introduction, Preface, and Specimen of a Comparative Iriſh Dictionary. All theſe are of conſiderable length. The two firſt contain hiſtorical and etymological facts, mixed by way of illuſtration; and the laſt conſiſts of 77 pages, wholly etymological. A few remarks on each of theſe diviſions will

convey all the information that can be given of ſuch a performance.

The Introduction begins with ſeveral extracts relative to *Ireland*, tranſlated from the Puranas! of the Indian Brahmins!!

General Vallancey, after having obſerved that the labours of Sir William Jones, Mr Burrow, Mr Wilford, Mr Hallis, and * Mr Maurice, in Sanſcrit literature, had eminently confirmed a prior hypotheſis of his own on the ancient population of Ireland, proceeds to lay before his readers a number of extracts made by Mr Wilford from the Hindoo Puranas, and tranſmitted to him by Mr G. Ouſeley. Sir William Jones had imagined, that veſtiges of an ancient people might be traced in Iràn or Perſia, long before the date of the Aſſyrians. This conjecture of that modeſt and admirable writer appeared ſo plauſible to General Vallancey, that he conſidered it as an undoubted truth; and actually proceeds, on the faith of that diſcovery, to date the formation of the great primitive empire from the alliance of the four kings mentioned in the 14th chap. of Geneſis. He magnifies the four Bedouin Sheiks, whom Abraham defeated with his houſehold-ſervants, into the founders of a mighty nation. This fanciful empire, according to the General, aroſe ſoon after the confuſion of tongues. Before that unpleaſant event, the three ſons of Noah, with their offspring, lived in one region of the earth, ſpoke the ſame language, and underwent the ſame corruptions in religion. Before the diſperſion, they had actually adopted the worſhip of the heavenly bodies, and the doctrine of good and evil genii preſiding over the elements and human affairs. The General points out theſe opinions as peculiar to all heathen nations, of whatever origin; and denies that they could have prevailed ſo univerſally, had they not been introduced before mankind were divided. On that unfortunate day which terminated the building of Babel, the primitive language, he aſſures us, was not ſo totally changed as to deſtroy its radical ſtructure, and that it was only ſplit into many dialects, one of which fell to the ſhare of each of thoſe colonies who peopled Egypt, Phœnicia, China, India, and Iràn or Perſia. The Fir Bolg, or Bologues, a fierce and warlike race of Japhetians, who firſt ſettled in Iràn or Indo-Sythia, at the mouth of the river Indus, took an alarm ſoon afterwards, and emigrated ſouthwards. To the weſt of them, on the Perſian Gulph, were the Dedanites; and on the oppoſite ſhore were the Omanites. Theſe tribes united; and hence the whole body was called Fir Bolg, Fir D'Oman, and Tuath Dadan, as may be ſeen in Iriſh hiſtories compoſed before the

* Mr Maurice underſtands none of the Oriental languages.

the Chriſtian æra. From Iràn, theſe emigrants, who, by the by, were nearly allied to the Hindoos, moved ſouthward into Egypt, under their leader Nial, ſettled at Pihahiroth, and navigated the fleets of Pharoah. They offered their ſervices to the Iſraelites in tranſporting them over the Red Sea, which were refuſed; only the General obſerves, that a detachment of them lived, on this very account, in great harmony with the Jews at Bethſan in Paleſtine. Iriſh tranſlators have, however, committed a deplorable error in this affair. Inſtead of tranſlating the ſentence, *Nial ſachuta uiginge Pharaoh*, Nial ſailed the fleets of Pharoah; they have rendered it, Nial married Scota the daughter of Pharoah; a miſerable falſehood, as appears from the conſequences.

The Fir Bolg, Aire Cuti, Gäel, Palli, or Feine, (for all theſe names are accurate), left Egypt, and ſailing from Tyre in Phœnicia, where they left a colony, peopled Malta, Sicily, and Spain. From Gades the boldeſt and moſt adventrous ſteered their courſe to Ireland, under the name of Mileſians. They brought into that iſland their native language, Oriental manners, letters, and religion, with their ſkill in manufacturing fine linen of Egypt, which art remains there till this day!

Such are the wretched abſurdities which General Vallancey mingles with ſcraps of miſapplied Sanſcrit mythology in his Introduction. He details them in greater order in his Preface, which he calls a ſummary of the ancient hiſtory of Ireland; and on them erects the whole fabric of his etymology.

That our readers may appreciate, at their leiſure, the value of that information relative to Ireland which the General has lately procured from India, we ſhall inſert here part of the extracts from the Puranas, as given in the Introduction. They are ſaid to have been made by Mr Wilford.

'The Britiſh Iſles are called, in the Hindoo ſacred books, *Tricatachel*, or the mountain with three peaks. For the Pauranies conſider all iſlands as ſo many mountains, the lower parts of which are covered by the ſea.

'Theſe three peaks are *Suvarna-cuta*, or *Suvarna-ſringa*; *Rajata-cuta*, and *Aya-cuta*, called alſo *Lochacuta*.

'They are alſo called *Dwipa's*, a word ſignifying a country between two waters (*do-ab* in Perſian); and then we ſay *Suvarna-dwip*, *Rajata-dwip*, &c.

'Rajata-dwip is more commonly called *Sueta-dwip*, or the White Iſland; an appellation as well known among the learned in the Eaſt, as it is in the Weſt. *Suvarna-dwip* ſignifies the Golden Iſland; the word *Suvarna* ſignifies alſo, beautiful, excellent; and, in this ſenſe, *Suvarna-dwip*, or *Suvarna-cuta*, is perfectly ſynonimous with *Su-cuta* or *Scuta*.

'*Suvarna*, or *Savarna*, being an adjective noun, cannot be uſed alone, unleſs in derivative form, as *Suvarneya* or *Savarneya*; and ſuch is, in my humble opinion, the origin of the appellation of *Juvernia* and *Ivernia*. *Sawcuteya*, or *S'cuteya*, the regular derivative forms, are not uſed; but it ſeems they were once in the Weſt—hence the appellation of *Scotia*; but, in this ſenſe, it can have no affinity whatever with Scythia.

'From the earlieſt periods, *Suvarneya* was conſidered as the place of abode of the *Pitris* (literally, Fathers, or Manes). There were two places where the Pitris might be ſeen and conſulted, according to the Puranas.

'The firſt was on the ſummit of the higheſt mountain in the Iſland, (probably *Croagh-Patrick*). The ſecond is poſitively declared to be a narrow cave in a ſmall iſland in a lake, the waters of which were bitter. There was the entrance of the *Dirgha*, or long paſſage, into the infernal regions. This Dirgha paſſage is often mentioned in the Puranas.

'Theſe two places are called *Pitri-ſthan*, or the place of the Pitris. *Pitricia* is a derivative form ſeldom uſed in the Puranas, but always in converſation, and in the ſpoken dialects; for every Hindoo knows *Pitrichaſthan*, though ignorant of its ſituation.

'Now the words *Patricia* and *Patricius*, *Patric*, &c. are not only ſimilar in ſound, but have alſo the ſame etymological origin. Hence it has been ſuppoſed, that the Apoſtle of Ireland was the contriver of this mode of evocation of the Manes or anceſtors. Here I muſt obſerve, that the Hindoos acknowledge only a ſort of temporary hell or purgatory.

'The legends relating to this place are very numerous and ridiculous.

'We are informed in the Puranas, that the Pitris were at laſt obliged to leave their favourite abode in the *Suvarneya*: but we are not told the reaſon of it. I ſuſpect, however, it was on account of the invaſion of the *Palli*, or ſhepherds; for, previous to their arrival, the whole iſland was conſidered as SACRED GROUND, and no mortal ever preſumed to enter it, without being previouſly qualified for his admiſſion.

'The Pitris fled with their leader to the Dwipas, or peninſula of *Aya*, or *Ayea* *, where they are ſuppoſed to remain unmoleſted to this day; but this place they were alſo forced to abandon; for we find St Brandon looking for them in a remote iſland in the Weſtern Ocean.

'Though the Pitris were forced to abandon *Suvarna-dwip*, yet the *Maha-dewar*, or gateway at the entrance of the *Dirgha*, ſtill remains as it was; and every Hindoo ſuppoſes he is to go through it after his death.

'The

* Probably Ireland's Aye, or Ireland's Eye, a ſmall iſland, or rather peninſula at low-water, near Howth, is here meant.

'The gardens of the *Heſperides* are deſcribed in the Puranas, where long and fulſome ſtories are to be found relating to them; and they are poſitively declared to be in Suvarna-dwip.

'*Chandra-dwip* is generally uſed to ſignify the ſacred iſles in the Weſt; however, it belongs properly to *Sueta-dwip*, or the White Iſland.

'I am told, adds Mr Wilford, ſome Hindoos have attempted to viſit the *ſacred iſlands* in the Weſt; an account of which, from the *Puranas*, will (if the public approve this Eſſay) be the ſubject of a future work. A *Yógi*, now living, is ſaid to have advanced, with his train of pilgrims, as far as *Moſcow*; but, though he was not ill uſed by the Ruſſians, they flocked in ſuch crowds to ſee him, that he was often obliged to interrupt his devotions, in order to ſatisfy their curioſity: he therefore choſe to return.' Introduction, p. 2. 3.

On this airy fable it may be proper to remark, that it is rather a commentary by Mr Wilford on ſome detached traditions in the Indian books, than a faithful tranſlation of any particular paſſage. Mr Wilford boldly ſets out with the ſuppoſition, that Tricatachel is the Britiſh iſlands; and adds, that they are called *dwipas*, from the Perſian word *do-ab*. Now, was the uſe of the Perſian language ſo ancient in India, as to give an appellation to an object, which neither the modern Hindoos or Perſians had any acceſs to know? Is not the whole extract an evident impoſition by ſome of the pundits on Mr Wilford, or even by himſelf, *animi gratiâ*, on the General, through the medium of their common friends? Were the ancient Brahamins ſo minutely acquainted with Iriſh topography, as to know Croagh-Patrick, and the Cave of Purgatory in the county of Donegal? Is is not an illuſion of Mr Wilford, to ſuppoſe that the iſland of the Heſperides, or paradiſe of all the ancient nations, is Ireland? Thoſe who have examined the hiſtory of Plato's Atlantis, Homer's Cimmeria, the Celtic Iſrionn, and the Gothic Aſgard, are beſt fitted to ſtate the difficulty of aſcertaining their reſpective places in the maps of Ptolemy or d'Anvelle. It is well known, that the Hindoos and Egyptians had no method of exploring the iſlands in queſtion at the period aſſigned by the General to the Iranian emigration. What knowledge of Britain they might have attained during the proſperity of the Phœnicians is uncertain; but, after weighing all probable circumſtances, it may be fairly queſtioned if the exiſtence of Britain and New Holland were not in all ages equally a blank in the Sanſcrit books.

After theſe remarks, it is unneceſſary to add the General's etymological obſervations on the Sanſcrit words of the extract. According to him, Suvarna-dwip is the *golden* iſland; in Iriſh, ſaibhirna-dubh; ſaibhir (ſaivir), rich, from ſaib, gold; Hebrew, zahab.

gahab. Sovurna is alſo the Iriſh ſuvarna, beautiful; and ſo, mhurna is, moſt beautiful. He deſcribes, at full length, the Indo-Scythian monuments of Ireland; the bitter waters of Lough Dearg; the temple of Viſhnu at Killſhandra; the palli, or ſhepherd kings of Ireland; the Iranian empire; and the language of the Cuti, or Iriſh, which, he ſays, is at this day pure Chaldean. The laſt part of the Introduction is dedicated to a favourite ſubject in the works of etymologiſts; to the deſcription of an Indian monument found in a little iſland on the coaſt of Sligo, which the General affirms to be a temple of Priapus, and exactly ſimilar to one in the iſland of Elephanta, called by the Gentoos Mahoody. Our readers muſt know, that the worſhip of this deity is of the utmoſt antiquity in Ireland. The General preſents us with an engraving of the two temples. The Iriſh one is merely a long ſtone, ſet at right angles on a broad one, and ſurrounded with a little wall. We ſuſpect that is the innocent amuſement of ſome peaſant, or ſuperſtitious monk, perhaps of an idle ſhepherd's boy, who little knew the great idolatry into which he was falling, nor the groſs myſtery of the profane edifice which his hands had reared.

In another plate is delineated what the General calls the Iriſh Ogham, or Tree-Alphabet, lately diſcovered in an Arabic MS. in Egypt.

Thoſe who are acquainted with the ſilly attachment which the Arabs have to taliſmanic or magic characters and alphabets, will ſmile at the manner in which General Vallancey has become the dupe of his antiquarian prejudices. A remarkable, but unconnected ſimilarity in the ignorant trifling of the middle ages, has greatly miſled his underſtanding. The Iriſh monks of theſe times (the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries) waſted much of their conſecrated oil in deviſing ſecret modes of writing, ſome of which conſiſted in throwing all the vowels out of the alphabet, and ſubſtituting in their places one or more conſonants. Of the three Oghams given by the General in his Grammar, two are of that kind in which a couple of conſonants are put for the vowel *a*, another couple for *e*, and ſo on through the whole liſt. The oldeſt of the Oghams, which the General affirms to be that of the Pagan Iriſh, primitive Iranians, Aire-Cuti, and Japhetians, is nothing but a precious relic of the old Iriſh monks, in which croſſes, variouſly modified, are put for the letters of the alphabet. It is ſtill more wonderful to hear the General gravely aſſerting, (Iriſh Grammar, p. 8.), that the Uraiceacht na neigeas, or *Primer of the Bards*, from which he extracted it, was *written* ſome years before our vulgar æra. This is the celebrated alphabet which ſo much reſembles that found in Egypt. The reader may peruſe both

both in the engraving, and laugh or pity as inclination leads him.

The Iriſh names of theſe primitive letters are as ridiculous as their figures and boaſted antiquity. The letters of the Bobeloth, or the Phœnician alphabet, are called after ſcripture places and heroes, who could not be known to its Japhetan compoſers (Iriſh Grammar, p. 9.) ſoon after the confuſion of tongues. For inſtance, L, H, D, Q, M, R, A, O, E, J, received out of the Vulgate, not the Hebrew Bible, the corrupted names of Lot, Urias, David, Caleb, Moria, Ruben, Achab, Oſſee, and Joaichim. Five of the diphthongs were more fortunate. They obtained from fancy the ſonorous titles of Eutroſius, Oirdionors, Uimealcus, Jodonius, and Aofraim, or Ephraim; no doubt men of great proweſs and abilities in their day, though now, except Ephraim alone, totally forgotten.

The Bethluiſnon alphabet, taken by O'Flaherty from the book of *Lecan*, gives the name of ſome particular *tree* to each letter; though the General has found it convenient to join theſe ancient names to the *Bobeloth* characters, for the purpoſes of theory.

We are, moreover, indebted to the clerich, in vulgar Latin, clerici, and, in Engliſh, clergy, for all the Mileſian heroes, Spaniſh Phœnicians, Cuthites, and Indo-Scythians, who ever entered Ireland, or found a place in the book of Ballymote.

The ſecond diviſion of the General's work is called the Preface. It contains, at full length, the abſurd hiſtory of which we have already given an abridgement. The following extract concerning Oſſian muſt doubtleſs pleaſe our Celtic readers, as it is founded on good authorities, is very plauſible in itſelf, and firmly believed by the General. We give the Perſic words in Engliſh characters, as found in the General's orthography.

'The *Ized*, Genius or Demon, of the Zend, is the *Sid* of the Chaldees, and the *Sidh* or good genius of the Iriſh; the *Sidh-bhróg*, or domeſtic Sidh, is ſuppoſed yet to attend certain families, and the *banaſidh* (bann-ſhee) genius or angel of ſeparation, that is, of death, is believed to haunt certain families, and to give notice of the death of a diſtant relation. *Taibhſidh*, is the attendant or following genius, from *taba*, following. In the Zend, we find *Oſchen*, the Oiſin or Oiſhin of Ireland, of whom the Parſi know as little as Macpherſon did of Oſſian. In the Zend we find the *Gah-Oſhen* (in Iriſh, *gui Oiſhin*) prayer to Oſchen—he is thus eſteemed a *good genius*. When Le Brun was with the Guebres, or Parſi, the prieſts told him, that when Adam was thirty-one years old, he begat *Ouſhin*, and that he was father of a numerous family, who was ſucceeded by *Jem-ſid*, their firſt king, who lived 700 years: (Le Brun, V. ii. p. 389.). Dr Hyde tranſlates a paſ-

ſage

ſage from Sheriſtan, ſetting forth, that in the time of *Oſſian* appeared the evil genius *Peyrah*. Theſe names being familiar with the Iriſh, the Chriſtian miſſionaries in this iſland formed the poem of *Oſſian* and *Patrick*, reverſing the good for the evil genius, and the evil for the good; although the graver hiſtorians allow, that Oſſian lived many centuries before Patrick. If Oſſian had not been eſteemed the good genius, the firſt Chriſtian biſhops would hardly have taken his name; in Colgan we find no leſs than ſix. Whoever will read the life of St Patrick, and the hiſtory of him in the ancient MS., will be convinced of the truth of this aſſertion—firſt, he declares, that he came from Nemhthur, *i. e.* the diſtant paradiſe, *(neem tur)*; but the pagan prieſts declared he was *Taile-ghein (tali-jin)*, an evil dæmon; *Telchides*, mali dæmones (Suidas); and that he was Succat, the wicked, (Shuky)—then he is ſaid to have vomited out fire, like a dæmon, before the Pagan king Milcho.' Preface, p. xxxix.

'This is the Perſian ſtory of Zerdurſt appearing in fire to his diſciples: all the genii are ſaid to be compoſed of fire. There was an altar dedicated to Oiſhin, on the top of a mountain in the barony of Iniſh Owen, as there were to all other genii and deities in pagan Ireland; as, to Cailee, Diarmut, &c. &c.; that to Oiſhin is marked in an ancient map of that country, engraved at the coſt of the Earl of Donegall, there named Alt Oiſin (now Sliabh Sneacht)—it is a valuable map, having the head of the Earl in one corner, engraved by Holbein; it was in my poſſeſſion, and I made a copy of it.' Preface, p. xl.

Our limits will not permit us to give the General's account from the Din Seanacas Eirinn, *a very ancient MS.*, of thoſe Iriſh deities and ſubdeities, who, like *Viſhnu*, proſecuted their ſublunary amours in that country. But we muſt not omit, that the Arabic name of Oſſian is *Aſin*, or Oſin, radical or illuſtrious of deſcent.

Having completely proved, by theſe and ſimilar arguments, the great and uſeful principle of the cognate origin of the Egyptians, Hindoos, Perſians, Phœnicians, Chineſe, and Iriſh, the General concludes his long preface with comparative tables of the Zend, the Pelhvi, Coptic, Hindoſtanee, Arabic, and Hebrew, ſeparately arranged with the Celtic. Among all theſe he finds nothing but continual reſemblance, and aſtoniſhing proofs of mutual affinity. The moſt remote analogy furniſhes him with concluſions of perfect certainty, which ſeem to ariſe in his mind, without care or heſitation. The following precious little anecdote may ſerve to convey an idea of the facility with which the General imbibes hiſtorical and philological truth.

'Mr Lebedoff, a Ruſſian, who lived twelve years in Bengal, and is maſter of the Bengaleſe language, was walking one day, very lately, in Oxford-ſtreet, and overheard two Iriſh milk-women converſing in their native language—he was able to underſtand every thing they ſaid, from its reſemblance to the Bengaleſe. (S. W. O-)' Pref. p. xxix.

We

We ſuſpect that this anecdote bears for its authority the initials of the reſpectable name of Sir William Ouſeley !!

We ſenſibly feel our own inability to diſcover, whether the Sanſcrit and Iriſh be cognate dialects or not. Few natives of Scotland are ſuch proficients in a language of which there are no printed books, grammars, or dictionaries. It is not, however, difficult to judge, from the ſpecimens given in theſe tables, that their boaſted reſemblance is purely imaginary. As to the other Oriental languages, which the General has preſſed into his ſervice, we can perceive their coincidence, and ſtate their diſtinguiſhing qualities with greater certainty, from our own knowledge. To what extent his comparative etymologies may appear concluſive to a Celtic ſcholar, eſpecially to one that is ignorant of Coptic, we will not even conjecture; but we have no heſitation to affirm, that the language of the Pharaohs reſembles the Iriſh neither in words, ſtructure, nor grammar. Two or three vocables in Egyptian, or in any language under heaven, may accidentally coincide in ſound and ſenſe with as many Iriſh. It is all that any rational philologiſt can ſhow; and none will conſider it worthy of attention. The Zend or Perſic retains ſome affinity to the Teutonic dialects; the reaſon of which can be explained without any violation of truth or probability. Through the Daniſh, that ſimilarity may have entered the Iriſh; as *Nial* or *Nigel* certainly arrived in Ireland by the rout of Scandinavia. The Hebrew, Arabic, Ethiopic, Chaldee, Syriac, and Phœnician, have the ſame reſemblance to the Iriſh, as the Coptic; that is—none whatſoever. It will ſurpriſe thoſe who are little acquainted with the General's philological ſtudies, to ſee him miſtaking the corrupted Malteſe Arabic for the Phœnician. In this, however, he was miſled by his guides and inſtructors, many of whom have at times been ſeduced to triſle with the weakneſs of his judgement.

The Hebrew, Arabic, Ethiopic, Chaldee, Syriac, and Phœnician, are indeed dialects of the ſame original language; and it may not be improper to mention the *criteria* by which we ſupport our aſſertion. Theſe dialects have the major of their words nearly the ſame, both in ſenſe and ſound. Their verbs are formed of a ſimilar number of letters: their moods, tenſes, numbers, and perſons, are formed in the ſame manner, and by the ſame letters or particles. All the ſix dialects agree in the declenſion of their nouns, and in the genius of their conſtruction. The nations which ſpoke them were contiguous, ſimilar in cuſtoms and manners; and their written hiſtory records the fact of their common original.

Theſe are the *criteria* by which we maintain, that the affinities of all the tribes of mankind may be diſcovered with tolerable accuracy. If India can produce a dialect which coincides as fully with

with the Iriſh, as the Hebrew with the Arabic, or the Engliſh with the Scotch, we ſhall readily finiſh all diſputes: we ſhall forget the immenſe diſtance between Palibothra and Ireland's Eye, the imperfection of Hindoo ſhipping, the uncertainty of tradition, and hail the ancient union of India and Hibernia, her Brahminical paradiſe, and Elyſian iſland in the Weſt. Though Iriſh nabobs may poſſibly ſtill exiſt, who have retired, at the eve of life, from the banks of the Ganges to thoſe of the Shannon, we cannot admit that the practice is of any antiquity. We aſſert, that their firſt emigration was from Ireland to India, where, inſtead of underſtanding Perſic and Bengalee, in conſequence of their Iriſh, ſome of them have undergone the uſual toil in acquiring theſe two languages, and moſt of them have never acquired them at all. Our readers may compare that fact with the anecdote of Mr Lebedoff, which the General firmly believes, though his informer did not.

Theſe remarks will abridge our labour on the laſt and moſt important diviſion of the General's book—the Proſpectus of a Comparative Iriſh Dictionary. He propoſes, in this work, to illuſtrate the Iriſh words by cognate examples drawn from all the languages above mentioned. On this plan, and the baſis on which it depends, we have nothing more to ſay. The Proſpectus conſiſts of 77 pages, and may contain about 400 words, each of which are derived from, or compared with vocables gathered from the Oriental languages. We have examined them all; and are ready to pledge ourſelves to any of our readers, whoſe learning and judgement are ſufficient to examine the facts, that there is not a true etymology in the whole number. Few philological theories are totally deſtitute of truth and information. In abundance of error, there are commonly two or three particles of uſeful ſcience. This is the only publication in which there is none. It is unique in its kind, and perhaps the firſt of the ſort that has yet paſſed through the hands of a Reviewer. We ſincerely believe with the General, that the diſtaſtrous event at Babel did not all the miſchief which erring philologiſts have ſuppoſed. The firſt inſpection of his Proſpectus fully convinced us, that the *total confuſion* of languages was reſerved for a later, brighter, and more glorious period. Let one unſelected example ſpeak for the reſt.

'Ormuzd or armuzd, as it is written, *i. e.* God, the *Tchetri* of the Zend, and the *Seathar* of the Iriſh, is certainly compoſed of *arum* or *arm*, and *ized*, *i. e.* the firſt or original Good Genius, in Iriſh Arm ſidh, or Arm uaſd, (ſee *Us.)*, whence *Ized* in modern Perſian ſignifies God, and ſo did *Arm* in Iriſh. The pater-noſter of the firſt Chriſtian miſſionaries began thus, *Ar n'Arm ata ar neamh.* Our origin (firſt principle, radix) who art in paradiſe. (See my Iriſh Grammar, 2d edit. At preſent it runs thus, *Ar n'Athair ata ar neamh*, our father, who art in

in heaven; *athair* and *arm*, are words of the ſame meaning, as explained by Archbiſhop Cormac, who lived in the tenth century, *athair, ater, atri*, origo, primitus dicebatur, quaſi *pater*, *i. e.* athar. In Arabic, the words are alſo ſynonimous, *arm*, *arum*, ſtirps, origo; *atr*, radix, ſtirps, and the Chaldee *aram* and *atar*, the ſame, and *petar*, primitus; whence the Greek and Latin Pater, and Engliſh Father. Ormuzd, or the good principle, was named *dei* by the Perſians, in Iriſh *Dia* and *Da*, and *Dagbdae*, or the good Deity. Dia, Dei, De, Dae, good; he was alſo named De-thobha, or the good good, or, the good De, which Shaw tranſlates Jehovah; but it is from the Chaldee tab, taba, Heb. tob. Ar. tiub, taeb, toobè good, bonus; metaph. elegans, præſtans, hilaris, jucundus, lætus, item ſubſtantivè bonum, bonitas, beneficum, and the Perſian Dei, the deity, the divinity, the good principle Ormuzd, in oppoſition to *Aherman*, the principle of evil, in Iriſh *a-harmuin*, curſed, unbleſt; and hence Dia, God; whence the Latin Deus. In like manner, we find the Deity expreſſed in Iriſh MSS. by *Barr*, and *Barrcean*, *i. e.* good—the chief of goodneſs or beneficence, agreeing with the Arabic *Berr*, *Barr*, good, beneficent, juſt, equitable, true—pious towards God and parents, piety, &c. &c. We alſo find *Keima*, *Rama*, one of the good genii, ſignifying compaſſion; *Rami*, name of an Ized or good genius, (De Sacy); Ar. *rehim*, compaſſion, mercy; whence *rahman*, God, (the merciful.)' Pref. p. xxxvii.

While we offer on the General's publication theſe ſtrictures, which every one is requeſted to examine ſeverely, by a peruſal of the book itſelf, we cannot refrain from deploring the miſerable ſtate of Celtic literature. Ireland poſſeſſes many MSS. of old laws, poems, romances, chronicles, &c. which were not compoſed by pagans, though at a time when Britain was comparatively illiterate. The Chriſtian clergy of the dark ages preſerved or invented many of thoſe improbable fables, which, during more than thirty years, General Vellancey and his fellow antiquaries have publiſhed for truth. The ſtories of Oiſein, Fin, and his heroes, may be better learned from Iriſh MSS. of the 12th, than from ignorant Highland traditions of the 19th century. Such a height of diſcredit have theſe traditions now attained, that ſince the publications of Macpherſon, no candid inquirer dare truſt in them, even when they are ſupported by the moſt reſpectable authority. Iriſh or Highland MSS. older than the beginning of the 18th century, muſt alone determine the authenticity of the poems aſcribed to Oſſian. Such extracts of theſe MSS. as are uſeful for any literary purpoſe, ought to be publiſhed by the joint labours of the *Iriſh and Highland literati*. The time is for ever fled, when a Highlander might forge what he pleaſed, and tell the world that it was a tranſlation. Why does no ſober antiquary compile a dictionary of the Iriſh from authentic MSS. and printed books, without one particle of etymology. The various ſenſes of the vocables

bles ſhould be taken from exiſting writings, and the vernacular dialects of Ireland and Scotland. The orthography ſhould be adjuſted from MSS. or correct philological analogy, not from any theoretical derivations, with which even the quotations of ſome Celtic philologiſts have been corrupted. Inſtead of this ſcientific labour, the Caledonian and Hibernian antiquaries waſte long lives, and reſpectable learning, in eſtabliſhing fictions which a child would ridicule, and in torturing the pliable orthography of a barbarous dialect, to give it a fanciful reſemblance to Sanſcrit or Phœnician. Smith's Gaelic Antiquities, the writings of the two Macpherſons, and all the works of General Vallancey, are thus either a chaos of etymology, or a heap of falſe hiſtory and fanciful hypotheſes. One ſolitary Gaelic publication, the Grammar by Mr Stewart of Moulin, deſerves to be exempted from this charge. The author has obtained the praiſe of General Vallancey, becauſe he underſtands Hebrew: we, on the other hand, ſhould have been more diſpoſed to beſtow upon him our own praiſe, had he underſtood no Hebrew at all, or rather made no uſe of it in that publication. Though we pretend to more knowledge of the Oriental languages than of Iriſh, we know enough of the latter to aſſert, that there is not a Hebrew or an Arabic type neceſſary in printing the Dictionary which is to tranſmit it to poſterity.

ART. XIII. *An Eſſay on Abſtinence from Animal Food, as a Moral Duty.* By Joſeph Ritſon. 8vo. London. Phillips. 1802. pp. 236.

IN the toilſome and unvaried round of ephemeral productions which we are conſtantly obliged to run, in order to diſcover what works are worthy of a place in our catalogue, it does not frequently happen that we experience ſo great a variety of feelings from the curſory peruſal of the common tracts which load the preſs, as we have been ſubjected to by the author of the eſſay now before us. Diſguſt, pity, contempt, laughter, deteſtation, have been alternately excited by the peruſal of this moſt extraordinary performance. As the author of it has formerly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his induſtry in the uſeful and often intereſting path of the antiquary, and as the ſubject of theſe pages is extremely curious, in a merely ſpeculative point of view, we think proper to treat our readers with a glimpſe of the preſent publication, and to relieve ourſelves, by ſharing with them the various emotions which it has raiſed in our minds.

The object of this treatiſe is to prove the iniquity of uſing animal food. The expediency of a vegetable diet, as conducive

to

to health of mind and body, is only touched upon in a few pages, apparently introduced as an epiſode to the work itſelf, which has for its ſubject, properly ſpeaking, only the criminality, the moral turpitude of feeding upon fleſh. Had the author treated his ſubject in a pleaſing and conſiſtent manner—had he comprehended in his plan the various ſingular inquiries to which the general enunciation of the title evidently leads, we ſhould with pleaſure have followed him into a very curious and intereſting field of diſcuſſion, a field in which the greateſt talents of antiquity were once exerted to enlighten and improve mankind, although the more important topics of modern ſcience have for ſome ages buried all ſuch inquiries in the libraries of the claſſical ſcholar. But the very narrow view which he takes of this great queſtion, confines our ſpeculations to an unintereſting branch of the ſubject. The point at iſſue is, Whether the ties of moral duty enjoin a ſtrict abſtinence from animal food, and whether the uſe of animal food does not lead to ſtill more flagrant crimes?

The author, in his firſt chapter, appears to follow the example of ſome ancient writers, and, for the ſake of *generalization*, to begin with a diſſertation wholly devoid of any particular connexion with the ſubject of the work. The title of the chapter is, '*Of Man.*' If this diſſertation has any object, it is to retail all the whimſies of Lord Monboddo, and his ſmall circle of adherents, in mean and vulgar language. The concluſions tacked to the end of this rhapſody, we cannot ſay deduced from it, are, that man is of the ſame ſpecies with the lower animals; that almoſt all living creatures ſubſiſt by devouring each other; that man, who boaſts of his preeminence, is a prey to millions of beaſts, while he only makes uſe of a few. Then, as if this were not ſufficiently diſguſting, we are deſired to believe, that there is 'neither intention nor benevolence in nature;' and that if the preſent order of things is to continue, it were better ſuch 'diabolical monſters' as all animals now are, ſhould ceaſe to exiſt. P. 39. & 40.

As the firſt chapter concludes with a poſitive denial, that juſtice, mercy, and benevolence are natural, and an open avowal of contempt for the order of nature, we are not a little ſurpriſed to find that the firſt argument againſt the uſe of animal food, is drawn from an attempt to prove that it is 'not natural to man.' This is the *title*, and we find (for it does not neceſſarily follow) that this is alſo the *ſubject* of the ſecond chapter.

The author next proceeds to ſhow that animal food is not neceſſary for the purpoſe of ſtrength or corpulency. And the three following chapters, occupying above ſeventy pages, are employed in arguing that cruelty and ferocity, the uſe of human ſacri-

fices, and the devouring of human fleſh, are the natural conſequences of eating animal food! After the ſpecimen which we have given of the exceſs and the incongruity of this author's opinions, we believe our readers will readily excuſe us for dropping our analyſis, and proceeding to offer a very few general remarks upon the literary and mortal turpitude which marks almoſt every page of the nauſeous thing that we are at preſent forced to keep before us.

Were we inclined to undertake the diſcuſſion which forms the ſubject of this author's book, we ſhould only have to conſider abſtinence from animal food in its relation to duty. The queſtion of expediency is altogether foreign to his views. Now, admitting all his impious ſarcaſms and paradoxes upon the order of nature, it ſeems very manifeſt that no better defence of animal food, as a matter of moral conſideration, can poſſibly be offered, than this one ſimple propoſition—the uſe of it is preſcribed by neceſſity—is a part of that order of nature which ſuch perſons as this writer may ſcoff at, but muſt obey. The waſting of animal life is not a matter of choice. Every drop of water that quenches our thirſt, or laves our bodies, contains innumerable inſects, who are ſacrificed to our neceſſities or comforts; each ſimple that forms a part of the moſt humane and ſcrupulous Pythagorean or Brahmin's vegetable fare, conveys to inevitable deſtruction, thouſands of the moſt beautiful and harmleſs of created beings. The ground on which we preſs to ſuccour a wounded animal, or to adore the God of tender mercy, is by thoſe actions neceſſarily turned into a ſcene of torture and carnage. From the firſt to the laſt gaſp of our lives, we never inhale the air of heaven, without butchering myriads of ſentient and innocent creatures.

Placed as we are, then, by our deſtiny, in a ſituation that renders murder the action which, of all others, we moſt conſtantly perform, can we deem it unnatural or criminal, if, in order to purſue the gratification of our inſtinctive appetites, we ſwell, by an imperceptible voluntary addition, the catalogue of neceſſary enormities? Can we upbraid ourſelves for ſupporting our lives by the death of a few animals, many of whom are themſelves carnivorous, when the infant who has lived for a ſingle day, has killed an infinitely greater number of harmleſs beings, than the longeſt life would ſuffice to murder by deſign? Or, if we ſacrifice either our lives or our comforts, by ſcrupulouſly denying ourſelves the uſe of animals, can we derive much conſolation from conſidering, that we ſpare a few ſcores of beings, when we involuntarily, but knowingly, are every moment maſſacring more than the longeſt lifetime would ſuffice to enumerate?

But

But the inconſiſtency neceſſary to the tenets ſupported by the work now before us, is rendered ſtill more apparent by the voluntary conduct of thoſe who are frantic enough to adopt ſuch doctrines. Theſe men, with all their deteſtation of cruelty towards animals, are in practice lamentably incongruous and motley. They are not content with that meaſure of iniquity and inhumanity which they cannot avoid; they wilfully increaſe the catalogue of their tormentings and maſſacres.

The author of this performance tells us, that for above thirty years,

—'he has ever ſince to the reviſal of this ſheet, firmly adhere'd to a milk and vegetable diet, haveing, at leaſt, never taſteëd, dureing the whole courſe of thoſe thirty years, a morſel of fleſh, fiſh, or fowl, or any thing, to his knowledge, prepare'd in or with thoſe ſubſtanceës, or any extract thereof, unleſs, on one occaſion, when tempted, by wet, cold and hunger, in the ſouth of Scotland, he venture'd to eat a few potatos, dreſs'd under the roaſt: nothing, leſs repugnant to his feelings, being to be had; or except by ignorance or impoſition; unleſs, it may be, in eating egs, which, however, deprives no animal of life, though it may prevent ſome from comeing into the world to be murdere'd and devoure'd by others.' P. 201–202.

And again, (p. 196.), he ſays,

'The compileër of the preſent book, like Pythagoras and John Williamſon *, abſtains from animal food.'

But how lamentably inconſiſtent is this very paſſage with itſelf! Is not the conſumption of milk the ſtarving of calves? and is not the devouring of eggs, the cauſing of acute miſery to a tender mother, and the procuring of abortions? Beſides, admitting all theſe acts to be conſiſtent with juſtice and humanity, how wretchedly ſhort does ſuch conduct fall of that purity which is eaſily attainable, and which is plainly preſcribed by the ſame principles or feelings! We are charitable enough to ſuſpect that this author's obedience to the common inſtinct of cleanlineſs, leads him occaſionally to attempt the expulſion of thoſe intruders which frequently invade the neglected regions of the human body. What a world of animal life and happineſs muſt he not deſtroy by every ſuch endeavour, however feelingly it may be performed, and with however little ſucceſs it may be attended! Or, if he carries his theory ſo far as to foſter and cheriſh all the inhabitants of his ſurface, does he never cover his

* This perſonage is thus named in the text: 'John Williamſon, *alias* Pythagoras, *alias* Bramin, *alias* Hole-John,' &c.—Ibid.

animated ſyſtem with the ſpoils of the innocent ſheep? Are his lucubrations themſelves, his diatribes againſt the murder of animals, free from ſimilar charges? The liquid in which they flow derives its properties from the deſtruction of a harmleſs inſect, the quiet inhabitant of the ſpreading oak; the tube which performs the operation, is torn bleeding from the plumes of that bird which ſaved the capitol of Rome; the oil which is waſted to illuminate the midnight proceſs, is a damning proof of the long-protracted torments and inhuman butchery of the great leviathan, the lord of the deep.

How pitiful, then, is this author's attempt to carry his principles into practice, by abſtaining from certain kinds of food eaten by the reſt of mankind; while, in a thouſand ways, he voluntarily deſtroys the life and comfort of various animals, prevents ſtill more from ever ſeeing the light, and actually cauſes the deſtruction or torture of many which the ox-fed ruſtic never moleſts! His whole life, as an author, is at variance with thoſe principles which torment and ſtarve his life as a man. His harangues againſt deſtroying animal life, are uſhered into the world on the ſpoils of the ſlain; and the taking up of his pen to deprecate the violation of life, is a ſignal for the fate of thouſands. Would it be more ridiculous in a righteous confectioner to preach up the abolition of the ſlave trade, by uttering invectives againſt the uſe of ſugar in tea, and practiſe his doctrines by conſcientiouſly poiſoning himſelf with ſour punch, while he dealt out to the world every other ſpecies of ſaccharine preparation?

But the great end of nature, we are told, is the multiplication of animal exiſtence. The inanimate vegetables are given to man for his ſupport; and he is acting contrary to the deſtination of Providence, when he violates the life of animated beings. It is true, that one great purpoſe of nature, if indeed our faculties can ſcan thoſe plans, appears to be the multiplication of animal life: but it is equally obvious to our faculties, that another purpoſe is as generally diſplayed on this globe, the deſtruction of animal life. The utmoſt that we can pretend to affirm is, the probable ſubſerviency of the one to the other of theſe ends, equally conſtant and univerſal. Beyond this, it is not even given to our narrow minds to conjecture.

How narrow and partial, indeed, are all ſuch ſyſtems as the Pythagorean and Brahminical, not to mention the ſyſtem of the preſent publication, which poſſeſſes neither the elegant ſymmetry, nor the philoſophical conſiſtency, nor the intereſting ſuperſtition, that adorned and dignified the ſyſtems of Samos and Indoſtan! While the groſs ox, and the ſtupid tortoiſe, may ſluggiſhly rejoice at thoſe whims to which they owe their ſafety, how many myriads

riads of the gayeſt beings that animate the regions of the air, and the faireſt forms that ſparkle in the ſun-beam, are ſacrificed to ſpare the torpid exiſtence of a few ſhapeleſs lumps of ſcarcely vivified clay! If the gratitude of ſuch brutes can delight our ſelf-denying ſages, let the cries of the innocent and frolic beings that inhabit the green leaf, or ſport upon the pellucid fountain, awaken their remorſe; beings who muſt wiſh that the harmleſs and gentle nature of the tyger were breathed into the ferocious and inſatiable lamb, and the bloody, murderous, carniverous *ritſon*, a newly diſcovered animal of anomalous order, of which as yet only one ſolitary ſpecimen has preſented itſelf to the attention of naturaliſts.

It would, indeed, be an irkſome and unprofitable taſk to follow more minutely the reaſonings, if ſuch they can be called, which this work contains; to prove, for inſtance, in oppoſition to the doctrine of the third chapter, that animal food, whether it may be neceſſary for promoting corpulency and ſtrength or not, is, in ſome countries where Providence has ſcattered men, neceſſary for the ſupport of life, and the only ſuſtenance provided by the climate and ſoil. We ſhall merely obſerve, that the chapters which deduce cruelty, the practice of human ſacrifices, and the eating of human fleſh, from the uſe of animal food, are, beyond any of the reſt, pregnant with diſguſting and tireſome folly. It would be throwing away words to argue, that the ſacrifice of men to appeaſe the wrath of imaginary gods, ariſes from principles and fancies utterly unconnected with the diet and regimen of the ſavages who are curſed with ſo barbarous and gloomy a ſyſtem of religious worſhip; or to prove that the nations of Europe are as civilized and humane as the Hindoos, (who, by the way, admit human ſacrifices into almoſt every branch of their religion); or to contend, that thoſe who inhabit the country of roaſt beef are as little in danger of ſeeing the limbs of their friends expoſed to ſale in their markets, as we are in this quarter of the iſland, where the horſe and his rider amicably meſs together upon vegetable fare out of the ſame trough.

For our parts, we freely acknowledge that all thoſe topics of diſſuaſion have but little effects on our obdurate and carnivorous ſouls. We have little fear of diminiſhing that gentleneſs and placidity of temper which belongs to our vocation; or of being moved to appeaſe the goddeſs of criticiſm with the body of a ſcribbler; ſtill leſs of turning our teeth and nails from the pages to the carcaſes of authors; although we ſhould now and then indulge in that ſpecies of nutriment, for which, as a rarity, we muſt own a predilection not unnatural in Scotiſh reviewers; and for which we feel all the members of our ſyſtem, except our purſe, admirably well adapted by nature.

In the ninth chapter, the author commemorates the worthies of his Elyſium, thoſe wiſe and virtuous perſons who have ſubſiſted entirely on vegetables.

'*Omnibus his nivea cinguntur tempora vitta!*'

The figures, moſt prominent in this group, are the author himſelf and his bookſeller, between whom, by the way, no ſmall degree of affection ſeems to ſubſiſt. For in another part of the work, an advertiſement of a book, publiſhed by this tradeſman, is carefully and minutely introduced. p. 25, 26.

We only ſtop here, to give a new ſpecimen of that perverſe and ſyſtematic inconſiſtency, which ſeems to form an integral part of this author's whole feelings and principles. One of the characters, chiefly extolled for his humanity and univerſal benevolence, in abſtaining from all injury to the lower animals, is a Mr. Oſwald, who learnt his virtues in Aſia. On no account would this excellent perſon paſs through a butcher market:—ſo abhorrent to his gentle mind was the ſight of blood. Accordingly, in purſuance of his kindly ſyſtem, he went to Paris in the heat of the Revolution, and was noted for being one of the moſt outrageous members of the Jacobin Club. Retaining his unparalleled humanity of diſpoſition, and abhorrence at the ſight of animal blood, this abſtinent ſage was the firſt who propoſed to the Convention the introduction of the pike, both for the uſe of the army and the mob. 'Fortune ſmiled upon him; he acquired wealth, by 'teaching people of both ſexes the uſe of this inſtrument;' and at laſt fell, with both his ſons, (whom he had early taught to abſtain from a cruel regimen), fighting againſt the Royaliſts in La-Vendee. Such is the perſon to whom the author of this performance, with an incongruity altogether unexampled, aſſigns a ſplendid niche in his temple of humanity! A maniac, who ſought the maſſacres of Paris, and was zealous to avoid even the ſight of blood: a wretch who would not kill a tyger, but died unfated in his thirſt for human blood!

Italiam! Italiam!—The concluding chapter contains a full exhibition of the ideas which the author entertains upon the ſubject of humanity. '*Eater of beef and mutton,*' is here uſed as ſynonymous with cannibal. The objects held up to our admiration, are ſuch men as the ſilly and dirty hermit of Aſſué, who called 'hares, 'lambs, ſwallows, and graſshoppers, by the endearing appellations 'of brothers and ſiſters;' and 'would not ſuffer lice or worms to 'be killed, inaſmuch as the Pſalmiſt hath ſaid, "I am a worm." Frequent arguments and anecdotes are, indeed, brought forward, in the courſe of this chapter, in favour of vermin; particularly the louſe, which ſeems to be a ſpecial favourite of the author; and

and the ſlow deſtruction of which, he tells us (p. 231.), is as much a murder, as the deſtruction of a man. The eloge of the murderer Oſwald has already been quoted, in deſcribing the conſiſtency of the author's tenets. But the preſumption and impiety which pervades theſe pages, is ſtill more odious than their inconſiſtency Will it be credited, that the creature who is afraid of hurting a louſe or a flea, and ſpeaks with tenderneſs of the moſt noxious of living things, talks of Omnipotence in a blaſphemous ſtrain of contempt? Hear how this puny worm raiſes its cry, to arraign the order of nature, and ſcoff at the Omniſcience, which, for wiſe purpoſes, though quite unknown to us, ſuffers it to crawl upon the earth.

In p 99, is a quotation from the Guardian, ſuggeſting that the cries of animals may perhaps be given them by Providence, to avert the cruelty of men. On this, we meet with the following remark:

'It may be ſo; but it is evident, that Providence has not in this inſtance had all the ſucceſs ſhe intended. She would have acted more wiſely, when ſhe was about it, to have infus'd a little humanity into the mind of her favourite.' See alſo p. 37, 198, &c.

After this, it will perhaps rather be a relief to our readers to be told of nothing worſe than treaſon. In p. 89, the author, with unparalleled effrontery, beſtows upon a Sovereign, the excellent qualities of whoſe heart have never yet been diſputed, the odious appellation, which is peculiar to the meaneſt and moſt deteſtable office in the community—that of the laſt executor of the law

Before taking leave of this nauſeous performance, a few words remain to be added upon the *ſtyle* in which ſo many abſurdities are delivered. We do not mean to go farther than the external qualities—the matchleſs ludicrouſneſs of the orthography and typography. The following words may convey a notion of the ſtrage garb in which this book appears: *Writeërs* (writers); *wel* (well); *kil* (kill); *onely* (only); *probablely* (probably); *perhaps* (perhaps); *bodys* (bodies). But it is not only to the ſtructure and ſpelling of words, that this poor innovator extends his love of change. By a ſtrange ſpecies of egotiſm, the firſt perſonal pronoun is always printed i. When two f's occur, they are not printed as uſual ſs, but ſf; and a double f is uniformly printed ſeparately f f. In theſe, as in the more ſubſtantial parts of his eccentricity, the creature is haunted by the ſame perpetual inconſiſtency. For why does he not carry his reforms to other parts of language and typography, which are not more trifling or indifferent, and which depend equally on cuſtom or convention? Why, for inſtance, does he not ſpell cock, coc or kok? Why do

we meet with ſuch words, as *dead*, *believe*, *beings*, &c? Why is each ſentence begun with a large letter, as well as each name of a man and place? Why is the junction of ſ and f permitted with all other letters, and not when doubled? Why is the apoſtrophe inſerted in ſome participles, as *aſcribe'd*, *taſte'd*, and not in others, as *communicateëd*; and never, where alone it is neceſſary, to diſtinguiſh the genitive caſe? Our readers will perceive how exactly this inconſiſtency and folly, in the external appearance, is paralleled to that which diſtinguiſhes the ſubſtance of the work. Neither ſpecies of perverſity, we believe, can be paralleled in any other quarter. We now moſt joyfully leave the '*Eſſay on abſtinence from animal food*' to that oblivion which awaits it; and from which its ſingularities, how groſs and wicked ſoever, are of too dull a caſt to ſave it.

Art. XIV. *An Account of the Iſland of Ceylon.* By Robert Percival, Eſq., of his Majeſty's Nineteenth Regiment of Foot. London; C. & R. Baldwin.

It is now little more than half a century ſince the Engliſh firſt began to eſtabliſh themſelves in any force upon the peninſula of India; and we at preſent poſſeſs, in that country, a more extenſive territory, and a more numerous population, than any European power can boaſt of at home. In no inſtance has the genius of the Engliſh, and their courage, ſhone forth more conſpicuouſly, than in their conteſt with the French for the empire of India. The numbers on both ſides were always inconſiderable; but the two nations were fairly matched againſt each other, in the cabinet and the field; the ſtruggle was long and obſtinate; and, at the concluſion, the French remained maſters of a diſmantled town, and the Engliſh of the grandeſt and moſt extenſive colony that the world has ever ſeen. To attribute this ſucceſs to the ſuperior genius of Clive, is not to diminiſh the reputation it confers on his country, which reputation muſt of courſe be elevated by the number of great men to which it gives birth. But the French were by no means deficient in catualties of genius at that period, unleſs Buſſy is to be conſidered as a man of a common ſtature of mind, or Dupleix to be claſſed with the vulgar herd of politicians. Neither was Clive (though he clearly ſtands forward as the moſt prominent figure in the group) without the aid of ſome military men of very conſiderable talents. Clive extended our Indian empire; but General Lawrence preſerved it to be extended; and the former caught, perhaps, from the latter, that military ſpirit, by which he

he ſoon became a greater ſoldier than him, without whom he never would have been a ſoldier at all.

Gratifying as theſe reflections upon our proweſs in India are to national pride, they bring with them the painful reflection, that ſo conſiderable a portion of our ſtrength and wealth is veſted upon ſuch precarious foundations, and at ſuch an immenſe diſtance from the parent country. The glittering fragments of the Portugueſe empire, ſcattered up and down the Eaſt, ſhould teach us the inſtability of ſuch dominion. We are (it is true) better capable of preſerving what we have obtained, than any other nation which has ever colonized in Southern Aſia: but the object of ambition is ſo tempting, and the perils to which it is ſo expoſed ſo numerous, that no calculating mind can found any durable concluſions upon this branch of our commerce, and this ſource of our ſtrength.

In the acquiſition of Ceylon, we have obtained the greateſt of all our wants—a good harbour. For it is a very ſingular fact, that, in the whole peninſula of India, Bombay is alone capable of affording a ſafe retreat to ſhips during the period of the monſoons.

The geographical figure of our poſſeſſions in Ceylon is whimſical enough; we poſſeſs the whole of the ſea coaſt, and encloſe in a periphery the unfortunate King of Candia, whoſe rugged and mountainous dominions may be compared to a coarſe maſs of iron, ſet in a circle of ſilver. The Popilian ring, in which this votary of Buddha has been ſo long held by the Portugueſe and Dutch, has infuſed the moſt vigilant jealouſy into the government, and rendered it as difficult to enter the kingdom of Candia, as if it were Paradiſe or China; and yet, once there, always there; for the difficulty of departing is juſt as great, as the difficulty of arriving; and his Candian Excellency, who has uſed every device in his power to keep them out, is ſeized with ſuch an affection for thoſe who baffle his defenſive artifices, that he can on no account ſuffer them to depart. He has been known to detain a ſtring of four or five Dutch embaſſies, till various members of the legation died of old age at his court, while they were expecting an anſwer to their queſtions, and a return to their preſents: *And his Majeſty once exaſperated a little French ambaſſador to ſuch a degree, by the various pretences under which he kept him at his court, that this lively member of the Corps Diplomatique, one day, in a furious paſſion, attacked ſix or ſeven of his Majeſty's largeſt elephants ſword in hand, and would, in all probability, have reduced them to mince-meat, if the poor beaſts had not been ſaved from the unequal combat.

The

* Knox's Ceylon.

The beſt and moſt ample account of Ceylon is contained in the narrative of Robert Knox, who, in the middle of the 17th century, was taken priſoner there (while refitting his ſhip) at the age of nineteen, and remained nineteen years on the iſland, in ſlavery to the King of Candia. During this period, he learnt the language, and acquired a thorough knowledge of the people. The account he has given of them is extremely entertaining, and written in a very ſimple and unaffected ſtyle; ſo much ſo, indeed, that he preſents his reader with a very grave account of the noiſe the devil makes in the woods of Candia, and of the frequent opportunities he has had of hearing him.

Mr Percival does not pretend to deal with the devil; but appears to have uſed the fair and natural reſources of obſervation and good ſenſe, to put together an intereſting deſcription of Ceylon. There is nothing in the book very animated, or very profound, but it is without pretenſions; and if it does not excite attention by any unuſual powers of deſcription, it never diſguſts by credulity, wearies by prolixity, or offends by affectation. It is ſuch an account, as a plain military man of diligence and common ſenſe might be expected to compoſe; and narratives like theſe we muſt not deſpiſe. To military men we have been, and muſt be indebted for our firſt acquaintance with the interior of many countries. Conqueſt has explored more than ever curioſity has done: and the path for ſcience has been commonly opened by the ſword.

We ſhall proceed to give a very ſummary abſtract of the principal contents of Mr Percival's book.

The immenſe acceſſions of territory which the Engliſh have acquired in the Eaſt Indies ſince the American War, rendered it abſolutely neceſſary, that ſome efforts ſhould be made to obtain poſſeſſion of a ſtation where ſhips might remain in ſafety during the violent ſtorms incidental to that climate. As the whole of that large tract which we poſſeſs along the Coromandel coaſt, preſents nothing but open roads, all veſſels are obliged, on the approach of the monſoons, to ſtand out in the open ſeas; and there are many parts of the coaſt that can be approached only during a few months of the year. As the harbour of Trincomalee, which is equally ſecure at all ſeaſons, afforded the means of obviating theſe diſadvantages, it is evident, that, on the firſt rupture with the Dutch, our countrymen would attempt to gain poſſeſſion of it. A body of troops was, in conſequence, detached in the year 1795, for the conqueſt of Ceylon, which (in conſequence of the indiſcipline which political diſſenſion had introduced among the Dutch troops) was effected almoſt without oppoſition.

Ceylon

Ceylon is now inhabited by the Engliſh; the remains of the Dutch, and Portugueſe, the Cingleſe or natives, ſubject to the dominion of the Europeans; the Candians ſubject to the king of their own name; and the Vaddahs, or wild men, ſubject to no power. A Ceyloneſe Dutchman is a coarſe, groteſque ſpecies of animal, whoſe native apathy and phlegm is animated only by the inſolence of a colonial tyrant: His principal amuſement appears to conſiſt in ſmoking; but his pipe, according to Mr Percival's account, is ſo ſeldom out of his mouth, that his ſmoking appears to be almoſt as much a neceſſary function of animal life, as his breathing. His day is eked out with gin, ceremonious viſits, and prodigious quantities of groſs food dripping with oil and butter; his mind, juſt able to reach from one meal to another, is incapable of farther exertion; and, after the panting and deglutition, of a long protracted dinner, repoſes on the ſweet expectation that, in a few hours, the carnivorous toil will be renewed. He lives only to digeſt; and, while the organs of gluttony perform their office, he has not a wiſh beyond; and is the happy man which Horace deſcribes—

———*in ſeipſo totus, teres, atque rotundus.*

The deſcendants of the Portugueſe differ materially from the Moors, Malabars, and other Mahometans. Their great object is, to ſhow the world they are Europeans and Chriſtians. Unfortunately, their ideas of Chriſtianity are ſo imperfect, that the only mode they can hit upon of diſplaying their faith, is by wearing hats and breeches, and, by theſe habiliments, they conſider themſelves as ſhowing a proper degree of contempt, on various parts of the body, towards Mahomet and Buddha. They are lazy, treacherous, effeminate, and paſſionate to exceſs; and are, in fact, a locomotive and animated farrago of the bad qualities of all tongues, people, and nations on the face of the earth.

The Malays, whom we forgot before to enumerate, form a very conſiderable portion of the inhabitants of Ceylon. Their original empire lies in the peninſula of Malacca, from whence they have extended themſelves over Java, Sumatra, the Moluccas, and a vaſt number of other iſlands in the peninſula of India. It has been many years cuſtomary for the Dutch to bring them to Ceylon, for the purpoſe of carrying on various branches of trade and manufacture, and in order alſo to employ them as ſoldiers and ſervants. The Malays are the moſt vindictive and ferocious of living beings. They ſet little or no value on their own exiſtence, in the proſecution of their odious paſſions; and having thus broken the great tie which renders man a being capable of being governed, and fit for ſociety, they are a conſtant ſource of terror to all thoſe who have any kind of connexion or relation with them. A Ma-

lay

lay servant, from the apprehension excited by his vindictive disposition, often becomes the master of his master. It is as dangerous to dismiss him, as to punish him; and the rightful despot, in order to avoid assassination, is almost compelled to exchange characters with his slave. It is singular, however, that the Malay, incapable of submission on any other occasion, and ever ready to avenge insult with death, submits to the severest military discipline with the utmost resignation and meekness. The truth is, obedience to his officers forms part of his religious creed; and the same man who would repay the most insignificant insult with death, will submit to be lacerated at the halbert with the patience of a martyr. This is truly a tremendous people! When assassins and bloodhounds will fall into rank, and file, and the most furious savages submit (with no diminution of their ferocity) to the science and discipline of war, they only want a Malay Bonaparte to lead them to the conquest of the world. Our curiosity has always been very highly excited by the accounts of this singular people; and we cannot help thinking, that, one day or another, when they are more full of opium than usual, they *will run a muck* from Cape Comorin to the Caspian.

Mr Percival does not consider the Ceylonese as descended from the continentals of the peninsula, but rather from the inhabitants of the Maldive islands, whom they very much resemble in complexion, features, language and manners.

'The Ceylonese (says Mr Percival) are courteous and polite in their demeanour, even to a degree far exceeding their civilization. In several qualities, they are greatly superior to all other Indians who have fallen within the sphere of my observation. I have already exempted them from the censure of stealing and lying, which seem to be almost inherent in the nature of an Indian. They are mild, and by no means captious or passionate in their intercourse with each other; though, when once their anger is roused, it is proportionably furious and lasting. Their hatred is indeed mortal, and they will frequently destroy themselves to obtain the destruction of the detested object. One instance will serve to shew the extent to which this passion is carried. If a Ceylonese cannot obtain money due to him by another, he goes to his debtor, and threatens to kill himself, if he is not instantly paid. This threat, which is sometimes put in execution, reduces the debtor, if it be in his power, to immediate compliance with the demand; as, by their law, if any man causes the loss of another man's life, his own is the forfeit. "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," is a proverbial expression continually in their mouths. This is, on other occasions, a very common mode of revenge among them; and a Ceylonese has often been known to contrive to kill himself in the company of his enemy, that the latter might suffer for it.

This

'This dreadful spirit of revenge, so inconsistent with the usually mild and humane sentiments of the Ceylonese, and much more congenial to the bloody temper of a Malay, still continues to be fostered by the sacred customs of the Candians. Among the Cingleſe, however, it has been greatly mitigated by their intercourſe with Europeans. The deſperate mode of obtaining revenge which I have juſt deſcribed, has been given up, from having been diſappointed of its object; as, in all thoſe parts under our dominion, the European modes of inveſtigating and puniſhing crimes are enforced. A caſe of this nature occurred at Caltura in 1799. A Cinglese peaſant happening to have a ſuit or controverſy with another, watched an opportunity of going to bathe in company with him, and drowned himſelf, with the view of having his adverſary put to death. The latter was upon this taken up, and ſent to Columbo to take his trial for making away with the deceaſed, upon the principle of having been the laſt ſeen in his company. There was, however, nothing more than preſumptive proof againſt the culprit, and he was of courſe acquitted. This deciſion, however, did not by any means tally with the ſentiments of the Cingleſe, who are as much inclined to continue their ancient barbarous practice as their brethren the Candians, although they are deprived of the power.' p. 70—72.

The warlike habits of the Candians make them look with contempt on the Cingleſe, who are almoſt entirely unacquainted with the management of arms. They have the habit and character of mountaineers—warlike, hardy, enterpriſing, and obſtinate. They have, at various times, proved themſelves very formidable enemies to the Dutch; and in that kind of deſultory warfare, which is the only one their rugged country will admit of, have cut off large parties of the troops of both theſe nations. The King of Candia, as we have before mentioned, poſſeſſes only the middle of the iſland, which nature, and his Candian Majeſty, have rendered as inacceſſible as poſſible. It is traverſable only by narrow wood paths, known to nobody but the natives, ſtrictly watched in peace and war, and where the beſt troops in the world might be ſhot in any quantities, by the Candian markſmen, without the ſmalleſt poſſibility of reſiſting their enemies; becauſe there would not be the ſmalleſt poſſibility of finding them. The King of Candia is of courſe deſpotic; and the hiſtory of his life and reign preſents the ſame monotonous oſtentation, and baby-like caprice, which characteriſes oriental governments. In public audiences, he appears like a great fool, ſquatting on his hams; far ſurpaſſing gingerbread in ſplendour: and, after aſking ſome ſuch idiotical queſtion, as whether Europe is in Aſia or Africa, retires with a flouriſh of trumpets very much out of tune. For his private amuſement, he rides on the noſe of an elephant, plays with his jewels, ſprinkles his courtiers with roſe-water,

water, and feeds his gold and ſilver fiſh. If his tea is not ſweet enough, he impales his footman; and ſmites off the heads of half a dozen of his noblemen, if he has a pain in his own.

—ὁστις γαρ (ſays Ariſtotle) τιλειοτατον των ζωων ανθρωπος εστι, ουτω και χαριεστατον νομιζειν, ὁ δικαιος χαριεστατον παντων. Polit.

The only exportable articles of any importance, which Ceylon produces, are pearls, cinnamon, and elephants. Mr Percival has preſented us with an extremely intereſting account of the pearl fiſhery, held in Condatchy Bite, near the iſland of Manaar, in the ſtraights which ſeparate Ceylon from the main land.

'There is, perhaps, no ſpectacle which the iſland of Ceylon affords, more ſtriking to an European, than the bay of Condatchy, during the ſeaſon of the pearl fiſhery. This deſert and barren ſpot is at that time converted into a ſcene, which exceeds, in novelty and variety, almoſt any thing I ever witneſſed. Several thouſands of people of different colours, countries, caſts and occupations, continually paſſing and repaſſing in a buſy crowd; the vaſt numbers of ſmall tents and huts erected on the ſhore, with the bazar or market-place before each; the multitude of boats returning in the afternoon from the pearl banks, ſome of them laden with riches; the anxious expecting countenances of the boat-owners, while the boats are approaching the ſhore, and the eagerneſs and avidity with which they run to them when arrived, in hopes of a rich cargo; the vaſt numbers of jewellers, brokers, merchants, of all colours and all deſcriptions, both natives and foreigners, who are occupied in ſome way or other with the pearls, ſome ſeparating and aſſorting them, others weighing and aſcertaining their number and value, while others are hawking them about, or drilling and boring them for future uſe: all theſe circumſtances tend to impreſs the mind with the value and importance of that object, which can of itſelf create this ſcene.

'The bay of Condatchy is the moſt central rendezvous for the boats employed in the fiſhery. The banks, where it is carried on, extend ſeveral miles along the coaſt from Manaar ſouthward off Arippo, Condatchy, and Pomparipo. The principal bank is oppoſite to Condatchy, and lies out at ſea about twenty miles. The firſt ſtep, previous to the commencement of the fiſhery, is to have the different oyſter banks ſurveyed, the ſtate of the oyſters aſcertained, and a report made on the ſubject to government. If it has been found that the quantity is ſufficient, and that they are arrived at a proper degree of maturity, the particular banks to be fiſhed that year are put up for ſale to the higheſt bidder, and are uſually purchaſed by a black merchant. This, however, is not always the courſe purſued: Government ſometimes judges it more advantageous to fiſh the banks on its own account, and to diſpoſe of the pearls afterwards to the merchants. When this plan is adopted, boats are hired for the ſeaſon on account of Government, from different quarters; the price varies conſiderably, according to circumſtances; but [illegible] five to eight hundred pagodas

for

for each boat. There are however no ſtated prices, and the beſt bargain poſſible is made for each boat ſeparately. The Dutch generally followed this laſt ſyſtem; the banks were fiſhed on Government account, and the pearls diſpoſed of in different parts of India, or ſent to Europe. When this plan was purſued, the governor and council of Ceylon claimed a certain per centage on the value of the pearls; or, if the fiſhing of the banks was diſpoſed of by public ſale, they bargained for a ſtipulated ſum to themſelves, over and above what was paid on account of Government. The pretence on which they founded their claims for this perquiſite, was their trouble in ſurveying and valuing the banks." p. 59—61.

The banks are divided into ſix or ſeven portions, in order to give the oyſters time to grow, which are ſuppoſed to attain their maturity in about ſeven years. The period allowed to the merchant to complete his fiſhery, is about ſix weeks, during which period all the boats go out and return together, and are ſubjected to very rigorous laws. The dexterity of the divers is very ſtriking; they are as adroit in the uſe of their feet as their hands; and can pick up the ſmalleſt object under water with their toes. Their deſcent is aided by a great ſtone, which they ſlip from their feet when they arrive at the bottom, where they can remain about two minutes. There are inſtances, however, of divers, who have ſo much of the aquatic in their nature, as to remain under water for five or ſix minutes. Their great enemy is the ground-ſhark; for the rule of eat, and be eaten, which Dr Darwin called the great law of nature, obtains in as much force fathoms deep beneath the waves, as above them: this animal is as fond of the legs of Hindoos, as Hindoos are of the pearls of oyſters; and as one appetite appears to him much more natural, and leſs capricious than the other, he never fails to indulge it. Where fortune has ſo much to do with peril and profit, of courſe there is no deficiency of conjurers, who, by divers enigmatical grimaces, endeavour to *oſtraciſe* this ſubmarine invader. If they are ſucceſsful, they are well paid in pearls; and when a ſhark indulges himſelf with the leg of an Hindoo, there is a witch who lives at Colang, on the Malabar coaſt, who always bears the blame.

A common mode of theft practiſed by the common people engaged in the pearl fiſhery, is by ſwallowing the pearls. Whenever any one is ſuſpected of having ſwallowed theſe precious pills of Cleopatra, the police apothecaries are inſtantly ſent for; a *briſk* cathartic is immediately diſpatched after the truant pearl, with the ſtricteſt orders to apprehend it, in whatever corner of the *viſcera* it may be found lurking. Oyſter lotteries are carried on here to a great extent. They conſiſt in purchaſing a quantity of the oyſters unopened, and running the chance of either finding or not finding

finding pearls in them. The European gentlemen and officers who attend the pearl fiſhery through duty or curioſity, are particularly fond of theſe lotteries, and frequently make purchaſes of this ſort. The whole of this account is very well written, and has afforded us a great degree of amuſement. By what curious links, and fantaſtical relations, are mankind connected together! At the diſtance of half the globe, a Hindoo gains his ſupport by groping at the bottom of the ſea, for the morbid concretion of a ſhell-fiſh, to decorate the throat of a London alderman's wife. It is ſaid that the great Linnæus had diſcovered the ſecret of infecting oyſters with this perligenous diſeaſe: What is become of the ſecret we do not know, as the only intereſt we take in oyſters, is of a much more vulgar, though perhaps a more humane nature.

The principal woods of cinnamon lye in the neighbourhood of Columbo. They reach to within half a mile of the fort, and fill the whole ſurrounding proſpect. The grand garden near the town is ſo extenſive, as to occupy a tract of country from ten to fifteen miles in length.

'Nature has here concentrated both the beauty and the riches of the iſland. Nothing can be more delightful to the eye, than the proſpect which ſtretches around Columbo. The low cinnamon trees which cover the plain, allow the view to reach the groves of evergreens, interſperſed with tall clumps, and bounded every where with extenſive ranges of cocoa-nut and other large trees. The whole is diverſified with ſmall lakes and green marſhes, ſkirted all round with rice and paſture fields. In one part, the intertwining cinnamon trees appear completely to clothe the face of the plain; in another, the openings made by the interſecting footpaths juſt ſerve to ſhow that the thick underwood has been penetrated. One large road, which goes out at the weſt gate of the fort, and returns by the gate on the ſouth, makes a winding circuit of ſeven miles among the woods. It is here that the officers and gentlemen belonging to the garriſon of Columbo take their morning ride, and enjoy one of the fineſt ſcenes in nature.' p. 336, 337.

As this ſpice conſtitutes the wealth of Ceylon, great pains are taken to aſcertain its qualities, and propagate its choiceſt kinds: The prime ſort is obtained from the Laurus Cinnamonum. The leaf reſembles the laurel in ſhape, but is not of ſo deep a green. When chewed, it has the ſmell and taſte of cloves. There are ſeveral different ſpecies of cinnamon tree on the iſland; but four ſorts only are cultivated and barked. The picture which we have juſt quoted from Mr Percival of a morning ride in a cinnamon wood is ſo enchanting, that we are extremely ſorry the addition of aromatic odours cannot with veracity be made to it. The cinnamon has unfortunately no ſmell at all, but to the noſtrils

noſtrils of the poet. Mr. Percival gives us a very intereſting account of the proceſs of making up cinnamon for the market, in which we are ſorry our limits will not permit us to follow him. The different qualities of the cinnamon bundles can only be eſtimated by the taſte; an office which devolves upon the medical men of the ſettlement, who are employed for *ſeveral days together in chewing cinnamon*; the acrid juice of which excoriates the mouth, and puts them to the moſt dreadful tortures.

The iſland of Ceylon is completely divided into two parts by a very high range of mountains, on the two ſides of which the climate and the ſeaſons are entirely different. Theſe mountains alſo terminate completely the effect of the monſoons, which ſet in periodically from oppoſite ſides of them. On the weſt ſide, the rains prevail in the months of May, June, and July; the ſeaſon when they are felt on the Malabar coaſt. This monſoon is uſually extremely violent during its continuance. The northern parts of the iſland are very little affected. In the months of October and November, when the oppoſite monſoon ſets in on the Coromandel coaſt, the north of the iſland is attacked; and ſcarcely any impreſſion reaches the ſouthern parts. The heat during the day is nearly the ſame throughout the year: the rainy ſeaſon renders the nights much cooler. The climate, upon the whole, is much more temperate than on the continent of India. The temperate and healthy climate of Ceylon is, however, confined to the ſea-coaſt. In the interior of the country, the obſtructions which the thick woods oppoſe to the free circulation of air, render the heat almoſt inſupportable, and generate a low and malignant fever, known to Europeans by the name of the Jungle fever. The chief harbours of Ceylon are Trincomalee, Point de Galle, and, at certain ſeaſons of the year, Columbo. The former of theſe, from its nature and ſituation, is that which ſtamps Ceylon one of our moſt valuable acquiſitions in the Eaſt Indies. As ſoon as the monſoons commence, every veſſel caught by them in any other part of the Bay of Bengal is obliged to put to ſea immediately, in order to avoid deſtruction. At theſe ſeaſons, Trincomalee alone, of all the parts on this ſide of the peninſula, is capable of affording to veſſels a ſafe retreat; which a veſſel from Madras may reach in two days. Theſe circumſtances render the value of Trincomalee much greater than that of the whole iſland; the revenue of which will certainly be hardly ſufficient to defray the expence of the eſtabliſhments kept up there. The agriculture of Ceylon is in fact in ſuch an imperfect ſtate, and the natives have ſo little availed themſelves of its natural fertility, that great part of the proviſions neceſſary for its ſupport are imported from Bengal.

Ceylon produces the elephant, the buffalo, tyger, elk, wild hog, rabbit, hare, flying fox, and muſk-rat. Many articles are rendered entirely uſeleſs by the ſmell of muſk, which this latter animal communicates in merely running over them. Mr Percival aſſerts, (and the fact has been confirmed to us by the moſt reſpectable authority), that if it even paſs over a bottle of wine, however well corked and ſealed up, the wine becomes ſo ſtrongly tainted with muſk, that it cannot be uſed; and a whole caſk may be rendered uſeleſs in the ſame manner. Among the great variety of birds, we were ſtruck with Mr Percival's account of the honey bird, into whoſe body the ſoul of a common informer appears to have migrated. It makes a loud and ſhrill noiſe, to attract the notice of any body whom it may perceive; and thus inducing him to follow the courſe it points out, leads him to the tree where the bees have concealed their treaſure; after the apiary has been robbed, this feathered ſcoundrel gleans his reward from the hive. The liſt of Ceyloneſe ſnakes is hideous; and we become reconciled to the crude and cloudy land in which we live, from reflecting, that the indiſcriminate activity of the ſun generates what is loathſome, as well as what is lovely; that the aſp repoſes under the roſe; and the ſcorpion crawls under the fragrant flower, and the luſcious fruit.

The uſual ſtories are repeated here, of the immenſe ſize and voracious appetite, of a certain ſpecies of ſerpent. The beſt hiſtory of this kind we ever remember to have read, was of a ſerpent killed near one of our ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies; in whoſe body they found the chaplain of the garriſon, all in black, the Rev. Mr ————, (ſomebody or other, whoſe name we have forgotten), and who, after having been miſſing for above a week, was diſcovered in this very inconvenient ſituation. The dominions of the King of Candia are partly defended by leeches, which abound in the woods, and from which our ſoldiers ſuffered in the moſt dreadful manner. The Ceyloneſe, in compenſation for their animated plagues, are endowed with two vegetable bleſſings, the cocoa-nut tree and the talipot tree. The latter affords a prodigious leaf, impenetrable to ſun or rain, and large enough to ſhelter ten men. It is a natural umbrella, and is of as eminent ſervice in that country as a great-coat tree would be in this. A leaf of the talipot tree is a tent to the ſoldier, a paraſol to the traveller, and a book to the ſcholar *. The cocoa tree affords bread, milk oil, wine, ſpirits, vinegar, yeaſt, ſugar, cloth, paper, huts, and ſhips.

We could with great pleaſure proceed to give a farther abſtract of this very agreeable and intereſting publication, which we very ſtrongly

* All books are written upon it in Ceylon.

ſtrongly recommend to the public. It is written with great modeſty, entirely without pretenſions, and abounds with curious and important information. Mr Percival will accept our beſt thanks for the amuſement he has afforded us. When we can praiſe with ſuch juſtice, we are always happy to do it; and regret that the rigid and independent honeſty which we have made the very baſis of our literary undertaking, ſhould ſo frequently compel us to ſpeak of the authors who come before us, in a ſtyle ſo different from that in which we have vindicated the merits of Mr Percival.

ART. XV. *Lettre de Charles Villers à Georges Cuvier, de l' Inſtitut National de France, &c.* A Letter from Charles Villers to Georges Cuvier, Member of the National Inſtitute of France, on a New Theory of the Brain, as the immediate organ of the intellectual and moral faculties; by Dr Gall of Vienna. Metz. 1802.

OF Dr Gall, and his ſkulls, who has not heard? Of his ſyſtem, we till now have known little more, than that it terrified the ſtout hearts of an Emperor and Council, whom many years of unſucceſsful war had not been able to diſmay. An edict was accordingly iſſued, to avert the peril of prelections ſo dangerous; and, perhaps, that the contagion might be leſs rapidly and leſs extenſively ſpread, Dr Gall was permitted to make converts, only of foreigners. To all this care, we make no doubt, the Emperor was led, by a holy regard for the virtues and piety of his ſubjects, when alive, and perhaps by ſome love of ſupererogation, for their ſouls, even after they had ceaſed to be his ſubjects. But why his regard took ſuch violent alarm, we own, we do not ſee; ſince, if the tendency of the theory to Materialiſm be all which was dreaded, it ſeems to have no more tendency to it, than any other theory of the brain, which has been taught for ages, without the leaſt fear of the penalties of royal edicts. There are two opinions only, which can, in this reſpect, be contraſted; that, which aſſerts perception to take place, by the intervention of a material organ; and that, which aſſerts it to take place immediately, by the energies of the mind itſelf, or, at leaſt, without the intervention of any material organ. Undoubtedly the latter opinion has leſs tendency to produce materialiſm; becauſe it denies the exiſtence of matter at all: but it is a ſceptical ſpiritualiſm, which, in that Catholic church, of which the Emperor and his Council are ſuch ſtrenuous defenders of the faith, would certainly be claſſed, for reprobation, among the multitude of falſe doctrines,

hereſies, and ſchiſms. As we cannot have recourſe, therefore, to this pure immaterialiſm, there remains the dangerous, but ſole, alternative, which aſſerts the neceſſity of a material organ; and, if this alternative be adopted, any modification of it, which does not exclude mind as the ultimate percipient, muſt have an equal tendency to materialiſm. The *whole brain* may be one undivided organ, or *a part* of the brain may be the organ, or *different parts* may be organs of *different functions*. In all theſe caſes, the materialiſm, or immaterialiſm, is the ſame; becauſe, alike in all, ſome affection of the *material* part is an indiſpenſable prerequiſite to the *mental* affection. His Imperial Majeſty has had of late too many good opportunities of knowing, that a man cannot continue to march, and load, and fire, when he has left his head behind him; and the redoubtable lecturer of Vienna has ſaid little more. The immaterialiſt believes, that it is the ſoul which *ſees*, and the ſoul which *hears*, as much as that it is the ſoul which *judges*, and the ſoul which *imagines*; and, ſince he does not condemn, as impious, the allotment of different organs of ſight and hearing, what greater hereſy is there, in the allotment of different parts of the ſenſorium, as the organs of judgment and imagination? If, indeed, any one ſhould ſay, that the affections of theſe parts are themſelves judgment and imagination, he would be a materialiſt; but he would be as much a materialiſt, if he ſhould ſay, that the affections of the organs of ſight and hearing are themſelves the ideas of colour and ſound. To have been conſiſtent, in its providence, or its perſecution, the ſame edict, which ſhut up the mouth and the lecture-room of Dr Gall, ſhould have prohibited all medicine, and made the reading of poetry a deadly ſin. What intoxication is there, in the praiſes of wine, and what poiſon, in the whole doctrine of narcotics! It may be wrong, to allow a daring demonſtrator of proceſſes and ſinuoſities, to aſſert that the mind remembers, imagines, and judges, only by the intervention of certain parts of the brain; but it is a piece of forbearance, at leaſt as dangerous, to allow a ſingle cellar to be open, in the taverns of Vienna, or memory, imagination, and judgment, to be all ſet to ſleep, by a few grains of a very common and ſimple drug.

We are too ſincere believers in the truth of immaterialiſm, to be eaſily alarmed by the ſpeculations of any theoriſt; and therefore, conſidering Dr Gall as more ſtrictly under the cognizance of a court like our own, than of that of any civil magiſtrate, we are pleaſed at the opportunity, which this pamphlet gives us, of conſidering the merits or demerits of his doctrine. As yet, we believe, no detailed account of his ſuppoſed diſcoveries

veries has been publiſhed by himſelf; though, as far back as the year 1798, in the *Deutſche Merkur* of Wieland, he announced his intention of publiſhing a large work on the ſubject. The account, at preſent before us, is only a very ſlight ſketch by a metaphyſical artiſt, of whoſe labours we have before had an opportunity of making honourable mention, in our review of his Expoſition of the Tranſcendental Philoſophy, and whoſe admiration of the authors of the *right bank* is by no means diminiſhed. M. Villers may indeed be fairly conſidered as the ſcientific ferryman of the Rhine, which before was almoſt a Lethe to the ſages of Germany. Whether he may not ſometimes carry over the ghoſts of the dead, or at leaſt the ſickly bodies of the dying, may perhaps be reaſonably doubted. But certainly Dr Gall, in ſpite of the thunders of the court of Vienna, is not quite dead; or, though not a Hercules or a Theſeus, his ghoſt is a ghoſt of vigour.

The letter, which is written to Cuvier from Germany, contains ſeveral pieces of information, not connected with its chief ſubject. There is particularly an account of wonderful ſucceſs in the medical application of Galvaniſm, of the full truth of which we greatly doubt. An apothecary, of the name of Sprenger, in the little town of Iever, is ſaid, by the application of it, to have given hearing, and in conſequence ſpeech, to eleven perſons who had been dumb from infancy. The letter is on the whole written in a very lively and pleaſant manner, and is not the leſs amuſing, from the occaſional recurrence of a few tranſcendental flights. Thus we are carefully reminded of the merits of Kant, in his endeavour to cure us of our obſtinate belief, (*opiniâtreté*) that there exiſts either *matter*, or *mind*, or *both*, by the pains which he has taken to annihilate all corporeal and incorporeal ſubſtances, as real exiſtences, p. 17: and, a page or two before, we are amuſed with one of thoſe fanciful but falſe conceits, with which we were occaſionally treated, in the View of the Critical Philoſophy:

'The nervous ſyſtem of man, that phyſical inſtrument of his moral life, is like the connected branches of a tree, of which the trunk is the medulla oblongata and ſpinal marrow, and the brain the earth in which its roots arile,—an earth which is rich with the quinteſſence of life, and which, denſe as it appears, ſeems to be nothing more than a concentrated ether. Unlike terreſtrial vegetations, this precious tree of moral life has its roots towards heaven, and draws its nouriſhment from on high, thus conſtantly recalling to man, by its ſingular oppoſition to the general laws of growth, that his deſtination is more elevated than that of other beings.' P. 15.

Inſtead of ſupporting this noble truth of religion, the image, if it could with juſtice be adduced to prove any thing, might rather be alleged in ſupport of the oppoſite doctrine, in a manner p culiarly degrading to man. The terreſtrial vegetations all riſe upward, as if aſpiring to a higher fate; while the precious tree of moral life ſends its branches downward to the earth, as if conſcious that there it is to reſt for ever. It is fortunate for us, whatever it may be for a rhetorician, that the immortality of the ſoul is ſomething more than a metaphor.

M. Villers had no opportunity of attending the lectures of Dr Gall; but he has in his poſſeſſion a ſkull, prepared and numbered under the inſpection of the theoriſt himſelf, and he received the ſubſtance of the lectures from a friend, who had the beſt means of obtaining it correctly. It is not, as profeſſing to adopt and defend the ſyſtem of Gall, that he has been led to give this view of it. He wiſhes to be conſidered, ſimply as an hiſtorian, and delivers, as an ingenious conjecture, what appears to him to be ingenious at leaſt, though it may be nothing more.

The brain, according to Gall, is alike the immediate ſeat of all the powers of life, whether ſtrictly vital, mortal, or intellectual; and, each power having its ſeat in a peculiar portion of the brain, the degree of general power, in each individual, is in exact proportion to the quantity of the whole brain; and the degree of each power is in exact proportion to the quantity of that particular part of the brain, in which the function is exerciſed. The brain, being complete, before the oſſification of the cranium, muſt give it a peculiarity of figure, according to the largeneſs or ſmallneſs of its own parts; and therefore, if the poſition of the ſeat of each faculty were known, the depreſſions, or prominences, of the ſkull might be taken, as indicative of the degree, in which the different powers were poſſeſſed by the owner of the ſkull. To diſcover the exact topography of the faculties, the only mode is to collect the ſkulls of thoſe who have been conſpicuous for any particular quality, and determine the parts of the ſkull, which have been rendered prominent by the expanſions of brain on which the bone was ſpread. This, Dr Gall, to the great terror of every one in Vienna who believed himſelf eminent, and conſequently to the terror of a very large part of the population, has contrived in a great meaſure to effectuate, and, not content with human ſubjects, he has called in the aid of comparative anatomy, in the ſkulls of different animals. By theſe means he has been enabled to draw a map of the powers and affections of the mind; and, for the credit of his ſkill, or his confidence, or both, we muſt

do

do him the juſtice to ſay, that it is a map, as fully laid down, and with as little *terra incognita* in it, as any map of the world, which, after all the tedious and dangerous expeditions of our travellers and navigators, Major Rennel himſelf could venture to ſubmit to our view.

That the general ſtrength of the vital, moral, and intellectual powers, is great, in each individual, in proportion to the quantity of the encephalon, is an aſſertion, to which the experience of every one muſt have furniſhed him with a reply. We confeſs, though at the riſk of having the periphery of our heads diminiſhed, in the imagination of our readers, that our experience is completely againſt the aſſertion. We have known a large cranium, with very great dulneſs of the intellectual, and moral, and even the vital powers; and in the ſkulls of many of our friends, we have known all theſe powers condenſed in a ſmall compaſs, like that *concentrated ether*, of which M. Villers ſpeaks.

To the introduction of comparative anatomy, with any weight of evidence, in a queſtion of this kind, we ſtrongly object. If any fact be certain, of the nervous ſyſtem, it is, that the different parts of the encephalon and its great appendage are, in the different claſſes of animals, of very different degrees of importance to the exerciſe of the powers of life. When, after the amputation of that part, in which, according to Dr Gall, the whole powers of life are included, birds can ſtill perform many of the moſt important motions, and inſects continue to live and procreate, and the cold-blooded animals ſeem for a while to exerciſe almoſt every faculty, which they before were known to poſſeſs, we cannot allow, in circumſtances ſo different, any great degree of force to obſervations, which proceed on the faith of complete ſimilarity.

The arguments, adduced in ſupport of the ſeparate localities of thought, are not every convincing. The ſenſe of *relief*, from a change of ſubject, after long ſtudy, is urged as a proof, that the part employed is different. But does not this argument almoſt beg the queſtion? at leaſt, does it not make too great uſe of the ſenſe of muſcular fatigue, which can be applied, only by a very looſe analogy, to the brain? It is evident, that the brain, *if* it have any laws ſimilar to thoſe of muſcular motion, has a much greater number peculiar to itſelf: and by what obſervation has it been ſhewn, that the peculiar affection of the brain, which we call only by analogy, *the ſenſe of fatigue*, may not wholly give place to *a different* ſeries of affections of *the ſame part*? Even if the queſtion were to be decided by analogies, thoſe, which juſtify this opinion, are

more numerous, and are certainly more close, than those which are taken from the contractions of the voluntary muscles; since they are drawn from parts, more immediately continuous with the brain. The *same* eye, which has been *fatigued* with gazing on one species of light, finds relief from a mere change of colour: and, throughout the system, when one stimulus, from too frequent repetition, has ceased to produce effect, an effect is produced by a *new* stimulus, even of less absolute power; though we cannot suppose, that the former parts are still unaffected, and that each stimulus has its peculiar seat of action. We may remark also, that the relief takes place, only in a certain degree, and is not enough, to justify the supposed analogy: for, if one faculty be greatly fatigued, all the other faculties are reduced to a state nearly similar. Yet we know, that one arm may be bent, in one continued attitude, till it be almost palsied with fatigue, when the other extremities are still in all their vigour, or, at least, have their vigour but slightly impaired.

The second argument adduced, is the *partial* loss of power, from external injuries of the brain, and from madness, and other diseases. The fact is certainly one of the most curious, in the whole physiology of mind. But, unfortunately for Dr Gall, it is found more frequently in the *same* faculty, than in *different* faculties; and the health and disease are consequently, according to him, in the same part. Such are the cases of persons, who have lost the memory of one language, and retained the memory of another. Of this partial forgetfulness there are many varieties, in kind, and in degree. One interesting case is related by M. Villers, from his own knowledge. It is that of a young lady, of very good understanding, at Frankfort, who, after much opposition from her relations, had at last obtained their consent to her marriage, with a person whom she passionately loved. After recovering from a long illness, which succeeded her first delivery, she completely lost the memory of all the time that had elapsed since her marriage, though remembering every other period, with as much accuracy as before. From the sight of her child, presented to her as her own, she turned with amazement and horror; and though she now, on the faith of the assurance of all her friends, consents to consider herself, as a wife and a mother, she 'still looks upon her husband, and her child, without being able to conceive, by what magic she has acquired the one, and given birth to the other.' Unless, therefore, Dr Gall call in the aid of the infinite divisibility of matter, and allot a different seat to each idea, such cases, it is evident, are more in opposition to his system, than

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in its favour; ſince they ſhow, that what is confeſſedly the ſame part may have loſt its power, in one reſpect, yet retain it completely, in every other.

A third argument is drawn from the various degrees, in which the different faculties are poſſeſſed by the ſame perſon, in perfect health. But, unleſs the queſtion be aſſumed, we do not ſee how this is more in proof of one opinion, than of its oppoſite. A mathematician, for inſtance, may have no poetic taſte. The perception of the relations of mathematical ideas forms one ſeries of affections, the perception of the beauties of poetry includes another ſeries; and the two ſeries are different, whether they be affections of the ſame organ, or of different organs: nor is there more reaſon, a priori, in the one caſe, than in the other, that, becauſe one ſeries exiſts, the other ſhould exiſt alſo. We know, that in parts, which are confeſſedly the ſame, and, originally, even capable alike of either ſeries, as in the muſcular motions neceſſary in two mechanical arts, there may be produced the utmoſt facility of one ſeries, while in the other there is all the awkward flowneſs of the moſt unexerciſed organs.

Dr Gall conſiders ſomnambuliſm alſo, as a proof of his doctrine. But, though the phenomena of ſomnambuliſm, and of ſleep in general, be certainly very different, in their firſt appearance, from thoſe of the waking frame, we believe the apparent difference to be wholly reducible to one law, which affects, with various degrees of interruption, the immediate connexion of the body and the mind. The reciprocal immobility is probably the conſequence of ſome change in the nervous ſyſtem, which has not yet been remarked, and which is perhaps too minute to be remarked, in a ſyſtem, of the ultimate affections of which, in our waking, as much as in our ſleeping hours, we as yet know nothing. Some change undoubtedly takes place in ſleep, and the change we have ſuppoſed is adequate to the explanation of all the phenomena: for there are none, which ſhew a difference in the ſtate of the faculties of the mind itſelf. We remember, we imagine, as when awake; and we reaſon, *from our preſent ideas*, with the ſame accuracy. But the preſent ideas are different; becauſe we are not recalled, as when awake, by the ſtronger ideas of perception, from the ideas of aſſociation, that would hurry us away. The apparent changes of the intellectual powers in ſleep, and in ſomnambuliſm, which is only a leſs extenſive ſleep, appear to us, therefore, to be in reality changes of the organ of ſenſe and of voluntary motion; and we do not think, they can with juſtice be adduced to ſhew, that any faculties of the mind are active, while the others are

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at reſt. But, even though this were ſhewn, it ſurely is not, in any degree, leſs probable, that the unknown cauſe of ſleep ſhould ſo affect *one* organ, as to prevent it from being capable of certain ſeries of affections, than that it ſhould completely ſuſpend the action of one part of the brain, and leave unimpaired the action of a part, in immediate contact with it, and, to all appearance, in every reſpect ſimilar.

The arguments, thus urged in ſupport of the ſyſtem, are therefore, at beſt, but of feeble ſtrength. If, however, there had been no opportunities of obſerving the morbid appearances of the brain, we might have ſuppoſed an enthuſiaſtic ſpeculator on a very intereſting ſubject, to have been eaſily miſled, even by ſuch arguments, into all the confidence of a theory. But, we own, we are aſtoniſhed, that, in the preſent circumſtances of medical ſcience, the theory ſhould have proceeded from a phyſician. The morbid caſes on record are ſufficient to ſhew, that there is not a ſingle part of the encephalon, which has not been impaired, or deſtroyed, without any apparent change of the intellectual and moral faculties. To detail the variety of theſe caſes, with a general induction, would occupy too large a portion of our review. We muſt content ourſelves, therefore, with referring to the great work of Haller, who has made a very full collection of caſes of this kind, *Elem. Phyſ.* t. iv. p. 338—357; and to the fourth volume of the Mancheſter Tranſactions, in which Dr Ferriar has ſelected many of Haller's caſes, with conſiderable additions from other authors. Againſt Dr Gall, however, in particular, it may be of conſequence to ſtate, that, among the caſes to which we refer, are ſome, in which the whole *cortical part* was waſted, or corrupted, while the ſenſes remained entire. Nothing can be more evident, than that, if many organs be ſcattered over the ſurface of the brain, the entire and *excluſive* loſs of *one* faculty ſhould be, in ſo many caſes of local injury, not a rare, but a common occurrence; and that, with the loſs of the whole cineritious part of the brain, the whole of thoſe powers, which have their ſeat in that part, muſt neceſſarily periſh.

To the complete demonſtration, which the records of morbid caſes afford, it is perhaps abſurd, to add any other argument; as every other argument muſt be neceſſarily weaker. To us, however, the circumſtances, in which the faculties are exerciſed, ſeem to ſhew ſufficiently, that they are not the energies of different parts. Thus, if perception and memory reſult from affections of certain organs, and imagination from affections of another organ, the affections of this part, which are ſeparate, may be conceived by us to exiſt, without the affections of the others.

others. But *we cannot conceive* the imagination to act, without including in itſelf thoſe ideas, which are ſaid to be ſtates of unconnected parts. As little, in the exerciſe of the judging faculty, can we ſuppoſe a compariſon without ideas compared, though the ideas and the compariſon itſelf be ſtates of different organs, which, though they *may* be ſimultaneous, can have no other than a caſual connexion.

If the organs of many of the faculties be, as Dr Gall affirms, double, ſince a diſeaſe of one ſide of the head, does not neceſſarily imply a diſeaſe of the other ſide, each organ, even in health, muſt have its ſeparate affections, which may correſpond, but which may alſo be diſſimilar; and the two may thus be exerciſed, at the ſame moment, on different ſubjects, or from the ſame ſubject give oppoſite reſults. The mind ſhould thus be capable of completely believing, and, at the ſame moment, completely diſbelieving the ſame propoſition. One of the organs of imagination, in a virtuous patriot, may thus be mourning over the probable ruin of his country, while the other is feeding on the profits of an offered place: and perhaps, in this way, are to be explained many of the caſes of timid irreſolution in miniſters of ſtate; ſince the ſyſtem of Dr Gall fairly gives them the double head of Janus, and allows one organ to be eager for war, while the other is equally eager for the continuance of peace.

Nor is it merely to ſimilar organs, that this remark is applicable. The faculties, having all organs which are completely diſtinct, cannot interrupt each other, but may all be exerciſed at the ſame moment; and ſermons, and ſyſtems, and puns, and poetry, be thus one general and ſimultaneous product. It is certain, at leaſt, that all the *organic affections* may co-exiſt; and if it be thought that the *mental affection* muſt notwithſtanding be ſingle, becauſe the mind is not capable of influencing, or being influenced by more than one organ at a time, we muſt attend to the analogies of the organs of ſenſe, and of muſcular motion, which, unleſs we beg the queſtion as to the ſeparate intellectual organs, are the only analogies afforded us. In theſe, however, we find a multitude, if not of ſimultaneous, at leaſt of rapidly ſucceeding affections of different parts, very unlike the unity of thought. We can walk, and liſten to a converſation, and remark the objects around us, without being conſcious of an interruption of the exerciſe of the different organs employed. But there is no one, who, without being ſenſible of a very difficult tranſition, can write ſtanzas to the eye-brows of his miſtreſs, while he is ſolving a queſtion of geometry or metaphyſics.

Even though we were to concede to Dr Gall the truth of his general and more important doctrine of the localities of thought and

and paſſion, we ſhould certainly be little inclined to aſcribe, with him, the difference of power, merely to the *quantity* of the parts of the brain, and ſhould therefore have little truſt, in the appearance of the cranium, as indicative of character; nor, indeed, though it were certain that the difference of each power aroſe from its difference of quantity, would our reliance be much increaſed. Dr Gall himſelf is ſaid to proteſt ſtrongly againſt the attempt which has been made, to reduce his ſcience to a ſpecies of phyſiognomy; yet, unleſs he himſelf conſider the phyſiognomical application of it as allowable, we do not ſee how he is juſtified in drawing any inference from the inſpection of a ſkull; and, if he do conſider it in that light, he is not juſtified by the principles of his own theory: for, as the faculties are not all to be found in different points of one circumference, but lie under each other, in what may be conſidered as concentric circles of the encephalon, the elevation, or depreſſion, of the ſkull, may be produced by the uncommon largeneſs, or ſmallneſs, of a deeper ſeated organ, the ſuperficial one remaining the ſame; or the ſuperficial one may be greatly increaſed, or diminiſhed, and the increaſe or diminution be compenſated by the oppoſite ſtate of ſome deeper organ. The appearance of the ſkull, therefore, even where we have an opportunity of examining the inner plate, is not indicative of the nature of any one power, and can be depended on, only as marking the ſuperficial ſhape of the brain and its meninges.

For what reaſon, except for the ſake of this craniofcopical phyſiognomy, Dr Gall has choſen to aſcribe the difference of power to a difference of *quantity* alone, it is not eaſy to diſcover. It is at leaſt equally probable, that the peculiar affections of the brain depend, in a great meaſure, on the minute differences of compoſition and texture; ſince, in this way only, unleſs we admit an original difference in the mind itſelf, which Dr Gall never takes into account, can we explain the *poſſibility* of great powers in a ſmall cranium. What is that ſenſe of fatigue, on which he has himſelf laid ſo much ſtreſs? The *organ* of the faculty employed is aſſuredly not diminiſhed, or, at leaſt, is not diminiſhed in any meaſurable degree: yet its power is now completely different. This ſtate of the brain is a certain ſtate of it; and we can conceive a brain, of dimenſions exactly ſimilar, to be naturally in this ſtate of dulneſs, as much as in any other ſtate, in the ſame manner as we can conceive a portion of the brain to exiſt in one degree of quantity, as much as in another. The *quantity* is therefore not the meaſure of the *power*; ſince, confeſſedly, the quantity may be the ſame, and the power be different. The great changes produced in the livelineſs or lethargy,

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of the faculties, by wine or opium, and, in general, by every ſtimulant or ſedative, are reducible only to that law of the ſenſorium, by which the power is as the ſtate of the part, in *quality*, not in *quantity*. If Dr Gall's theory were juſt, all moral education would be uſeleſs; for he has not attempted to convince us, by any obſervation or experiment, that we have it in our power to reduce, or amplify, the organs of the affections. As, where there has been no external or internal injury, the organ of ſight muſt always afford its peculiar ſenſations, when colours are preſented to it, the organ of the inclination to theft muſt always be affected, in its peculiar manner, on the ſight of an agreeable object. It is vain for us to preſent motives of bodily fear, or of infamy; for theſe act only on the organ of courage, or of pride, or of judgment, which may be of greater or leſs ſize, but do not, by any of their affections, diminiſh the ſize of the organ of theft; and hence, if with the organ of this inclination the organ of voluntary motion be in good underſtanding, an inceſſant ſeries of thefts muſt enſue. In like manner, if there be any young man, of diſpoſitions as yet uncorrupted, in whoſe fate we take an intereſt, our anxiety for the preſervation of his virtue is ſuperfluous. Let all his companions be profane, and ſelfiſh, and diſſolute; what have we to dread! They cannot diminiſh the ſize of his organs of benevolence, and temperance, and religion; and, till that diminution be poſſible, there is no influence in reaſon, or in ridicule, and no contagion in example.

Our readers are, we truſt, already ſufficiently convinced, that the principles, on which Dr Gall has founded his theory, are erroneous. It may perhaps, however, afford them ſome amuſement to know how far he has explored the territory of mind.

The organs of the vital powers are the deepeſt ſeated, that they may beſt be ſheltered from injury. Around theſe, as it were in ſucceſſive circles, are the organs of ſenſe, of the paſſions and affections, and of the intellectual powers; the laſt of which, being leaſt eſſential to animal life, are left to ſhare all the periſs of the general bony covering, in the cortical cineritious part immediately under the meninges.

The following liſt comprehends all thoſe organs which are mentioned by M. Villers:—The organ of vital power,—of the power of generation,—of external ſenſe,—of irritability,—of envy,—of jealouſy,—of ungovernable deſire,—of imperiouſneſs,—of the love of life,—of friendſhip, fidelity, and pure and diſintereſted love,—of courage,—of cunning,—of the inclination to theft,—of circumſpection,—of the memory of things,—of the memory of places,—of the memory of nomenclature,—of the memory of languages,—of the memory of numbers,—of muſic,

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—of the arts of deſign,—of the mechanical arts,—of metaphyſics,—of mildneſs,—of wit,—of obſervation,—of generoſity,—of penetration,—of imagination,—of the religious affections,—of pride, ambition, and vain-glory,—of firmneſs, and perſeverance.

We regret, that, without the aſſiſtance of plates, it is impoſſible for us to convey an idea of the exact poſition of the different faculties, ſince there are ſeldom any well marked anatomical points with which they correſpond; and, unleſs the poſition be *exactly* ſtated, the utmoſt confuſion muſt ariſe, as many faculties are crowded together in a very ſmall compaſs. In theſe, the anterior part of the cerebrum is uncommonly rich; ſo that the chief powers of character may be collected almoſt from the ſingle frontal bone. On remembering, therefore, the proverbial ſymbol of the greateſt miſery of wedlock, we looked to Dr Gall's tables to find the ſymbol juſtified, expecting to diſcover the organ of avarice, or peeviſhneſs, or jealouſy, or ſome other quality equally abhorred of wives, which, by its extraordinary growth, might be ſuppoſed to cauſe at once the crime and the protuberance. But the local qualities ſeemed all too harmleſs to be connected, in any degree, with ſo dreadful an infliction of conjugal reſentment.

As many of the moſt important qualities are ſituated in the ſtreight line, which paſſes from the noſe to the top of the head, it may be intereſting, and perhaps be poſſible, without a plate, to follow its courſe. At the top of the head, where the ſagittal ſuture terminates in the coronal, is the organ of religion, probably becauſe that part is neareſt to heaven. Immediately at the root of the noſe, is the organ of the memory of things; and a very little way above it, between the eye-brows, is the organ of metaphyſics. M. Villers remarks, that at this part, in the forehead of Kant, there is a very ſtriking convexity; and, that, in general, this convexity is leſs ſtriking in the Pariſian head, than in the heads of the Engliſh, Germans, and Swiſs. Above this organ, at about a third of the diſtance, between the root of the noſe and the uſual beginning of the hair, is the organ of obſervation, which in children is always particularly convex, and which remains ſo in thoſe who are profeſſionally obliged to the exerciſe of this faculty. M. Villers remarks, that, long before he had heard of Dr Gall's ſyſtem, he had been ſtruck with this peculiarity in the foreheads of ſeveral naturaliſts and phyſicians. About midway between the two points before taken, is the organ of mildneſs. It is ſaid to be convex in all perſons of a gentle diſpoſition; and to be ſtrikingly ſo in pigeons, and in ſheep. In the viper, vulture, fox, and tyger, there is

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here a very ſenſible flatneſs or concavity. 'The head of the Jacobin,' continues M. Villers, 'is perhaps ſtill more flat. It is the mark of reprobation, which was impreſt on the forehead of the fratricide Cain.' At the part from which the hair uſually takes its riſe, is the organ of imagination; and between its ſeat and that of the religious affection, no organ has yet been diſcovered. On each ſide of the organ of mildneſs, if the line be prolonged horizontally, is the organ of wit, which, of courſe, if the middle organ be wanting, is wit inclined to ſatire; as remarkably characterized in the countenance of Voltaire.

To give ſome idea of the manner in which the whole is written, we ſubjoin the account of the organ of cunning, and of the inclination to theft.

'About the middle of the ſquamous ſuture, directly above the meatus auditorius externus, is the organ of cunning. There is here a very conſiderable prominence in the head of the cat, and of the fox. It is remarkable, too, in knaves of every kind, and in all who are very expert in diſcovering their own intereſt. Thoſe good ſouls that ſuffer themſelves to be eaſily led, in ſhort all ſuch, as in this lower world of ours belong to the honourable company of the dupes, have, in this part of the ſkull, a very ſenſible hollow. Such heads in a revolution are not worth a ſingle farthing; and on that account they are cut off by hundreds.

'Gall thinks, that when this projection ſtretches forward, ſo as to come more cloſely on the front part of the head, it becomes the organ of the inclination to theft. He has remarked it, in many practiſed robbers, and in ſeveral perſons, who felt a ſecret inclination to ſteal, without being in want of any thing, and without any evil intention to the individual. In ravens and magpies it is ſtrongly prominent; and he has remarked it in ſome dogs, that refuſed conſtantly any food which was offered to them, and lived only on what they found means to ſteal. Very uſeful information this, for all cautious maſters of a family, in the choice of their domeſtics, and for M. de Barbé-Marbois, when he has next to appoint a clerk of the treaſury.' p. 55.

The poſition of many of the qualities deſcribed, gives M. Villers an opportunity, which he is not ſlow to take, of a little courtly adulation. In the moſt *pure* and *tranſcendental* of his views, he does not loſe ſight of the Thuilleries; but, whether he detail to us the philoſophy of Kant or of Gall, has a wonderful readineſs of memory, which reminds him of the Firſt Conſul for the time being. The organ of courage is ſituated near the ear; and he wiſhes, as deciſive of the ſyſtem, that Cuvier could obtain permiſſion from the Conqueror of Italy, *de le palper derrière l'oreille.* It is the very office for which M. Villers himſelf ſeems admirably fitted.

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It is unfortunate for Dr Gall's theory, that he has entered into the detail of it with ſuch minute exactneſs, as it enables every one too eaſily to compare its predictions with the ſkulls of thoſe around him. But the minuteneſs is ſtill more unfortunate for its popularity in another way. If he had merely laid down the general doctrine, that the different faculties and affections reſide in different parts of the brain, that they are great in proportion to the quantity of the part, and that the quantity of the part muſt modify the covering of ſkull, which, being later in formation, adapts itſelf to the ſhape of the part on which it is ſpread, he would probably have had diſciples in a large number of his readers; becauſe every reader might then have fixed, in his own external prominences, the ſeat of the qualities on which he ſet moſt value; and for every bad one might have found ſome hollow, in which it might conveniently lie hid. He might even have proceeded, like Dr Gall himſelf, to confirm his theory by obſervation. For dogs, and ſheep, and pigeons, he could never be at a loſs; and, even of human ſubjects, in ſo great an abundance of churchyards, he might find enough whoſe *points of merit* correſponded with his own. In this manner, every one might have contrived to feel his own ſkull, with pride and pleaſure. But how can Dr Gall expect his diſciples to be numerous, when they cannot put their hand to their head, without being upbraided, at every unlucky depreſſion, for the want of ſome taſte, or power, or virtue, of the exiſtence of which they had before as little doubt, as of the exiſtence of their ſkull itſelf!

If our organs of courage were not uncommonly large, we certainly ſhould tremble for our heads, as much as any of the great men of Vienna; ſince, after our unfavourable opinion of his ſyſtem, Dr Gall would no doubt be very happy to procure them, that he might demonſtrate them to his claſs, as admirable ſpecimens of the want of all critical talent.

ART. XVI. *Traité Médico-Philoſophique ſur l'Aliénation Mentale, ou la Manie.* Par Ph. Pinel, Profeſſeur de l'Ecole de Médecine de Paris. 8vo. Paris. 1802.

THE want of an accurate hiſtory of the ſeveral kinds of inſanity, has often been felt and acknowledged. Few ſubjects are ſo intereſting and important; and there are ſtill fewer in which ſo many prejudices are to be removed, and ſo many erroneous opinions to be corrected. Every attempt, therefore, to inveſtigate the diſeaſes of the mind, in order to explain their cauſes, or regulate their complicated movements, has particular claims

to

to our attention; and Dr Pinel, from the character which he has acquired by his former publications, as well as from the honourable department which he fills in the medical eſtabliſhment at Paris, is juſtly entitled to be heard on this very difficult ſubject. In the ſecond year of the republic, he was appointed phyſician to the Bicêtre, the hoſpital for the reception of lunatics; and his attention to the cauſes and treatment of inſanity, ſeem equal to the opportunities that he has had for proſecuting his inquiries. A great multitude of ſuch objects are at all times to be met with in the hoſpitals of populous cities; and the number, as well as the variety of theſe, muſt of courſe have been greatly increaſed by the events of the Revolution.

The chief merit of the preſent work appears to conſiſt in the collection of many curious facts, and ſome judicious remarks with reſpect to the moral treatment of inſane patients. Attention to this latter circumſtance has given a decided ſuperiority to the practice towards maniacs in Great Britain; and Dr Pinel has the merit of being the firſt author on the Continent, who ſeems fully ſenſible of its advantages, and anxious for its general adoption. To medical readers in this country, many of our author's remarks will appear neither new nor profound, and to none will his work appear complete. It is a general view of madneſs, under all its deplorable forms, not a minute and philoſophical inveſtigation of any particular ſpecies. It may be conſidered as a ſketch of what has already been done, with ſome notices of what the author intends to do; though he ſeems frequently to wonder, with a ſmile of ſelf-approbation, at what he thinks his own diſcoveries.

This treatiſe is divided into ſix ſections. The ſubject of the Firſt ſection is, *Periodical or intermittent inſanity.* Before entering upon the diſcuſſion of this diviſion of his ſubject, Dr Pinel makes ſome general remarks on the errors and abſurdities of former writers: he condemns their narrow and confined arrangement; and urges the neceſſity of a more ſcientific claſſification, by which the moral treatment of maniacs in an hoſpital may be regulated, and by which we may be directed in the exhibition of particular remedies, or in the employment of a particular regimen.

Inſanity, ſays Dr Pinel, in general, is conſidered as originating from ſome organic affection of the brain, and conſequently incurable; which in numerous inſtances is contrary to obſervation and experience. Aſylums, and public hoſpitals appropriated to lunatics, have been looked upon as places of confinement for dangerous patients, that ought to be kept apart from ſociety: hence the keepers have often been ignorant and cruel, and have

been allowed to perform arbitrary acts of ſeverity and violence, whilſt experience has invariably ſhown the happy effects of conciliating manners, and of a gentle yet reſolute firmneſs. Periodical inſanity is the moſt common form of the diſeaſe; and the extravagances by which the paroxyſms are characteriſed, reſemble permanent madneſs. They are alſo of a determinate duration: hence it is eaſy to obſerve the firſt ſymptoms, the progreſs, the acmè, and the termination of any attack.

In the firſt part of this ſection, Dr Pinel takes notice of the influence of the weather upon the aeceſſion and progreſs of the greater number of maniacal paroxyſms. Maniacs of every deſcription are obſerved to be conſiderably diſturbed at the approach of a ſtorm, and during very hot weather. This influence is frequent and conſiderable, but by no means general. Some fits of inſanity return at regular, and others at irregular intervals. The former are determined by the ſeaſons of the year; the latter by a variety of accidental cauſes, or in conſequence of ſome internal change, known only by its effects. This ſpecies is much leſs eaſily cured: it is alſo more common. There is no neceſſary connexion between the peculiar type or ſpecific character of madneſs, and the nature of the object which gave riſe to it. The violence of the paroxyſm, alſo, is independent of the nature of thoſe cauſes, and appears to depend upon the conſtitution of the individual, or rather upon the different degrees of his moral and phyſical ſenſibility. Strong and robuſt men, with black hair, in the vigour of life, and who are liable to violent paſſions, ſeem to retain their character in their maniacal fits, and become extremely furious and outrageous. Theſe extremes are leſs obſervable in perſons with light brown hair, and of a mild and gentle diſpoſition: their exceſſes are committed with a certain degree of moderation and reſerve. Nothing is more common than to ſee ſuch perſons fall into a harmleſs reverie, rather than into furious burſts of paſſion; and their derangement often ends in incurable fatuity.

Among the ſymptoms which precede mania, may be enumerated, oppreſſion in the region of the ſtomach, a want of appetite and diſlike to food, exceſſive thirſt, &c. The patient is alſo very reſtleſs, is diſturbed by vain fears, and groundleſs apprehenſions, or betrays ſome marks of ſingularity in his appearance and in his conduct. Ecſtatic viſions during the night often form a prelude to the fits of maniacal devotion. It is alſo ſometimes by enchanting dreams, and a pretended apparition of the beloved object, that madneſs from love breaks out into fury, after longer or ſhorter intervals of reaſon and tranquillity. A remarkable change takes place in the moral feelings. The patient expreſſes an exceſſive

ceſſive averſion for particular perſons, and very frequently thoſe whom he before eſteemed and loved moſt.

Dr Pinel farther remarks, that the different faculties of the mind are variouſly affected during a paroxyſm of madneſs. Sometimes they are violently excited, ſometimes they are weakened, and ſunk altogether: ſometimes this alteration or morbid affection only falls upon one or more of the intellectual powers, whilſt the others acquire ſuch an increaſe of energy and activity, as would ſeem to exclude any idea of derangement. The judgement is ſometimes entirely obliterated, and the maniac pronounces only words, without any order or connexion, which ſhow that his ideas are very incoherent. At other times, the judgment is in all its vigour and force. The maniac appears perfectly compoſed, makes the beſt and moſt correct anſwers to the queſtions put to him; but, if ſet at liberty, immediately becomes furious. This kind of derangement is very common: eight caſes of it were in the hoſpital at one time: it is what is vulgarly called *folie raiſonnante*. It is unneceſſary to mention the ramblings of the *imagination*, the fantaſtic viſions, and ideal transformations into monarchs, generals, and ſaints; or thoſe illuſions which form the character of hypochondriacal and melancholic affections, ſo frequently deſcribed, under all their various forms. The powers of reaſoning and reflection are evidently affected, ſometimes deſtroyed, in paroxyſms of madneſs; but, in ſome inſtances, they exiſt in their full force, or are readily reeſtabliſhed, when any objects can arreſt their attention amidſt their chimerical wanderings. It may be proper to give two examples.

'One day,' (ſays Dr Pinel), 'I engaged a man of very cultivated talents to write me a letter: at this time he was abſorbed in the moſt abſurd converſation: the letter, however, which I ſtill preſerve, is full of good ſenſe and reflection.

'A watchmaker, who was ſo extravagant as to believe that his own head had been cut off by the guillotine, and exchanged for another, was at the ſame time infatuated with the chimera of perpetual motion. His tools were brought to him, and he ſet to work with the greateſt perſeverance. It was reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the diſcovery would not be made. But the moſt ingenious machines were produced, which muſt have been owing to the moſt accurate and profound combinations.' p. 25.

It has long been known, that maniacs are able to bear with impunity the extremes of hunger and of cold; but theſe facts, according to our author, have been too generally applied. The melancholy experience of the effects of the late ſcarcity at the

Bicêtre has ſhown, that want of food only tends to exaſperate and prolong the diſeaſe, when it does not ſpeedily render it fatal. The number of deaths has been conſiderably diminiſhed in this hoſpital ſince the allowance of food has been increaſed. Some maniacs ſeem to delight in exceſſive cold; whilſt others again are very much alive to its impreſſions: and every year it happens, when the winter is very ſevere, that accidents occur from the froſt ſeizing the feet and hands. Patients often die from cold, when affected with the languor and debility which follows violent and long continued paroxyſms.

Dr Pinel animadverts upon the indolence and timidity of repeating the vulgar notion, that inſanity can never be cured, becauſe it is always certain of returning. He atteſts, from his own experience, that of twenty-five perſons cured, only two relapſed; one from ennui and diſappointment; the other, after continuing well five years, relapſed, from deep melancholy, the original cauſe of his complaint. Perſons between the age of eighteen and twenty-five, have often been brought to the hoſpital, with the total loſs of all their faculties, and have gradually recovered by ſome ſpontaneous change taking place. He concludes this Section with ſome remarks on the emancipation of medicine in France, and on the neceſſary qualifications of a phyſician who undertakes the treatment of inſane patients.

Such are the principal contents of the firſt part of this Eſſay; which we have endeavoured to ſeparate from the irrelevant matter, and conciſely to lay before our readers. We ſhall now offer a very few remarks, as they occurred during this analytical examination. In the firſt place, Dr Pinel appears to diſplay very little ſagacity and preciſion, in ſaying that, in ſome caſes, the brain is not affected; for we ſhall adduce his own teſtimony, as well as that of many other reſpectable authorities (in another part of this article), to contradict this aſſertion. He informs us, that he has ſtudied, with conſiderable attention, the writings of Locke, Harris, Condillac, Smith, and Stewart: but the quotation of great names is not always the ſureſt proof of an accurate acquaintance with their works; and we are inclined to think, that there is ſome ground for doubt in the preſent inſtance. Some diverſity of opinion has exiſted, from the want of diſcrimination, reſpecting the influence of heat and cold upon the alienation of mind; but the facts ſtated by Dr Pinel, and thoſe obſerved in long ſea voyages, unqueſtionably prove that theſe phyſical cauſes have, in ſome inſtances, very remarkable effects. The obſervations on the complexion and conſtitution of ſome maniacs are of conſiderable importance. They are confirmed by Mr Haslam of Bethlem Hoſpital, who has given ſome excellent practical

practical remarks on insanity, in which he mentions, that of two hundred and sixty-five patients, only sixty had a fair skin, with light brown, or red hair. Mr Haslam also corroborates our author's assertion, that maniacs do not enjoy any general privilege of sensibility to cold. It is obvious that this fact admits of a very useful practical application. The detail of the symptoms which precede an attack of madness, seem to merit particular attention. In order to succeed in our practice or prevention, it is necessary to be strictly upon the watch to discover the secret wiles, or open attacks, of this formidable enemy, whom it is so much more easy to repel, than to dislodge after a successful attack.

Section Second is employed in the detail of those circumstances which ought to vary the moral treatment. Many examples are adduced to show, that this is one of the most important, and neglected branches of medical practice; and Dr Pinel is desirous that France should have some claim to a judicious treatment of the diseases of the mind, the honour of which has hitherto been exclusively confined to England. *Rousseau*, in a fit of ill-humour, invoked the aid of *Medicine*, and desired her to come without a physician. Perhaps he would have done better to have reversed his prayer for his own case; and he certainly would have done more service to mankind, by employing his eloquence against presumptuous ignorance, and in soliciting talents and genius to the pursuit of a science, which must be deeply studied, to be well understood.

The chief art of managing maniacal patients consists, according to Dr Pinel, in administering consolation. It is proper to speak to them with kindness, sometimes to give evasive answers, in order to avoid enraging them by a refusal; to impress them with a necessary degree of awe; and to get the better of their obstinacy by stratagem, rather than by any act of violence. The following history affords a good illustration of the effect of stratagem.

'One of the most eminent watchmakers in Paris became deranged, from prosecuting the idea of perpetual motion. His derangement was characterised by this singularity: he believed that he had been guillotined, that his head had been mixed with those of some other victims, and that the judges, repenting of their cruel verdict, had ordered the heads to be replaced upon their respective bodies. By some mistake, he conceived that the head of one of his unfortunate companions had been placed upon his shoulders; and this idea haunted him night and day. A convalescent, of a lively and jocular turn, was engaged to play the following trick upon the artist. Their conversation was directed to the celebrated miracle of St Denis, who carried his head under his arm, and kissed it as he went along. The watchmaker vehemently maintained the possibility of the fact, and endeavoured to

confirm it by an appeal to his own caſe. His companion burſt out into a loud laugh, and ſaid to him, in a tone of mockery, "*Why, you fool, how could St Denis contrive to kiſs his own head? was it with his heel?*" This unexpected repartee ſtruck the lunatic forcibly: he retired quite confuſed, amidſt the laughter that it produced; and he never after ſpoke of the miſplacement of his head." p. 70.

Inſanity from exceſs of devotion, and from fanaticiſm, has been found extremely difficult of cure in France, as well as in this country. Dr Pinel ſuggeſts a plan, which ſeems to deſerve attention, where the ſituation will admit of it; to ſeparate the fanatics from the reſt of the patients, and place them in a ſpot where they can be employed in agriculture; to excite them to work by ſome proſpect of reward; to remove every object of religious worſhip from their ſight; to engage them in philoſophical purſuits; and to contraſt the characters of the ancient philoſophers, or compare acts of humanity and patriotiſm with the ineffective piety and fanciful dreams of ſaints and hermits: in ſhort, to ſuggeſt thoſe things calculated to excite the imagination in a contrary direction to their chimerical notions.

In the Third ſection, Dr Pinel treats of the morbid appearances of the ſkull in maniacs, and notices the age and habits moſt liable to inſanity. He conceives, that the reſult of the examination of the periods of life moſt ſubject to inſanity, is alone ſufficient to ſhow, how ſeldom it is owing to any organic affection of the brain or the cranium. But, in this opinion, there is ſome inconſiſtency. For he ſoon after ſtates, that, in thirty-ſix diſſections, he found nothing more remarkable than in the brain of apoplectic and epileptic patients, or of perſons who died from fever or convulſions. Now, this is a confeſſion, that ſome deviations from the natural and healthy appearances were obſerved; and this is all that is contended for, and all that the preſent limited ſtate of our knowledge authoriſes us to affirm. The extenſive labours of *Morgagni*, *Meckel*, *Greding*, and the more recent inquiries of *Haſlam* in our own country, and *Chiaruggi* in Italy, all tend to eſtabliſh this concluſion. It has been the prevailing opinion, that the mind can be morbidly affected, independent of any correſponding affection of the brain; but this ſeems contradicted by all accurate anatomical obſervation, which compels us to yield to fact, when we reſiſt ſpeculation. The more recent diſcoveries in phyſiology ſhow, that the phenomena of mind (whatever may be their preciſe nature, or in whatever way they are produced) are influenced, not merely by a peculiar conformation of the brain, but by its chemical compoſition: and this is affected, directly by the blood, and indirectly by air, exerciſe, and food. If no organic affections

tions are said to have been discovered, in some few instances, we should not reason negatively from such dissections, perhaps cursorily and ignorantly made, and with instruments ill adapted to detect minute, and apparently trivial deviations from the natural structure.

Dr Pinel has remarked, that some singular conformations of the skull were connected with a state of fatuity and idiotism from birth. The size of the skull was found to be less, and its height inferior to that of other maniacs: but what is very remarkable in idiots, is, the vast disproportion between the size of the face and the head, the former being so much larger than the latter. Of this, two representations are given in a plate. In one idiot, an uncommon thickness of the bones of the head was observed, by which the capacity of the cranium was considerably diminished. This circumstance is observed also in the Cretins of Switzerland.

The period of life most subject to the attacks of insanity, appears, from a table constructed by Dr Pinel, to be from the age of twenty to forty. Not one case occurred before the age of puberty. This predisposition to madness in the vigour of life, may in some measure be owing to the mind being more exposed, during that period, to the action of those moral causes which excite the complaint. This is illustrated by the facts observed in the Bicêtre. Those circumstances which powerfully affected the passions and the mind, were found to be the most frequent causes of madness. Of 113 maniacs, concerning whom satisfactory information could be obtained, 34 were reduced to that state by domestic misfortunes, 24 by disappointed love, 30 by the events of the revolution, and 25 by fanaticism, or the terrors of futurity. *

Certain professions and employments also predispose to insanity more than others, and especially those in which the imagination is kept constantly in action, and is not counterbalanced by the cultivation of other faculties of the mind, or by abstruse and dry studies. Dr Pinel, on examining the registers of the Bicêtre, says,

'That he found the number of monks and priests was very great: also a great many country people, who had been terrified out of their senses by horrid pictures of futurity; many artists, as painters, sculptors, and musicians; some versifiers, in ecstasies with their own productions; a pretty considerable number of advocates and attornies: but there did not appear one of those persons accustomed to the equal and habitual exercise of their intellectual faculties; not one naturalist, or

* It would be more scientific to consider France as a vast Bicêtre during that period. We are somewhat surprised, in this catalogue *raisonée* or rather *de-raisonée*, to find none driven mad by theories; not a single Huttonian nor Wernerian.

natural philoſopher of ability; not one chemiſt, and, for ſtronger reaſons, not one geometrician.' p. 111.

This account is very curious, and tends to ſhow the effects produced upon the underſtanding by different ſtudies and active purſuits. A more extenſive examination of the regiſters of lunatic hoſpitals, where the previous hiſtory of the patients was recorded, would tend much to illuſtrate this intereſting point, and might ſuggeſt ſome important rules for regulating the various mental powers, and might aſſiſt in explaining thoſe peculiarities which diſtinguiſh the different claſſes of men from each other. The tendency to madneſs, occaſioned by a perverſion of theological ſtudies, has been obſerved in every country, and in every age. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus* informs us, that the old Romans, for the ſake of preventing theological enthuſiaſm, made it a law, that no one ſhould be received into the ſacerdotal office till he was paſt fifty years of age.

The excluſive privilege poſſeſſed by mathematicians and natural philoſophers, as mentioned by our author, may perhaps be accounted for, by the tendency which ſuch purſuits have, to increaſe the powers of attention. The diſtinction between verſifiers and poets ſeems very juſt. Many of the former have all the melancholy madneſs of poetry, without the inſpiration; whilſt great poets may be ſuppoſed to have a command over their imagination, and to be able, for the moſt part, to regulate and direct its movements.

The Fourth ſection contains our author's diviſion and arrangement of inſanity. He makes five different ſpecies, which he characteriſes by the following titles. 1. Melancholia, or delirium, excluſively confined to one object: 2. Mania without delirium; 3. Mania with delirium: 4. Amentia (*démence*) or abolition of judgment: 5. Idiotiſm. Under each of theſe heads, the ſpecific definition of each kind of inſanity is given, and illuſtrated by examples. We muſt confeſs, that we do not perceive the manifold advantages, either in practice, or in forming a prognoſis, which the author thinks may be derived from this arrangement. It may be entitled to the praiſe of ingenuity, but we doubt whether it is remarkable for its clearneſs and accuracy. Many of the diſtinctions ſeem abſurd, and others not well-founded. The ſeveral kinds of inſanity are not diſtinct; they are only varieties of the ſame affection. All the ſymptoms mentioned under theſe five heads, occur in the ſame patient. At different times, he paſſes through all the gradations, from furious phrenſy to complete fatuity. The fourth ſpecies, (*démence, ou abolition de la penſée*), as it is defined by our author, is ſo very general, that it would include

elude a great part of the authors quoted in our Review; every tranſitory exceſs of paſſion, and every eccentricity or peculiarity of conduct in ſociety. It would comprehend, under the title of Inſanity, thoſe ſingularities of manner in ſome individuals, which have attracted the wit of Eraſmus, and the ſatire of Boileau. All the objections that may be ſtarted againſt the definition of any ſubject, apply particularly to all the attempts to eſtabliſh an eſſential character, or to give an accurate definition of madneſs. It appears to be too early at preſent, to form a ſyſtematic arrangement: the ſubject has not been ſufficiently inveſtigated and explained. The diviſions hitherto made by medical writers, have been either too limited or too general. Dr Pinel ſeems to have erred in this latter extreme. His five ſpecies may be conveniently reduced to three: for the only valid diſtinctions which can be made, appear to be between melancholia, mania, and idiotiſm. Perhaps, the true relation between the two general forms of inſanity, may be ſtated to conſiſt in *abſtraction*, and in *vivid imagination*. The one will comprehend that ſtate, where the mind ſeparates the combinations which are preſented to it, and fixes its attention excluſively upon one ſingle object. The other combines the different objects and various ſenſations, creates new ones, and miſtakes conceptions, the recollection of paſt perceptions for real exiſtences. Did our limits permit, this view of inſanity might be farther illuſtrated, by comparing it with the ſeveral ſtates of reverie, ſomnambuliſm, and dreaming.

In treating of idiotiſm, Dr Pinel has introduced an account of the moral and phyſical peculiarities of the *Cretins* in Switzerland. As this ſubject is extremely curious and intereſting, and as the only particular account of it in our own language, is in the form of an original eſſay,* though only made up of ſome imperfect ſtatements from *De Pauw*, in his *Recherches ſur les Americains*, we ſhall tranſlate this paſſage at ſome length; premiſing, however, that this account is taken from the very excellent work of Fodéré, † to which Dr Pinel very properly refers.

'Children who are to become Cretins, are generally born with a ſmall *goitre* or ſwelling of the throat, about the ſize of a nut. Thoſe who have not this peculiarity, are nevertheleſs marked by ſome other characteriſtics, which foretel their degradation and fatuity. They have an inflated tumid appearance, eſpecially about the head and hands. They are leſs ſenſible than other infants to the impreſſions of the atmoſphere. They ſuck with difficulty, ſleep a great deal, and have always

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* Mancheſter Memoirs, vol. 3.

† Traité du Goitre et du Cretiniſme, par F. E. Fodéré. Paris, An 8.

public attention to the injudicious and too common mode of treatment, which can only pass uncensured, when it escapes observation. On a subject so extensive and difficult, a complete work cannot be expected from the unassisted efforts of any new inquirer: We are therefore inclined to make an indulgent allowance for the imperfect execution of many parts of Dr Pinel's Essay, and to entertain hopes of farther information from his diligence and discernment.

ART. XVII. *Delphine.* By Madame de Stael-Holstein. London. Mawman. 6 vol. 12mo.

THIS dismal trash, which has nearly dislocated the jaws of every critic among us with gaping, has so alarmed Bonaparte, that he has seized the whole impression, sent Madame de Stael out of Paris, and, for aught we know, sleeps in a nightcap of steel, and dagger proof blankets. To us it appears rather an attack against the Ten Commandments, than the government of Bonaparte, and calculated not so much to enforce the rights of the Bourbons, as the benefits of adultery, murder, and a great number of other vices, which have been somehow or other strangely neglected in this country, and too much so (according to the apparent opinion of Madame de Stael) even in France.

It happens, however, fortunately enough, that her book is as dull as it could have been if her intentions had been good; for wit, dexterity, and the pleasant energies of the mind, seldom rank themselves on the side of virtue and social order; while vice is spiritual, eloquent and alert, ever choice in expression, happy in allusion, and judicious in arrangement.

The story is simply this.—Delphine, a rich young widow, presents her cousin Matilda de Vernon with a considerable estate, in order to enable her to marry Leonce Mondeville. To this action she is excited by the arts and the intrigues of Madame de Vernon, an hackneyed Parisian lady, who hopes, by this marriage, to be able to discharge her numerous and pressing debts. Leonce, who, like all other heroes of novels, has fine limbs, and fine qualities, comes to Paris—dislikes Matilda—falls in love with Delphine, Delphine with him; and they are upon the eve of jilting poor Matilda, when, from some false reports spread abroad respecting the character of Delphine (which are aggravated by her own imprudences, and by the artifices of Madame Vernon), Leonce, not in a fit of honesty, but of revenge, marries the lady whom he came to marry. Soon after, Madame de Vernon dies—discovers the artifices by which she had prevented the union of Leonce and Delphine—and then, after this catastrophe, which ought to have terminated the novel, come two long volumes of complaint

complaint and deſpair. Delphine becomes a nun—runs away from the nunnery with Leonce, who is taken by ſome French ſoldiers, upon the ſuppoſition that he has been ſerving in the French emigrant army againſt his country—is ſhot, and upon his dead body falls Delphine as dead as he.

Making every allowance for reading this book in a tranſlation, and in a very bad tranſlation, we cannot but deem it a heavy performance. The incidents are vulgar; the characters vulgar too, except thoſe of Delphine and Madame de Vernon. Madame de Stael has not the artifice to hide what is coming. In travelling through a flat country, or a flat book, we ſee our road before us for half the diſtance we are going. There are no agreeable ſinuoſities, and no ſpeculation whether we are to aſcend next, or deſcend; what new ſight we are to enjoy, or to which ſide we are to bend. Leonce is robbed and half murdered; the apothecary of the place is certain he will not live; we were abſolutely certain that he would live, and could predict to an hour the time of his recovery. In the ſame manner, we could have propheſied every event of the book a whole volume before its occurrence.

This novel is a perfect *Alexandrian.* The two laſt volumes are redundant, and drag their wounded length: It ſhould certainly have terminated where the intereſt ceaſes, at the death of Madame de Vernon; but, inſtead of this, the ſcene-ſhifters come and pick up the dead bodies, waſh the ſtage, ſweep it, and do every thing which the timely fall of the curtain ſhould have excluded from the ſight, and left to the imagination of the audience. We humbly apprehend, that young gentlemen do not in general make their tutors the confidants of their paſſion; at leaſt we can find no rule of that kind laid down either by Miſs Hamilton or Miſs Edgeworth, in their treatiſes on education. The tutor of Leonce is Mr Barton, a grave old gentleman, in a peruke and ſnuff-coloured clothes. Inſtead of writing to this ſolemn perſonage about ſecond cauſes, the ten categories, and the eternal fitneſs of things, the young lover raves to him, for whole pages, about the white neck and auburn hair of his Delphine; and, ſhame to tell! the liquoriſh old pedagogue ſeems to think theſe amorous ebullitions the pleaſanteſt ſort of writing *in uſum Delphini* that he has yet met with.

By altering one word, and making *only* one falſe quantity *, we ſhall change the rule of Horace to

> 'Nec *febris* interſit niſi dignus vindice nodus
> Inciderit.'——

Delphine

* Perhaps a fault, of all others, which the Engliſh are leaſt diſpoſed to pardon. A young man who, on a public occaſion, makes a falſe quantity at the outſet of life, can ſeldom or never get over it.

Delphine and Leonce have eight very bad *typhus* fevers between them, beſides *hæmoptoe*, *hemorrhage*, *deliquium animi*, *ſingultus*, *hyſteria*, and *fœminei ululatus*, or ſcreams innumerable. Now, that there ſhould be a reaſonable allowance of ſickneſs in every novel, we are willing to admit, and will cheerfully permit the heroine to be once given over, and at the point of death; but we cannot conſent, that the intereſt which ought to be excited by the feelings of the mind ſhould be transferred to the ſufferings of the body, and a criſis of perſpiration be ſubjected for a criſis of paſſion. Let us ſee difficulties overcome, if our approbation is required;—we cannot grant it to ſuch cheap and ſterile artifices as theſe.

The characters in this novel are all ſaid to be drawn from real life; and the perſons for whom they are intended are loudly whiſpered at Paris. Moſt of them we have forgotten; but Delphine is ſaid to be intended for the authoreſs, and *Madame de Vernon* (by a ſlight ſexual metamorphoſis) for Talleyrand, miniſter of the French republic for foreign affairs. As this lady (once the friend of the authoreſs) may probably exerciſe a conſiderable influence over the deſtinies of this country, we ſhall endeavour to make our readers a little better acquainted with her; but we muſt firſt remind them, that ſhe was once a biſhop, a higher dignity in the church than was ever attained by any of her ſex ſince the days of Pope Joan; and that though ſhe ſwindles Delphine out of her eſtate with a conſiderable degree of addreſs, her dexterity ſometimes fails her, as in the memorable inſtance of the American commiſſioners. Madame de Stael gives the following deſcription of this paſtoral metropolitan female:

'Though ſhe is at leaſt forty, ſhe ſtill appears charming even among the young and beautiful of her own ſex. The paleneſs of her complexion, the ſlight relaxation of her features, indicate the languor of indiſpoſition, and not the decay of years; the eaſy negligence of her dreſs accords with this impreſſion. Every one concludes, that when her health is recovered, and ſhe dreſſes with more care, ſhe muſt be completely beautiful: this change, however, never happens, but it is always expected; and that is ſufficient to make the imagination ſtill add ſomething more to the natural effect of her charms.' Vol. I. p. 41.

Nothing can be more execrable than the manner in which this book is tranſlated. The bookſeller has employed one of our countrymen for that purpoſe, who appears to have been very *lately caught*. The contraſt between the paſſionate exclamations of Madame de Stael, and the barbarous vulgarities of poor Sawney, produces a mighty ludicrous effect. One of the heroes, a man of

of high faſtidious temper, exclaims, in a letter to Delphine, 'I cannot endure this Paris, I have met *with ever ſo many people* whom my ſoul abhors.' And the accompliſhed and enraptured Leonce terminates one of his letters thus: *Adieu! adieu! my deareſt Delphine. I will give you a call* to-morrow.' We doubt if Grub-Street ever imported from Caledonia a more abominable tranſlator.

We admit the character of Madame de Vernon to be drawn with conſiderable ſkill. There are occaſional traits of eloquence and pathos in this novel, and very many of thoſe obſervations upon manners and character, which are totally out of the reach of all who have not lived long in the world, and obſerved it well.

The immorality of any book (in our eſtimation) is to be determined by the general impreſſions it leaves on thoſe minds, whoſe principles, not yet *oſſified*, are capable of affording a leſs powerful defence to its influence. The moſt dangerous effect that any fictitious character can produce, is when two or three of its popular vices are varniſhed over with every thing that is captivating and gracious in the exterior, and ennobled by aſſociation with ſplendid virtues: this apology will be more ſure of its effect, if the faults are not againſt nature, but againſt ſociety. The averſion to murder and cruelty could not perhaps be ſo overcome; but a regard to the ſanctity of marriage vows, to the ſacred and ſenſitive delicacy of the female character, and to numberleſs reſtrictions important to the well-being of our ſpecies, may eaſily be relaxed by this ſubtle and voluptuous confuſion of good and evil. It is in vain to ſay the fable evinces, in the laſt act, that vice is productive of miſery. We may decorate a villain with graces and felicities for nine volumes, and hang him in the laſt page. This is not teaching virtue, but gilding the gallows, and raiſing up ſplendid aſſociations in favour of being hanged. In ſuch an union of the *amiable* and the vicious (eſpecially if the vices are ſuch, to the commiſſion of which there is no want of natural diſpoſition), the vice will not degrade the man, but the man will ennoble the vice. We ſhall wiſh to be him whom we admire, *in ſpite* of his vices, and, if the novel be well written, even *in conſequence* of his vices. There exiſts, through the whole of this novel, a ſhow of exquiſite ſenſibility to the evils which individuals ſuffer by the inflexible rules of virtue preſcribed by ſociety, and an eager diſpoſition to apologize for particular tranſgreſſion. Such doctrine is not confined to Madame de Stael; an Arcadian cant is gaining faſt upon Spartan gravity;

gravity; and the happineſs diffuſed, and the beautiful order eſtabliſhed in ſociety, by this unbending diſcipline, is wholly ſwallowed up in compaſſion for the unfortunate and intereſting individual. Either the exceptions or the rule muſt be given up: Every highwayman who thruſts his piſtol into a chaiſe window, has met with *unforeſeen misfortunes;* and every looſe matron who flies into the arms of her *Greville*, was compelled to marry an old man whom ſhe deteſted, by an avaricious, and unfeeling father. The paſſions want not accelerating, but retarding machinery. This fatal and fooliſh ſophiſtry has power enough over every heart, not to need the aid of fine compoſition, and well-contrived incident—auxiliaries which Madame de Stael intended to bring forward in the cauſe, though ſhe has fortunately not ſucceeded.

M. de Serbellone is received as a gueſt into the houſe of M. d'Ervins, whoſe wife he debauches as a recompenſe for his hoſpitality. Is it poſſible to be diſguſted with ingratitude and injuſtice, when united to ſuch an aſſemblage of talents and virtues as this man of paper poſſeſſes? Was there ever a more delightful faſcinating adultereſs than Madame d'Ervins is intended to be? or a *povero cornuto* leſs capable of exciting compaſſion than her huſband? The morality of all this is the old morality of Farquhar, Vanburgh, and Congreve,—that every witty man may tranſgreſs the ſeventh commandment, which was never meant for the protection of huſbands who labour under the incapacity of making repartees. In Matilda, religion is always as unamiable as diſſimulation is graceful in Madame de Vernon, and imprudence generous in Delphine. This ſaid Delphine, with her fine auburn hair, and her beautiful blue or green eyes, (we forget which), cheats her couſin Matilda out of her lover, alienates the affections of her huſband, and keeps a ſort of aſſignation houſe for Serbellone and his *chere amie*, juſtifying herſelf by the moſt touching complaints againſt the rigour of the world, and uſing the cuſtomary phraſes, *union of ſouls, married in the eye of heaven*, &c. &c. &c. and ſuch like diction, the types of which Mr Lane of the Minerva Preſs very prudently keeps ready compoſed, in order to facilitate the printing of the Adventures of Captain C—— and Miſs F——, and other intereſting ſtories, of which he the ſaid inimitable Mr Lane of the Minerva Preſs well knows theſe ſentiments muſt make a part. Another perilous abſurdity which this *uſeful* production tends to cheriſh, is the common notion, that contempt of rule and order is a proof of greatneſs of mind. Delphine is everywhere a great ſpirit ſtruggling with the ſhackles impoſed upon her in common

mon with the little world around her; and it is managed so, that her contempt of restrictions shall always appear to flow from the extent, variety, and splendour of her talents. The vulgarity of this heroism ought in some degree to diminish its value. Mr Colquhoun, in his police of the metropolis, reckons up above 40,000 heroines of this species, most of whom, we dare to say, have at one time or another reasoned like the sentimental Delphine about the judgments of the world.

To conclude—Our general opinion of this book is, that it is calculated to shed a mild lustre over adultery; by gentle and convenient gradation, to destroy the modesty and the caution of women; to facilitate the acquisition of easy vices, and incumber the difficulty of virtue. What a wretched qualification of this censure to add, that the badness of the principles is only corrected by the badness of the style, and that this celebrated lady would have been very guilty, if she had not been very dull!

Art. XVIII. *Memoirs of the Reign of George III.* By W. Belsham. Volumes V. & VI. 8vo. G. G. & J. Robinson. London. 1801.

The preceding volumes of this history had created in our minds so little expectation of merit in those which are now presented to the world, that we cannot with propriety say that we have been disappointed. There is a fraud in the very title-page of this work; for if the reader expects to find in the 'Memoirs of the Reign of George III.' any thing like an history of that period, he will soon find himself dolefully mistaken. By the illiberality, party spirit, and intemperate ardour for the propagation of his political opinions, which Mr Belsham displays, he has forfeited the title of historian, for the more appropriate, though less respectable, name of zealot, or pamphleteer. The bitter and licentious spirit in which he had indulged his pen throughout his former volumes, has now risen to a height more intolerable to the reader, and disgraceful to the writer. It appears that Mr Belsham's habits of writing, like all other evil habits, increase in virulence, in proportion as they proceed; and unless the wholesome discipline of criticism be administered, the press may, at some future day, groan under a still more highly accumulated mass of personal abuse and intolerant zeal.

By stripping these volumes, however, of their title to the rank of history, to which they have assuredly no more claim, than a book made up of political registers and party pamphlets

can pretend to, we have greatly abridged to ourſelves the unpleaſant taſk of cenſure; and by thus bringing their merits and defects to the deciſions of an inferior ſtandard, we have allowed greater latitude to the author's eccentric excurſions, and greater indulgence to his violations of decency and propriety. It may be proper, however, to hint, that the former are always obſervable when a low factious citizen comes under the cognizance of the law; and the latter, whenever a prime miniſter, a tory, or an alarmiſt, is honoured by a mention in his annals.

The moſt curſory and rapid review of the events which theſe volumes detail, would occupy a pamphlet of ſome magnitude. It would therefore be totally inconſiſtent with the plan of our work, to offer more than a general view of their deſign and execution. Unhappily indeed for all Europe, the memory of theſe events is yet freſh in the mind of every individual; and the ſpirit in which they originated has not, even to this day, totally ſubſided.

The Fifth Volume opens with the declaration of war between France and England. And the author at once diſplays his party ſpirit, and want of political knowledge, in aſcribing ſolely to the meaſures of the Britiſh court, a war, which had its true origin in principles and paſſions common to both countries, at that intereſting juncture. Whether England or France firſt adopted meaſures deciſive of their warlike intentions, is a point upon which Europe differs, and Mr Belſham dogmatizes. From his Delphic deciſion of this queſtion, the author proceeds to give a ſhort account of the Parliamentary tranſactions of that period. Here, our pamphleteer openly enliſts himſelf in the party of Mr Fox; and, after paying his homage to this great man, he proceeds to declare his irreconcileable enmity to the firſt miniſter. In a note, which we are induced to mention, merely that the author may obſerve we are not altogether inattentive to his efforts at wit, he contraſts the characters of theſe two ſtateſmen, by the ſchool-boy anecdote of Phocion and Demoſthenes. Mr Belſham afterwards preſents his reader with the Royal meſſage to the Houſe of Commons on the declaration of war; and obligingly marks, by *italic* letters, thoſe paſſages which we ſuppoſe have peculiarly attracted his attention. He next gratifies his ardent zeal againſt tories and alarmiſts, (for this is, in truth, a principal object of his work), by reproaching their great leader Edmund Burke. 'Mr Burke,' ſays he, (ſpeaking of the debate occaſioned by the Royal meſſage), 'pronounced a vehement philippic, affording a melancholy contraſt to the ſpeeches of his better days.' In this ſentiment, many of our readers may, *perhaps*, agree with Mr Belſham,

ſham, and reprobate the man who once profeſſed and acted upon genuine Whig principles. But when (in p. 21.) the author denominates him 'this eloquent *madman*,' and afterwards (p. 285.) 'the *demoniac*,' we are at a loſs to decide, whether the malignity or the folly of this indecent language is moſt deſerving of condemnation.

As a farther proof of his groſs violation of rule and decorum, we ſhall quote to the reader his laſt view of Mr Burke's character.

'Mr Burke, who had now no longer a ſeat in Parliament, publiſhed a moſt furious, ſanguinary, and frantic pamphlet, entitled, 'Thoughts on a Regicide Peace;' in which he urged, in his characteriſtic manner, the proſecution of the war *ad internecionem*.' Vol. v. p. 484-5.

Yet does not all this come up to the bitterneſs and ſarcaſm which he pours upon the devoted head of the unfortunate firſt miniſter. Mr Belſham's weapon is never ſharp, his aim dexterous, nor his vigour formidable; and we might amuſe ourſelves with the quiverings and deviations of the '*telum imbelle et ſine ictu*,' did we not perceive the malignity which directs it. Our readers will judge of the temper and capacity which dictated the following paſſages. P. 57, he ſtyles Mr Pitt 'that *perfidious* miniſter, who had oppoſed almoſt invariably, and with effect, every liberal meaſure which had, from time to time, been brought forward in Parliament for the extenſion of the general ſyſtem of conſtitutional liberty.'

Speaking of the Britiſh Parliament of 1795, our author utters the following inſolent and low invective.

—'and, what was infinitely the worſt of all, a Parliament, not poſſeſſing a ſpark of the old Engliſh ſpirit, loſt to every ſenſe of national honour, ſunk into a ſtate of ſtupefaction, obſtinately and idiotically confiding in a miniſter whoſe viſionary plans and projects had been everywhere defeated, and whoſe predictions had been uniformly falſified—a miniſter evidently deſtitute of the talents neceſſary for carrying on any war but the WAR OF WORDS—a bullying, boaſting, Bobadil ſtateſman!' Vol. v. p. 258.

We hope it will not be deemed too ſevere to ſay of the following paſſage, that it is worthy of a place in the 'Memoirs of the Reign of George III.'

'Surely, then, it cannot be too harſh to characteriſe the financial adminiſtration of Mr Pitt as exhibiting a ſyſtem infamouſly improvident. If a national bankruptcy ſhould be the ultimate, as it ſeems the inevitable, reſult of this ſyſtem, let us thank GOD that the LAND remains, and that no extravagance of kings or miniſters can annihilate it. If

our government could have had ſuch communion with the inhabitants of the ſun or moon, or any other agents viſible or inviſible, as by parting with territory to have obtained the means of ſupplying their immediate purpoſes, there would not have been by this time an acre of ground left for an Engliſhman to have ſet his foot upon. But regret and indignation are alike uſeleſs and unavailing; and we ſubmit to the oppreſſions inflicted by ſuch an adminiſtration as the preſent, as to a plague, a famine, or an earthquake, or any other viſitation of Providence in the natural or moral world.' Vol. v. p. 395-6.

We have been amuſed likewiſe with the following paſſage.

'Under the adminiſtration of Mr Pitt, bigotry and malignity advanced with an accelerated progreſs, and every ſpecies of improvement, moral, intellectual, or political, ſeemed gradually to become the object, firſt of cold indifference to this inſidious ſtateſman, then of diſlike, and at length of fear, of hatred, and of horror.'—'When ſuch a man bore ſway, it cannot be a matter of wonder that the perſecuted and oppreſſed ſhould be ardently deſirous to withdraw far beyond the ſphere of his baleful influence; though this could not, in the nature of things, be effected without making great and mournful ſacrifices.' Vol. v. p. 194-5.

From theſe divertiſements, which we fancy the author has introduced into this medley calling itſelf 'Memoirs,' for the Chriſtian purpoſes of entertaining his reader and humbling himſelf, we ſhall proceed to an examination of his more ſerious efforts at compoſition.

After detailing the principal articles of the petition for reform of Parliament, preſented by the 'Society of the Friends of the People,' this libellous oracle thus delivers itſelf:

'Whoever reads this celebrated petition, and ſtill retains the opinion, that the Parliamentary repreſentation of this kingdom needs no reform, may be regarded as in a ſtate of mind far beyond the reach of facts or of argument.' Vol. v. p. 56.

We admire, too, the lofty and contemptuous ſtyle in which Mr Belſham treats the exertions of Government at that period.

'Notwithſtanding the great predominance of the ſpirit of loyalty, and the numberleſs addreſſes of duty and allegiance tranſmitted from all parts of the united kingdom, and the perfect ſecurity of the government, a mean and mercileſs ſpirit of revenge diſplayed itſelf in the proſecution and puniſhment of very many petty offenders accuſed of the vague and indefinable crime of ſedition—amongſt whom were ſeveral printers and bookſellers; ſo that it became extremely dangerous to publiſh any tract or pamphlet reflecting in any manner upon the meaſures of government; and the liberty of the preſs was ſilently and virtually annihilated.' Vol. v. p. 70.

The

The narration of the trials of Watt and Downie, Hardy, Thelwall, and Horne Tooke, is conducted with ſome ſpirit; though the triumphant air of party, with which he leads them out of court after their acquittal, is better ſuited to the *coryphæus* of a mob, than to a writer of hiſtory. Our zealot, too, might have ſpared this intemperate exclamation, which concludes the whole account.

'Had the men arraigned upon ſuch an accuſation, ſupported by ſuch evidence, been capitally convicted, and the ſentence been carried into execution, it would moſt unqueſtionably have been an horrible murder, perpetrated in the forms, and under the pretext of law.' Vol. v. p. 213-14.

After noticing the embaſſy of Lord Macartney to China, our ſectary takes the opportunity of introducing, what he denominates 'a few particulars' reſpecting the government and manners of the Chineſe. From other ſources, as well as from Sir George Staunton's account, he contrives to make up a ſyſtem more ſtupendouſly perfect, than any Utopian ſcheme with which the world has hitherto been favoured, and which at once manifeſts the weakneſs of his credulity, and the vulgarity of his fanaticiſm. We ſhall content ourſelves with two interrogatories upon the ſubject: *Firſt*, Whether it be poſſible, in the nature of human inſtitutions, that, in the immenſe dominions of China, 'knowledge and virtue can alone qualify for public employments?' And, *ſecondly*, Whether the Emperor can, in every inſtance, 'remit the cuſtomary taxes to thoſe whom misfortune has rendered unable to diſcharge them?'

P. 223. In relating thoſe political diſtractions of Poland which ended in its partition, Mr Belſham again breaks out the zealous and infatuated partizan of democracy. The ſagacious counſels and moderate ſpirit of Koſciuſco, are not only reprobated, but treated with a conſiderable degree of contempt, by this coarſe and arrogant politician. How unfortunate for Poland, that Mr Belſham the hiſtorian, Mr Hardy the ſhoe-maker, and Mr Holcroft the bookmaker, were not there at this critical juncture, 'to call a national convention, and eſtabliſh a new conſtitution upon the broadeſt baſis of democracy! For, to a grand and glorious effort like this, (ſays Mr Belſham), the talents of Koſciuſco did not appear equal.'

Upon the ſubject of the Iriſh Catholic emancipation, our author, after quoting and reprobating the ſpeech of Dr Duigenan in the Iriſh Houſe, and dwelling with fond delight upon the eloquent harangue of Mr A. O'Connor, breaks forth again in his true character of a fourth-rate pamphleteer. As

the Iriſh apologiſt and warm advocate for reform, he aſſumes the arguments both of moral right, and political expediency. His view of the ſubject is ſtrikingly partial and ſuperficial, and his humanity more conſpicuous than his ſagacity.

In his 'deviations,' as he ſtyles them, 'into the regions of ſpeculation upon this momentous ſubject,' after ſoaring into regions, where the impediment of common ſenſe prevents us from following him, he plumps down upon the following trueiſm:

'Wiſdom and virtue are ſurely not confined to Proteſtants.'

Of the two negotiations with France, commenced in the year 1796, hear the author of 'the Memoirs.'

'The former bears the evident ſtamp and impreſſion of a miniſter who has been characteriſtically deſcribed as poſſeſſing every talent for the conduct of great affairs conſiſtent with cunning, and, as it might properly have been added, with pride and obſtinacy. But the whole procedure is, notwithſtanding, deſtitute of the real and eſſential marks of political ſagacity and ability.' Vol. v. p. 462.

Of the latter, (Lord Malmſbury's), he ſays, 'On a review of this ſtrange negotiation, there appears, on the part of the Engliſh miniſtry, a very diſgraceful want of ſagacity, or a ſtill more diſgraceful want of ſincerity;' and this alternative, he pronounces it impoſſible to evade. The attempt and failure of both theſe negotiations, he aſcribes either to the folly or the perfidy of 'the arch enemy Mr Pitt.'

The Sixth Volume is not compoſed in a ſpirit quite ſo outrageous, or a ſtyle ſo completely indecorous as the former; and, in juſtice to its real merits, let it be ſaid, that it contains many valuable memorials, which might have atoned for ſlighter deformities. The account of the negotiation of Lord Malmſbury, though interſperſed with frivolous and captious remarks, is full and intereſting. The details reſpecting the Iriſh affairs are narrated with ſpirit, and ſome temper: and we have occaſionally found ſome other paſſages to admire. Not that this latter volume is without its foul and virulent eruptions, for Mr Belſham is always Mr Belſham. The following paragraph (p. 11.) is coarſe and inſolent.

'Mr Wilberforce, who for two ſeſſions earneſtly, and not without ſome effect upon the Houſe, and ſtill more upon the public at large, oppoſed the ruinous and frantic meaſures of the miniſter, had been, for a conſiderable time paſt, evidently wavering in his conduct; and he embraced the preſent opportunity to demonſtrate to the world, that he was now again, from a diſpoſition, as thoſe who were friendly to him repreſented, weak not depraved, capricious not corrupt, as ready and willing as the moſt ſervile inſtrument of Government, to defend the worſt of men in the commiſſion of the worſt of deeds.'

We

We cannot refuse to our readers the temptation which the insertion of the following passage, into a most serious and momentous part of history, affords for a smile. Speaking of the Duke of Grafton, our author says in a note—

'Nothing less, indeed, than the urgent call of public duty, as was perfectly well known to his friends, could have induced this highly respected Nobleman to have quitted those peaceful and happy shades,

"Where smiling Euston boasts her good Fitzroy;
Lord of pure alms, and gifts that wide extend,—
The farmer's patron, and the poor man's friend."

Vide the singularly beautiful and extraordinary production of natural taste and genius, recently published under the appropriate title of THE FARMER'S BOY.' p. 90.

Mr Bloomfield must no doubt feel much indebted to his historic encomiast. But we have more serious objections to the Memoirs, than his amiable patronage of the Farmer's Boy, and more obnoxious passages to point out, than poetic quotations. Mr Belsham's inveterate rancour against Government, breaks out, on his mention of Mr Fox's dismissal, into the following invective:

'By the counsels of others, whose names are still inscribed in the fatal roll, has the present reign been rendered an almost perpetual spectacle of blood and horror, of corruption, extortion, disgrace, and calamity.' p. 335.

We must pass, likewise, a very decided censure upon our author's invidious account of Mr Wakefield's literary offences and punishment, and still more upon his quotations of violent and absurd passages from the pamphlet of that mistaken gentleman. The mention of Mr Wakefield's imprisonment draws from our author the following climax of exclamation:

'How pleasing must be the reflections of the Bishop of Landaff, on recollecting the complete victory which, by the assistance of his new friends, the present ministers, he has been able to obtain over all his enemies—Wakefield, Williams, Jordan, Johnson, Cuthell, and Flower! How convincing are the arguments of fine and imprisonment! How satisfactory the refutation of a verdict of conviction! Certainly the learned Prelate may plume himself henceforth upon being an unanswerable writer.' p. 338.

Before we conclude this review of the 'Memoirs,' we must point out one as a capital defect—the paucity of references. Throughout the two volumes, speeches are quoted, and events detailed, with scarcely a single authority; and no references are made to books, where information may be obtained upon the po-

litical topics of the day. 'Liberticidal,' p. 9.—'Governmental,' p. 440—'Royaliſm' for Monarchy, p. 139.—'Sufficance' for ſuffering, p. 196.—are ſlight innovations upon the Engliſh language, which we cannot give up to the ravages of this thirſty reformer, any more than the Engliſh conſtitution.

We ſhould be ſorry to offend Mr Belſham by the ſeverity of our remarks, though we will not ſacrifice truth to any apprehenſions of his enmity; and we cannot help reminding him, that that man has almoſt forfeited his right to complain of invective, who has dealt it out ſo liberally againſt birth, talents, dignity, and every other object, to which good and wiſe men always pay the homage of manner, without therefore ſacrificing the freedom of inveſtigation, or independence of ſpeech. Our object has been, to recal Mr Belſham to a more accurate knowledge of himſelf, and to diſabuſe him of thoſe exaggerated pretenſions, to which every ſentence of his book proclaims his want of right. An indulgence in groſs and unmannerly abuſe, implies no other victory, than that which any man may quickly obtain over delicacy and ſhame. To be diſtinguiſhed for violence, at a period when nobody is moderate; to inflame the public bigotry, during the omnipotence of political paſſions; to be more incandeſcently wrong-headed than any body elſe; and, above all, to remain mad when the reſt of the world are returned to their ſenſes,—are ſources of exultation which we ſhould not have been much inclined to deny to Mr Belſham. The noble ſupremacy of diſcerning truth amidſt warm, freth, and numerous emotions, and of telling to mankind, in hiſtory, their yet viſible errors, is a rare gift of God. It muſt not be claimed by the monks of anarchy, and the boiling bigots of a ſect.

ART. XIX. * *Charles et Marie.* Par l'auteur d'Adele de Senange. Charles and Mary. By the author of Adele de Senange. 12mo. Paris. 1802.

IN the conduct of a novel, one of two modes is uſually followed. The action is related, as completely *paſt*, in an unbroken narrative; or the heroes and heroines, whoſe hands are never weary with letter-writing, deſcribe it, as *progreſſive*, in all its changes of events. The author of '*Charles et Marie*' has adopted a third mode, or at leaſt a modification of the ſecond, by which

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* We have been induced to pay ſome attention to this novel, from the reputation of its authoreſs, Madame de Sowza, wife to the Portugueze Ambaſſador at Paris.

which the effect is conſiderably altered. The hero is indeed his own hiſtorian; but the details he preſents are thoſe of a journal, in which, in obedience to the requeſt of a friend, he had recorded every evening, not merely the events, but the paſſions and ſentiments of the day. The plan, however, will be better underſtood, from the prefatory epiſtle:

'*Charles Lennox to his Friend.*

'I have followed your advice, and at the cloſe of every day have brought before me the different emotions by which I have been agitated. I thought that my journal would be read by *you*, and I ſaid, My friend ſhall be to me a ſecond conſcience, to whom I will ſpeak with the ſame ſincerity as to myſelf. Yet, when thus examined, how great a number of my days have been void of intereſt? They remind me of the aſtoniſhment of one of our philoſophers, at the ſight of thoſe numerous epitaphs, which comprehend the hiſtory of a whole life, in the dates of the moments when it was begun and finiſhed. I have therefore ſuppreſſed in my journal all thoſe hours which have been filled with nothing—the days which have floated along, without leaving a remembrance. I confide to you only that part of my life, which can excite either ſome conſolatory recollection, or thoſe late but generous reſolutions of the future, which ariſe from regret of the paſt.'

This plan ſeems to bear to the uſual epiſtolary mode the ſame relation which that mode bears to the unbroken narrative. In ſuch a narrative, *events* are detailed, rather than *feelings*. The writer addreſſes us in his own perſon, and informs us of incidents, the whole ſeries of which he is ſuppoſed to know. We therefore do not willingly allow him to haraſs us with all the doubts, fears, hopes, loves, reſentments, which, though ſtrongly felt by his heroes and heroines from the trifling circumſtances of one day, were removed by circumſtances as trifling in that which ſucceeded. There is a kind of unity of action, neceſſary to the dignity of a narrative, which digreſſions ſo frequent would deſtroy. The incidents, accordingly, muſt all be great in themſelves, or, if in themſelves unimportant, be great at leaſt in the permanence of the emotions which they leave; and to them muſt be ſacrificed all thoſe thouſand fleeting circumſtances, and fleeting feelings, which beſt diſplay the varied ſuſceptibilities of human paſſion, and which intereſt us more, becauſe, being leſs eaſily forſeen, we are leſs prepared to expect them. A long narrative, though of fictitious adventures, is reducible in a great meaſure to the laws of hiſtorical compoſition, and is hence preferable, only where the attention is chiefly to be fixed by greatneſs of events, and where the paſſions, though ſtrong, are not rapidly varied. It is thus peculiarly ſuited to the wild romance; the intereſt excited by

by the tales of Mrs Radcliffe would have been comparatively very inconſiderable, if we had received our information of all the myſterious horrors of her caſtles, only from the epiſtles of her Emilies and Adelines to their faithful friends.

The epiſtolary form converts, in ſome degree, the hiſtory into a drama; but even an epiſtle has a certain hiſtorical dignity, to which it muſt adhere, and cannot give us all thoſe little changes of ſentiment, which ariſe often from circumſtances ſo ſlight, as almoſt to eſcape our own remark. The mind may converſe with itſelf on the moſt trifling events; but we do not readily ſuppoſe it to treaſure up theſe trifling events, in the intervals of correſpondence, and to pour out to friends at a diſtance the expreſſions of fears and hopes, which at the moment of writing, have either been realized or diſappointed. A ſeries of letters requires, therefore, a ſeries of incidents, and is hence leſs ſuited to thoſe ſimple tales, in which little more is intended to be exhibited, than the affections and caprices of an irregular mind. For the exhibition of the rapid changes of ſuch a character, no form ſeems better ſuited, than that which has been adopted by the author of this little tale. It allows the whole mind to be pourtrayed to us, in all the hourly ſhiftings of its love, and jealouſy, and indignation, and returning love: and though perhaps it may at firſt ſtrike us as improbable, that any one ſhould keep ſuch a diary, it is an improbability which we forget; becauſe it is not continually forced upon us, like the epiſtolary forms of letters that convey no information, but remind us only that the writer is at a diſtance, and is writing to his friend.

The very circumſtance, however, which conſtitutes the excellence of this mode of narrative, renders it peculiarly dangerous, to a taſte that is not under powerful reſtraint. Where the effect is to ariſe chiefly from delineations of the heart, an author may be tempted to think that his knowledge of the heart is great, preciſely as he can, with any degree of apparent juſtneſs, deduce powerful emotions from ſlight events. We ſhall thus have all the feelings in their diſtorted, rather than their natural ſtate, and be told to look upon the ſicklineſs of artificial refinement, as the very health and vigour of paſſion. It is not nature that will be exhibited to us, but mere canvas and paint, in which the deſign, though fantaſtic, may be ingenious, and the colours beautiful; but the figures are ſylphs, or goblins, and not our fellow-men. The writer of 'Charles et Marie' has not been able to avoid this fault. With the many beautiful delineations of *human* character which ſhe has given us, there are very many, in which we diſcover the reader of romances, rather than the reader of the heart: and the hero is therefore made, with all the propriety of precedent, to

ſigh,

ſigh, with nearly the ſame pathos, for a roſe that had faded, as for his miſtreſs whom he believes engaged to another.

The tale is very ſimple. Charles is a young man, of a diſpoſition tender in the extreme, but impetuous in every paſſion; affectionate, but jealous in his affection; delighted, and diſguſted, and angry, and appeaſed, from motives which are ſcarcely felt, but in the effects they produce. At the age of twenty, he returns from Oxford to his father's ſeat. A few weeks afterwards, in a ſolitary walk by moonlight, he is ſtruck with a ſimple ballad, ſung by a voice unknown to him in a grotto of a neighbouring pleaſure ground, and, with that ſuddenneſs of paſſion, which is very frequent *in romance*, is completely enamoured, before he knows of whom. Luckily, however, the ſinger turns out to be very beautiful. She is the youngeſt daughter of Lord Seymour, whoſe family is divided, by great contraſt of character, into different parties. The father and his favourite daughter Sara are rivals in the loves of their horſes and hounds. Eudoxia, the ſecond, is a little pedant, who talks of the Indus and Timur Beg, and gives lectures on the origin of Gypſies: ſhe is the pupil, and favourite, and heireſs, of her aunt Indiana, who is delicately nervous, and trembles at every motion of hand or foot, which the wretched neceſſities of life oblige her to make. Mary and her mother form a third party, who, alike of mild and unobtruſive character, and neglected by the reſt, take ſhelter in their mutual regard. The diſplay of filial virtue, which is thus afforded, fixes ſtill more ſtrongly the affection of Charles. But, in the very height of his love, he receives from Eudoxia ſome malicious information, which leads him to believe, that Mary's affection is engaged to Philip, the ſon of a proprietor of a ſmall eſtate in the neighbourhood, at this time abſent in India; and, as a confirmation of all he dreads, he perceives her coming from the houſe of Philip's mother, with many circumſtances of ſuſpicious ſecrecy. At length, however, after the uſual agonies of deſpair and indignation, he is convinced that no love has been felt for his imagined rival; and, Lady Seymour having promiſed to intercede with her huſband, for his conſent to the marriage of his daughter, he returns home, in too great rapture to know that he is riding on horſeback. The horſe is as impetuous as his rider. A fractured ſkull is the conſequence. In his delirium he ſpeaks only of Mary; and ſhe, in gratitude for this excluſive remembrance, reſolves to marry him, at a time when ſhe is led to believe that he is to be for ever inſane. The heroiſm of her reſolution is rewarded, of courſe, by a ſpeedy cure and a marriage.

Such is the fable of the piece; the intereſt of which, it is evident, muſt depend almoſt wholly on the repreſentations it affords

fords of character and ſentiment. The author has hence been led into error, by wiſhing to make the characters peculiarly ſtriking, from extravagance of contraſt. Mary is not ſweet: ſhe is inſipid. To all the abſurd doubts and jealouſies of her lover, ſhe ſubmits, with an obſequiouſneſs of affection, that is almoſt ſervility, and, though unconſcious of guilt, believes that ſhe muſt have been guilty, as often as he thinks proper to give vent to his caprice in a look of diſpleaſure. Inſtead of the generous impetuoſity of an ardent mind, which the author wiſhes to repreſent in Charles, we have depicted to us the ungovernable paſſions of a ſelfiſh and ſuſpicious tyrant, who loves only for his own ſake, and delights in torturing the object of his love, merely to feel more ſtrongly the power he has over her; who can 'feign indifference, to mark whether her countenance grow pale, and her eyes be filled with tears;' and who 'cannot think of reſigning the power of ſhaking her whole ſoul, of deſtroying her joy by a ſingle glance, and then recalling a ſmile, when her tears were about to flow.' A character of this kind is not one with which we can ſympathize; and as little can we ſympathize with any love which it excites. We are provoked that the lady does not ſhare our own indignation; and we are almoſt content, that the marriage ſhould take place, not as the reward of her gentleneſs, but as the puniſhment of her tame ſubmiſſion: for it is certainly impoſſible, if we take that intereſt in her fate which the author wiſhes, to rejoice at her union with one, who, 'if he find her calm, will ſuppoſe her indifferent; who will think, if ſhe appear gay, that ſhe has not felt his abſence, and, if ſad, that ſhe feels no joy at his return.'

We object, then, to the extreme contraſt of character in the hero and heroine, who would both have been much more intereſting, if each had borrowed a little of what is ſuperabundant in the other: we object to much *falſe* refinement and extravagance of ſentiment; but there are at the ſame time ſo many paſſages of true and ſimple nature, that we are convinced, if the writer had not been ambitious of the praiſe of uncommon knowledge of the workings of the heart, ſhe would have exhibited to us pictures, which we ſhould have felt and delighted to recognize, with unmingled approbation. We are not, however, the leſs ſenſible of the beauties of the piece, when they occur; and even its faults are preferable to the tame inſipidities of a common novel.

As a ſpecimen, we ſelect a part of the explanation, which Charles receives from Mary, of her ſuppoſed attachment to Phi-

'I waited for her near the grotto. It was not love which conducted me; it was the eagerneſs of curioſity, to know what excuſe her perfidious coquetry could allege. So free from love did I feel myſelf, that I took a ſecret pleaſure, in imagining every poſſible juſtification; and, paſſing in review, with a bitter irony, the uſual expedients to which women have recourſe, their air of innocence, of reſpect, of timid ſilence; I exhauſted every uſeleſs excuſe, that I might be more certain of condemning her, when the excuſe was delivered. Yes! I condemned her: and yet, if at the moment I had heard her confeſs herſelf guilty, a cry would have eſcaped me of painful ſurpriſe.

'She appeared: I ſtill ſee her trembling ſteps, her pale countenance, that look ſo ſad, and ſo ſweet. The reproach was ſuſpended on my lip: could I add a tear to eyes which had wept ſo much! "You have heard, then, of Philip," ſhe ſaid. I was about to name her ſiſter, when ſhe added—"No: Do not tell me, what it would be too difficult to forgive." She turned away her head, and ſtopped, as we were entering the grotto. "Let us remain here," ſaid ſhe to me; and lifting her eyes with a look of confidence, "Let there be nothing between Heaven and me, for Heaven alone is juſt." She ſat down on the graſs, and again turned away her head, to conceal her tears. My wrath, my love, myſelf, were all forgotten. I thought only of the anguiſh ſhe muſt have ſuffered, and I was wretched. I watched the firſt words ſhe ſhould utter, to be ſtill more wretched; and yet I awaited them with impatience. At length ſhe ſaid, "You have been very ſevere, to condemn me without once hearing me; to fly me without a ſingle reproach. If I had done wrong, and wrong to you, for what greater misfortune could I have needed your conſolation?" She had not yet uttered a ſingle word of defence, and already I believed her innocent. Her look was ſo pure, her confidence in herſelf, in me, ſo tranquil; I ſaid within myſelf, when I have known her better, I ſhall love her more. "Mary, forgive me, and let us forget the paſt. The future is ours. Permit me to aſk Lord Seymour for your hand, if you can forget———" I ſtopped involuntarily at the name of Philip. She pronounced it herſelf, "O yes, forget Philip," ſhe replied with a bitter ſmile, and her eyes roſe towards heaven, as if complaining of my injuſtice. "I am ignorant of what may have been ſaid to you, and I do not wiſh to know it: It will be better for us both, that I ſhould relate to you what I know of myſelf. Since yeſterday, I have retraced with care every paſt impreſſion. The moſt indifferent action, the ſlighteſt intereſt to which any caſual remembrance may have given value, nothing has eſcaped me. I ſaid to myſelf, "I will tell him all." Perhaps I may diſcover ſome feeling which he may have miſconceived, ſome happy word which may remove his inquietude.'

If we were to prolong this extract, as much as we wiſh to do, it would be difficult to find occaſion of cenſure; and the many delicate touches of nature which it preſents, are not ſuch *as*

need

need to be pointed out. The great fault of this part of the ſtory, is the intereſt excited for Philip, whom the writer afterwards deſerts, without any mercy for the ſympathies of his readers. We hear nothing more of him, than that he leaves England for India, without being completely undeceived in his hope of Mary's affection; and that, as the object of his voyage is only to ſecure the rich inheritance of an uncle, he is to return in a few months. It would have been but decent humanity to have thrown him to a tyger, or diſpatched him in any other Indian method. At any rate, if his life was neceſſary for a few months, a ſtorm is very eaſily raiſed; and no reaſon can be given, that he ſhould not have been drowned conveniently on his return to Europe. As circumſtances are left, there is a moſt diſtreſſing rivalry; and we own, that however differently the lady may have made her preference, to us Philip is the more intereſting of the two.

His departure gives occaſion to ſome beautiful pictures of maternal love. Mary immediately haſtens to the houſe of his mother, with the intention of deſtroying, as ſoon as poſſible, the hopes he might have formed.

"I found her ſick and feeble: it was not a day to afflict her more. The days which followed added to her grief. If the wind was againſt him, ſhe ſighed becauſe Philip was ſtopped in his courſe:—if the wind was in his favour, it took Philip ſtill farther away." p. 136.

"She never ſpoke to me of Philip, in connexion with myſelf; but ſhe never would conſent to inform him of my real ſentiments.—'Let time take its courſe,' ſaid ſhe to me one day; 'let us hope at leaſt: for every hour of hope is ſomething gained from misfortune.'—'But I do not love Philip.'—'Is it poſſible not to love Philip!'—'At leaſt I do not feel love.'—'Do you know what love is?'—'No.'—'She put her finger on her lips, and ſaid to me, ſmiling, 'Let us ſpeak no more of Philip, let us take care to ſay nothing that might diſtreſs him; for here, where he was born, and where all his life has been paſſed with me, I feel always as if he heard me." p. 137.

How oppoſite to ſuch paſſages of ſimple *nature* is the following, which will probably, at Paris, be much more admired. It is indeed as *fine* as *art* make it.

"Near the grotto from which the ſounds had come, was a roſebuſh covered with flowers. I had plucked one, and ſcarcely knowing what I did, had ſmelled it with delight, at every paſſage of ſweeter emotion in the ſong. On returning to my room, I found that I had ſtill preſerved this roſe. It pleaſed me no longer. I caſt it on my table, and lay down to ſleep. When I woke in the morning, it was faded. I began to regret it. I went into my father's garden: there are there many roſebuſhes. I was out of humour, though I knew not why, at ſeeing

ſeeing ſo many flowers together. At length, I remarked a diſtant ſolitary roſe: it was the more beautiful. I plucked it haſtily—I inhaled its odour—I ſought to find again the ſenſations which that of the evening before had given me. It reminded me of them, without reſtoring them. It was full day—I was alone—it was nothing but a roſe." p. 17.

From the ſpecimens already given, the general faults and beauties of this little volume will be eaſily underſtood. We can ſcarcely allow ourſelves any further liberty of extract. But there are ſome paſſages which we are unwilling to omit.

In going to the houſe, in which he is to ſee for the firſt time his faſcinating ſinger, Charles forms, in his fear, a thouſand pictures of her.

"Ugly!—O no—not even commonly beautiful. Immediately I imagined her in all the ſplendour of youth and loveline ſs, but arrayed with the art of a coquette: and I, *I* who had never paid attention to the dreſs of any woman—all the extremes of faſhion were in a moment preſent to my view." p. 22.

"In the evening, all the pedants and ſmatterers in the neighbourhood came to pay their court to Miſs Eudoxia. Mary made tea. How ſtrange is that principle of ſelf-love, by which we wiſh for others an applauſe which we ſhould diſdain for ourſelves! I was wretched, at hearing not a word addreſſed to Mary, except when it was to give her the trouble of ſerving them. There was not one preſent whoſe ſuffrage could have increaſed my admiration of her; and yet I was hurt, and out of humour, that the ſuffrage was not given." p. 28.

Soon after his introduction to Mary, in a morning walk to the grotto, he diſcovers her approaching it, followed by two women with baſkets of flowers. The ſcene which enſues is not unworthy of Sterne.

In the paſſage which follows this, there is much powerful expreſſion in a very ſimple action; though we own, that the circumſtance which calls it forth does not ſeem to us to harmonize well with the retiring and baſhful ſimplicity of Mary's character.

In taking our leave of this little volume, it is needleſs to repeat our remarks on its *faults*, into many of which the writer has probably been led, by the mode of narrative adopted, and perhaps too, in ſome meaſure, by her country. To repeat, that, with theſe, many pictures, of very happy deſign, are interſperſed, would be equally ſuperfluous. We feel that we have paid the volume a higher compliment, when we look back to the extracts we have given, and compare the length of our criticiſm with the ſize of the original work.

Art.

ART. XX. *Memoirs of the Literary and Philoſophical Society of Mancheſter.* Vol. V. Part II. Cadell & Davies. London. 1802.

An Inveſtigation of the Method whereby Men judge, by the Ear, of the Poſition of Sonorous Bodies, relative to their own Perſons. *By Mr* John Gough.

THIS paper aims at explaining a very curious ſet of phenomena which have ſeldom been diſcuſſed by philoſophical writers. The inveſtigation diſplays ſome ingenuity and original argument, though we are afraid that the ſolution ſtill remains hypothetical, and loaded with all its former difficulties. The author diſtributes his ſubject into three diſtinct conſiderations. *Firſt*, He attempts to explain the mode by which men aſcertain that ſounds proceed from ſome point directly before or behind their heads, which he denominates '*direct hearing*:' 2*dly*, The mode of determining that ſounds proceed from one ſide or the other, which he denominates '*oblique hearing*:' And, 3*dly*, The mode of aſcertaining that ſounds proceed from above or below. With regard to the firſt of theſe ('*direct hearing*'), our author illuſtrates the common notions upon that ſubject, by the following appoſite plan. He ſuppoſes an imaginary right line drawn acroſs the head, joining the two ears, and another line paſſing from the front to the back of the head, biſecting the former at right angles. If, then, a circle be deſcribed upon the firſt line as a diameter, this circle may be ſaid to repreſent the head. A ſonorous body, then, ſituated any where in the ſtraight line produced, biſecting this diameter at right angles, will be equally diſtant from both the extremities of this diameter, viz. the ears. The vibrations or pulſes of ſound proceeding from it, will therefore fall with equal force upon both ears; and hence, our author declares, the ſituation of the ſonorous body is determined by the perſon to be either directly before or behind his head. This he conſiders is the caſe of direct hearing. gain, upon the ſuppoſition, which is very univerſally admitted, that the undulations or vibrations occaſioning the ſenſation of ſound, move in a ſtraight and uniform direction from the ſonorous body, any ſolid interpoſing obſtacle muſt ſhelter the parts ſituated immediately on the oppoſite ſide of it, from the direct reception of theſe vibrations: ſo that, if the ſonorous body be placed any where out of the right line juſt mentioned; or, in other terms, if it be placed ſo, that a ſtraight line drawn from it to the point of biſection in the line paſſing acroſs the head and joining both ears, ſhall form an angle which is not a right angle, a part of the head muſt intercept vibrations, and prevent

prevent them from arriving directly, or with their full force, on that ear which is thus ſheltered. This is obviouſly demonſtrated, by drawing from the given point in which the ſounding body is placed, two lines which ſhall be tangents to the circle before mentioned: then will theſe lines exhibit the direction in which the vibrations proceed, and ſhew, that while they fall immediately upon one ear, they are interrupted in their progreſs to the other by a projecting part of the circle or ſuppoſed head.

Thus far we perfectly agree with the ingenious author: indeed we conceive this to be little more than a mathematical illuſtration of a very common notion, that experience teaches us to refer the ſituation of ſonorous bodies to the right or the left of us, according as the ear of one of theſe ſides receives a ſtronger or more immediate impreſſion than that of the other. The author informs us, that he himſelf is peculiarly ſenſible of the ſlighteſt obliquity (compared with the plane of the horizon) in the direction from whence ſounds proceed. This, however, is not a very common faculty—the reſult, perhaps, in the author's caſe, of a peculiarly ſenſible organ, and frequent attention to the proceſs of hearing.

Our author next attempts to 'inveſtigate the perception which determines the place of a ſounding body to be in front of the hearer, or behind him.' We ſhall quote his reaſonings at length, in order that their full force may be comprehended by our readers.

'The head is a ſenſitive ſolid, and it perceives the impulſes made on it by ſounds much more exquiſitely than men generally imagine. This ſenſibility is ſtrongeſt in the auditory paſſages, and next to them, in the parts immediately adjacent to the ears; nevertheleſs, it diffuſes itſelf more or leſs perfectly over the face, forehead, and temples, as well as all the external teguments of the ſkull. The ſenſation in queſtion being of but little uſe independent of its connexion with hearing, we for the moſt part miſtake its true ſituation, and refer it to the organs of this ſenſe, unleſs ſome circumſtance, reſembling the ſucceeding experiment, ſhould happen to diſcover the nature of it to us. If any one will take the pains to cloſe the orifices of his ears with wet paper, and will hold two ſlender rods of wood to his forehead, or to one of his temples, taking care to keep the ends which are in contact with the ſkin ſeparated by a ſmall interval: and let another perſon at the ſame time touch the oppoſite ends of the rods with two watches, one of which does not move: the beats of the active watch will immediately paſs along the ſtick, and make a ſenſible impreſſion on the ſpot where its other extremity reſts; which proves, that the bones of the head do not ſimply conduct ſounds to the auditory nerves, but that the external teguments of this member alſo aſſiſt in diſcovering the directions of by their ſounds ſenſibility. The ſame apparatus may be uſed to ſhew, that all parts of

the head are not equally alive to the impulſes of ſounds; for a ſtick, which is of a proper length to impreſs the beats of a watch very faintly on the ear and parts adjacent, will prove too long to produce the ſame effect on the forehead, which is nevertheleſs much more exquiſite in its feelings than the back part of the head.' p. 638-39.

It is difficult to comprehend what power or faculty our author here means to aſcribe to the bones and integuments of the ſkull. There are only two, relating to the preſent ſubject, of which we can form any diſtinct conception. Either they poſſeſs a ſentient and auricular faculty, or they act merely as conductors of vibrations. Now, upon the former of theſe propoſitions only can the author's reaſoning reſt. And that it is totally untenable, in other words, that the bones of the ſkull and its integuments do not poſſeſs in the ſlighteſt degree an auricular faculty, is demonſtrable from this fact, that in caſes where the ears are effectually ſtopped, or in perſons who are deprived of theſe organs, no ſenſation of ſound can be produced, however loud that ſound be, or however cloſely the ſonorous body be applied to the integuments, provided only it do not touch; but on the other hand, the inſtant that the ſonorous or vibrating body comes into contact with the head, the perception of ſound is immediate and diſtinct. Whence we infer, that the bones and integuments of the head act merely as conductors of the ſound or vibrations to the organs of hearing. It is true, that a ſenſation is produced in the head, at the point of contact; but this is merely a matter of feeling, and perfectly diſtinct from the other ſenſe. That the ſituation of ſonorous bodies, therefore, is determined by the hearer to be before or behind him, by means of the different qualities with which the front and back part of his head are endued, we conſider not only as hypothetical, but palpably untrue. But the extenſion of this hypotheſis, by our author, to the mode by which we determine whether ſounds proceed from a point above or below us, we conceive to be even more fanciful than the former. This 'difference,' therefore, 'between the front and back part of the head;' and again, 'the want of ſenſibility in the upper part of the head and the lower part of the face,' we muſt reject as entirely unfounded in fact or probability.

From this ſubject, our author proceeds to inveſtigate the nature of ventriloquiſm, a curious, and, as yet, unexplained ſubject. And here again we are diſpoſed to differ very materially from his opinions.

'He who is maſter of this art,' ſays he 'has nothing to do but to place his mouth obliquely to the company; and to dart his words

if

if I may uſe the expreſſion, againſt an oppoſing object, whence they will be reflected immediately, ſo as to ſtrike the ears of the audience from an unexpected quarter, in conſequence of which the reflector will appear to be the ſpeaker.' p. 649.

Though this comprehends the ſcope of the author's doctrine, we are of opinion that it affords a deficient and inadequate explanation even of the caſe that he relates, in which the ventriloquiſt performed his operations in a confined room. The power of projecting the voice againſt a plain wall, ſo that it ſhall be reflected to a given point, is difficult, and we may almoſt ſay impoſſible of attainment. But, granting that this power were attained, the reflected tones of the voice muſt be a mere echo, whilſt the ſounds proceeding immediately from the mouth of the ſpeaker, being both louder in degree, and prior in point of time, muſt neceſſarily, as is the caſe in every echo, drown the firſt parts of the reflected ſounds, and make the remainder appear evidently different from the original. The author ſeems to have been led into this theory by the analogy of light, without perhaps duly conſidering that the particles of light move ſucceſſively in direct lines; whereas the undulations of ſound muſt neceſſarily expand and enlarge, as they proceed on from the ſounding body. But the feats of ventriloquiſm are often performed *ſub dio*, when no means for reflecting the voice can be preſent, and where, of courſe, the author's doctrine cannot in any reſpect apply. He has omitted to mention a cauſe which has a very powerful influence in effecting the deception, viz. the expectation excited in the ſpectator or hearer, by the artiſt having previouſly informed him from whence he propoſes to make the ſounds proceed. This circumſtance of raiſing expectation almoſt to belief, aided by a peculiarly happy talent for imitating ſingular or ſtriking ſounds, ſuch, for example, as the cries of a child in the act of ſuffocation, is perhaps a more probable explanation of the phænomena of ventriloquiſm.

As an appendix to this paper, the author has added a ſhort diſquiſition on the theory of compound ſounds, in which he endeavours to maintain, that Dr Smith's hypotheſis on this ſubject has not been in the leaſt invalidated by a late theory of Dr Young. Our author agrees with Dr Smith in opinion, that 'a number of ſimple ſounds may exiſt in concert, and ſtrike the ear in a diſtinct manner, without ſuffering any interruption in their motions from the interference of their pulſes.' He adduces many acute arguments, and mathematical demonſtrations, to prove 'that there are as many ſets of pulſes in an aggregate of ſounds, as that aggregate contains elements, and that the coaleſcence of two ſounds is impoſſible.' Now, we conceive the prominent defect of our author's hypotheſis to be, his confuſion of the abſtract mechanic l

nature of ſounds, with their ſenſible effects upon the human ear. We agree perfectly with him, that in a band of muſic, every ſeparate inſtrument, or cauſe of peculiar vibrations, muſt produce ſeparate and peculiar pulſes upon the air; at the ſame time, however, that the ear may not be able to detect the appropriate and diſtinct ſounds of each. It is indeed a mathematical abſurdity to talk of the abſolute coaleſcence of two ſets of pulſes, as they muſt neceſſarily proceed from different points, and the direction in which they flow muſt of conſequence be in ſome degree varied. It is nevertheleſs an obvious and well aſcertained fact, that in a concert of muſical inſtruments, the ear only occaſionally diſtinguiſhes the ſeparate cauſes or ſources of vibratory ſounds. This uniſon, indeed, which deceives the hearer, forms what is properly termed harmony. There is one view of this ſubject which may perhaps illuſtrate the diſtinction that we wiſh to eſtabliſh between the abſolute and mathematical nature of ſounds, or, to ſpeak more philoſophically, the cauſes of ſounds, and their ſenſible properties on the ear. A correct and harmonious concert of muſical inſtruments may produce ſets of vibrations or pulſes, which have a uniform tendency to coaleſce, but which may nevertheleſs proceed on indefinitely, approaching nearer to each other, without ever conſtituting an uniform compound. In the ſame manner, a hearer may place himſelf ſo near to a band of muſical inſtruments, as to be enabled to diſtinguiſh the ſeparate ſounds proceeding from each; but in proportion as he recedes, their united ſounds become more blended and harmonious, until he comes firſt to loſe ſome of the feebler ſounds, and at laſt to have no effect at all produced upon his ear.

But the author attempts to demonſtrate, by a mathematical proceſs, what no mathematical reaſoning can prove, viz. 'that a number of diſtinct cotemporary ſounds cannot do otherwiſe than produce diſtinct ſenſations.' If, by diſtinct ſenſations, he means ſenſations diſtinctly felt by the individual, the fact overturns all theſe deductions. But if, by this expreſſion, we are to underſtand diſtinct cauſes, or indefinitely ſmall and ſeparately imperceptible parts of that whole which conſtitutes one diſtinguiſhable ſenſation, then we ſhall be ready to admit, that this is at leaſt a highly probable, and very philoſophical conjecture. Some men hear more acutely than others, and ſome animals perhaps more acutely than men. It is impoſſible, therefore, to bring matters of bodily ſenſation to the teſt of mathematical argument, or the correctneſs of mathematical preciſion.

ART.

ART. XXI. *Poems written chiefly in Retirement.—Effuſions of Social and Relative Feeling, &c. &c.—With a Prefatory Memoir of the Life of the Author, &c.* By John Thelwall. 8vo. pp. 210. Hereford. Second Edition. 1802.

LITERATURE opens ſo obvious and ſo pleaſant a way to diſtinction, to thoſe who are without the advantages of birth or fortune, that we need not wonder if more are drawn into it, than are qualified to reach the place of their deſtination. The taſk of miniſtering to the higher wants and more refined pleaſures of the ſpecies, being both more dignified and more agreeable than that of ſupplying their vulgar neceſſities, multitudes are induced to undertake it without any great preparation; and the ſubſtantial buſineſs of life is defrauded of much valuable labour, while the elegant arts are injured by a crowd of injudicious pretenders. The gradations by which increaſing luxury accompliſhes theſe ſeductions are ſufficiently diſtinguiſhable. Ploughboys and carpenters are firſt drawn into the ſhops of mercers and perfumers, and into the ſervice of eſquires, baronets, and peers: the runaway apprentice next goes upon the ſtage; hair-dreſſers and valets write amatory verſes; coffeehouſe waiters publiſh political pamphlets; and ſhoemakers and tailors aſtoniſh the world with plans for reforming the conſtitution, and with *effuſions of relative and ſocial feeling*.

Theſe obſervations are ſo extremely familiar to all who are in the practice of looking into new publications, that we ſhould probably have ſpared our readers the trouble of peruſing them in this place, if they had been ſuggeſted only by the quality of the *poetry* in this volume. But there is ſomething that illuſtrates and juſtifies them in ſo remarkable a manner, in the 'prefatory memoir' of the author, that we cannot help thinking that ſome inſtruction and entertainment may be derived from a ſhort account of it.

John Thelwall was the ſon of a ſilk-mercer of London, and was ſeverely whipped at ſchool, for 'a tardineſs and apparent inaptitude,' as he expreſſes it, 'which occaſioned him to be conſidered as of a ſlow and even feeble mind.' He was then placed behind the counter, and was beaten by his elder brother, a perſon, we are informed, 'of a very vehement and tyrannical temper.' His ambitious ſpirit, however, diſdained this double bondage: and he ſoon tried, like other diſcontented heroes in ſimilar ſituations, to deliver himſelf from it, by going upon the ſtage. His application to Mr Colman, however, he informs us, 'was anſwered only by a moral expoſtulation againſt the deſign;' and his own conſciouſneſs of want of voice and figure compelled him to give up this idea altogether. He next made an unſucceſsful attempt to become a painter; and the grand cataſtrophe of his early

life is then announced to the reader in the following magnanimous ſentences, which afford a tolerable ſpecimen of this intereſting biography:

'But though diſappointed alike in his views, upon the arts and upon the ſtage, his ſituation at home was not to be endured; and, rather than live in that terrible ſtate of domeſtic diſcord, which tore his over-irritable nerves, and embittered every moment of his life, *he yielded to the propoſal of being apprenticed to an eminent maſter tailor at the weſt end of the town.* *

'This was one of thoſe projects of narrow and miſcalculating policy, by which the dictates of Nature are ſo frequently violated, and the proſpects and happineſs of youth are ſo inhumanly blighted.'

'Young Thelwall had now changed his reſidence, and his nominal profeſſion; but his purſuits were ſtill the ſame. The ſhopboard, like the ſhop-counter, was a ſeat, not of buſineſs but of ſtudy. Plays (particularly tragedies) were perpetually in his hands and in his mouth. From thence he ſoared to epic poetry; devoured with inſatiable avidity Pope's tranſlation of Homer, and committed ſeveral hundred verſes to memory; meditating the herculean labour of getting the whole Iliad by heart. His opportunities of ſtudy were, however, ſo inadequate to his wiſhes, that he even carried a wax taper in his pocket, that he might read as he went along the ſtreets by night.' p. ix.

Ill health put a temporary ſtop to thoſe ſedentary and peripatetic occupations: But, upon his return to them after his recovery,

'gloom and dejection ſeized upon his ſpirits; but his reſolution aſſumed a deciſive tone. He burſt again from his ſordid fetters, and determined to endure all the conſequences which his diſaſtrous circumſtances ſeemed to threaten, rather than ſubmit to a ſituation ſo irreconcileable to his taſtes, his habits, and his wiſhes.' p. xv.

He next took to the ſtudy of the law, though this was a profeſſion, he acknowledges, 'from which his feelings and his principles alike revolted,' and was articled to an attorney, with whom he paſſed a very idle period of three years and a half, till at length 'his diſtaſte for the drudgery of the office was heightened by his abhorrence of the principles and practices of the profeſſion; and he quitted the office in the ſame abrupt way that he had before quitted the ſhopboard.'

Such a genius, it was apparent, could only riſe into diſtinction in a ſeaſon of general ferment and diſorder; and the time was not yet come, when mere forwardneſs and audacity could recommend an individual to the notice of the public. He continued, therefore, for ſome years to write obſcurely in magazines and newſpapers,

* We conceive this avowal to be the utmoſt limit of human candour,

pers, and produced some novels and poetry, that have since, he confesses, 'fallen into merited oblivion.' The hour of his greatness, however, it seems was now at hand: he read a paper in a society of medical students, that contained so undisguised a defence of materialism, 'that it was voted out of the society; in consequence of which the author also withdrew himself.' He then became an orator at Coachmakers-Hall; and had the honour of being appointed one of the poll-clerks to Mr Horne Tooke, upon his first canvass for Westminster. Elated with this mark of distinction, he now threatened to desert the debating societies, unless they would agree to confine their inquiries to political subjects exclusively; and when they were shut out of every place of assembly in the city of London, and no person could be found who would venture to carry on a public debate with him, he began a course of 'political lectures,' with a view 'to revive discussion in a form that might depend entirely on his individual exertions.' In the mean time, he had become a member of the London Corresponding Society, and of that of the Friends of the People; and was brought to trial for high treason, accordingly, as a member of their secret committees, in 1794.

After his acquittal, he persisted in his endeavours 'to revive discussion,' and resumed his lectures in various parts of the country, in defiance of the insults and the danger to which they perpetually exposed him. His magnanimity, however, was at length overcome, by the discouragements which he everywhere experienced; and he resolved, in imitation of Scipio and other ill requited patriots, to solace himself, for his country's ingratitude, in the quiet occupation of a rural life. With this view, although utterly unacquainted with agricultural affairs, he took a small farm in Wales, where he was persecuted, he affirms, by all his neighbours, and very nearly ruined by the bad crops, 'modern rent, and modern taxes,' with which it was his misfortune to be burdened. He persisted for three years in 'this ill-starred experiment;' and left his retreat at length, completely disgusted with the business of a farmer, and the rustic virtues of the Cambrian peasantry. The memoir terminates with an apology for conjecturing favourably of his poetical success from the uniformity of his political miscarriages.

'Since he has proved so bad a politician, as to plunge himself and his family in ruin, for the dissemination of a principle which he thought conducive to the happiness of mankind, it ought to be regarded as an argument *a priori* in favour of his poetical talent: that species of imprudence (a sort of failing so rare and so fatal in politics) having always been considered as a distinguishing characteristic of those whom Apollo and the Muse inspire.' p. xlviii.

Our author probably is not the firſt who has ſpoiled a good tradeſman, by an unlucky ambition of literary or political glory; but he is the only one we recollect who has left a minute and authentic record of the ſteps of his transformation, and of the motives and ſentiments by which he was ſucceſſively actuated. In every page of this extraordinary Memoir, we diſcover traces of that impatience of honeſt induſtry, that preſumptuous vanity, and precarious principle, that have thrown ſo many adventurers upon the world, and drawn ſo many females from their plain work and their embroidery, to delight the public by their beauty in the ſtreets, and their novels in the circulating library. They have all 'ardent temperaments,' like Mr Thelwall, 'irritable feelings, enthuſiaſtic virtues, and a noble contempt for mechanical drudgery, dull regularity, and ſlow-paced erudition.' Their performances need no deſcription.

We have little to ſay of the poetry of this volume. It has come to a ſecond edition, we perceive; and the author ſomewhere informs us, that upwards of two thouſand copies have been diſpoſed of; but it ſtill appears to us, that very little need be ſaid upon the ſubject. It conſiſts of a dramatic romance, called the 'Fairy of the Lake,' full of freezing ſpirits, and ſongs about ale; a collection of effuſions; and a fragment of a projected epic upon the eſtabliſhment of the kingdom of Northumberland. Of the dramatic piece, we give the following ſcene as a ſpecimen, becauſe it is ſhorter than any of the others, without having leſs meaning.

'*SCENE III. Enter Fairies.*

'1. *Fa.* Siſters! Siſters! 2. *Fa.* Whiſt ye! Whiſt!
1. *Fa.* Tell me—tell me what ye liſt.
3. *Fa.* Things of moment hover nigh.
1. *Fa.* Who can read them? 2. *Fa.* I. 3. *Fa.* And I.
Cho. Things of moment hover nigh.
1. *Fa.* Siſters! Siſters! 2. *Fa.* Liſt ye! Liſt!
3. *Fa.* Tell me, fairies, what ye wiſt?
1. *Fa.* Tell me what ye read on high?
2. *Fa.* Fading ſtars. 3. *Fa.* And morning nigh.
1. *Fa.* Who can ſee it? 2. *Fa.* I. 3. *Fa.* And I.
Cho. To the Grotto—haſte away.
4. *Fa.* You have ſeen it? 1. *Fa.* Aye. 2. *Fa.* Aye. 3. *Fa.* Aye.
Cho. To the Grotto whiſp away.
1. *Fa.* Friſk it! 2. *Fa.* Whiſk it!
3. *Fa.* Trip it! 1. *Fa.* Whip it!
4. *Fa.* To the Grotto—flit away.
Cho. What we've witneſs'd there diſplay. [*Exeunt.*' p. 44.

King

King Arthur, in the ſucceeding ſcene, after being ſurpriſed by a violent fit of anger, recollects himſelf ſo far as to make the following very natural invocation.

> 'Come then, thou ſullen Calm
> Of conſcious deſperation, thro' my ſoul
> Breathe thy narcotic influence—ſteep each nerve
> In opiate dews, and o'er each maddening ſenſe,
> Bewilder'd, from their chilling urns pour forth
> Thy inaneſcent torpors, till no more
> Reflection wakes, and dull Oblivion drop
> The vail by Fancy lifted.' p. 49.

From the 'Effuſions,' we do not know how to make any ſelection. In the Epic Fragments, we were particularly ſtruck with the eaſy dignity of the language, though the narrative is not very perſpicuous. The following ſimile ſhows what incalculable improvements our modern poetry may expect from the philoſophical ſkill of its votaries.

> 'As, from group to group, expands
> The electric fire, when to the chryſtal jar,
> Or ſphere excited, the hermetic hand
> Applies the tried conductor, and relieves
> The impriſon'd element, whoſe ſubtile flames
> Dart through the languid nerves, the fibres brace,
> And with increas'd pulſation urge the heart.' p. 197.

Homer's catalogue of ſhips, and Milton's of devils, take away the merit of originality from the following ſublime paſſage; but the author, it will readily be admitted, has borrowed nothing but the general idea.

> "Firſt bled Gwendellau, fierce Caradoc next,
> Madoc and Modred, ſtrong Derwyddon, Ludd,
> Merion and Mathraval; Rhiwallon next,
> Renown'd for brutal rage; and Howel's ſon,
> Proud Cunvan; ſwift Ardiffrid then we ſlew,
> O'erta'en in flight; and, making fruitleſs ſtand,
> Cadwallader, and Rhun, and Ruthfedel;
> And ſtern Cadoffin, tall Uſgathrog, Mawr,
> Enion and Cadiffor—Argloodd, all
> Fam'd in their clans." p. 193. 194.

After ſelling two thouſand copies of his book, and lecturing upon politics to crowded and intelligent audiences, we are afraid there is no great probability of Mr Thelwall ſubmitting to cut out caſimere, or ſtitch in buckram; though we are perſuaded that he was infinitely more uſeful and reſpectable in his old occupation,

occupation, than in thoſe to which he has lately betaken himſelf. Middling as his poetry is, however, we ſhall be happy to find that it affords him a ſubſiſtence; becauſe it is a great deal better than his politics. There are ſome paſſages in the Lamentation for his Daughter's Death, that are written with tenderneſs and effect; and, if he will renounce all pretenſions to epic and dramatic fame, and publiſh his next volume of Effuſions without any Prefatory Memoir, we ſhall be glad to hear that he has ſold four thouſand of them, inſtead of two.

ART. XXII. *Thoughts on the Reſidence of the Clergy.* By John Sturges, LL. D.

THIS pamphlet is the production of a gentleman, who has acquired a right to teach the duties of the clerical character, by fulfilling them; and who has exerciſed that right, in the preſent inſtance, with honour to himſelf, and benefit to the public. From the particular character of underſtanding evinced in this work, we ſhould conceive Dr Sturges to poſſeſs a very powerful claim to be heard on all queſtions referable to the deciſion of practicable good ſenſe. He has availed himſelf of his experience, to obſerve; and of his obſervation, to judge well: He neither loves his profeſſion too little, nor too much; is alive to its intereſts, without being inſenſible to thoſe of the community at large; and treats of thoſe points where his previous habits might render a little intemperance venial, as well as probable, with the moſt perfect good humour, and moderation.

As exceptions to the general, and indiſputable principle of reſidence, Dr Sturges urges the ſmallneſs of ſome livings; the probability that their incumbents be engaged in the taſk of education, or in eccleſiaſtical duty, in ſituations where their talents may be more appropriately and importantly employed. Dr Sturges is alſo of opinion, that the power of enforcing reſidence, under certain limits, ſhould be inveſted in the biſhops; and that the acts prohibiting the clergy to hold or cultivate land, ſhould be in great meaſure repealed.

We ſincerely hope, that the two caſes ſuggeſted by Dr Sturges, of the clergyman who may keep a ſchool, or be engaged in the duty of ſome pariſh not his own, will be attended to in the conſtruction of the approaching Bill, and admitted as pleas for nonreſidence. It certainly is better that a clergyman ſhould do the duty of his own benefice, rather than of any other. But the injury done to the community, is not commenſurate with the vexation impoſed upon the individual. Such a meaſure is either

too

too harſh, not to become obſolete; or, by haraſſing the clergy with a very ſevere reſtriction, to gain a very diſproportionate good to the community, would bring the profeſſion into diſrepute, and have a tendency to introduce a claſs of men into the Church, of leſs liberal manners, education, and connexion; points, of the utmoſt importance, in our preſent ſtate of religion and wealth. Nothing has enabled men to do wrong with impunity, ſo much as the extreme ſeverity of the penalties with which the law has threatened them. The only method to inſure ſucceſs to the bill for enforcing eccleſiaſtical reſidence, is to conſult the convenience of the clergy in its conſtruction, as far as is poſſibly conſiſtent with the object deſired, and even to ſacrifice ſomething that *ought* to be done, in order that much *may* be done. Upon this principle, the clergyman ſhould not be confined to his parſonage houſe, but to the precincts of his pariſh. Some advantage would certainly attend the reſidence of the clergy in their official manſions; but, as we have before obſerved, the good one party would obtain, bears no ſort of proportion to the evil the other would ſuffer.

Upon the propriety of inveſting the Bench of Biſhops with a power of enforcing reſidence, we confeſs ourſelves to entertain very ſerious doubts. A biſhop has frequently a very temporary intereſt in his dioceſe: he has favours to aſk; and he muſt grant them. Leave of abſence will be granted to powerful interceſſion; and refuſed, upon ſtronger pleas, to men without friends. Biſhops are frequently men advanced in years, or immerſed in ſtudy. A ſingle perſon who compels many others to do their duty, has much odium to bear, and much activity to exert. A biſhop is ſubject to caprice, and enmity, and paſſion, in common with other individuals: there is ſome danger alſo that his power over the clergy may be converted to a political purpoſe. From innumerable cauſes, which might be reaſoned upon to great length, we are apprehenſive the object of the Legiſlature will be entirely fruſtrated in a few years, if it be committed to epiſcopal ſuperintendance and care; though, upon the firſt view of the ſubject, no other ſcheme can appear ſo natural and ſo wiſe.

Dr Sturges obſerves, that after all the conceivable juſtifications of nonreſidence are enumerated in the Act, many others muſt from time to time occur, and indicate the propriety of veſting ſomewhere a diſcretionary power. If this be true of the penalties by which the clergy are governed, it is equally true of all other penal acts; and the law ſhould extend to every offence the contingency of diſcretionary remiſſion. The objection to this ſyſtem is, that it truſts too much to the ſagacity and the probity of the

the judge, and expoſes a county to the partial, lax, and corrupt adminiſtration of its laws. It is certainly inconvenient, in many caſes, to have no other guide to reſort to but the unaccommodating mandates of an act of Parliament: yet, of the two inconveniences, it is the leaſt. It is ſome palliation of the evils of diſcretionary power, that it ſhould be exerciſed (as by the Court of Chancery) in the face of day, and that the moderator of law ſhould himſelf be moderated by the force of precedent, and opinion. A biſhop will exerciſe his diſcretionary power in the dark; he is at full liberty to depart to-morrow from the precedent he has eſtabliſhed to-day; and to apply the ſame deciſions to different, or different deciſions to the ſame circumſtances, as his humour or his intereſt may dictate. Such power may be exerciſed well under one judge of extraordinary integrity; but it is not very probable he will find a proper ſucceſſor. To ſuppoſe a ſeries of men ſo much ſuperior to temptation, and to conſtruct a ſyſtem of church government upon ſuch a ſuppoſition, is to build upon ſand, with materials not more durable than the foundation.

Sir William Scott has made it very clear, by his excellent ſpeech, that it is not poſſible, in the preſent ſtate of the revenues of the Engliſh Church, to apply a radical cure to the evil of nonreſidence. It is there ſtated, that out of 11,700 livings, there are 6,000 under 80l. *per annum*; many of thoſe, 20l. 30l. and ſome as low as 2l. or 3l. *per annum*. In ſuch a ſtate of endowment, all idea of rigid reſidence is out of the queſtion. Emoluments, which a footman would ſpurn, can hardly recompenſe a ſcholar and a gentleman. A mere palliation is all that can be applied: and theſe are the ingredients of which we wiſh ſuch a palliation ſhould be compoſed—

1. Let the clergyman have full liberty of farming, and be put in this reſpect exactly upon a footing with laymen.

2. Power to reſide in any other houſe in the pariſh, as well as the parſonage houſe, and to be abſent five months in the year.

3. Schoolmaſters, and miniſters *bona fide* diſcharging miniſterial functions in another pariſh, exempt from reſidence.

4. Penalties in proportion to the value of livings, and number of times the offence has been committed.

5. Common informers to ſue as at preſent; though *probably* it might be right to make the name of one pariſhioner a neceſſary addition; and a proof of nonreſidence might be made to operate as a nonſuit in an action for tithes.

6. No action for nonreſidence to lie where the benefice was leſs than 80l. *per annum*; and the powers of biſhops to remain precifely as they are.

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Theſe indulgences would leave the clergy without excuſe, would reduce the informations to a ſalutary number, and diminiſh the odium conſequent upon them, by directing their effects againſt men, who regard church preferment merely as a ſource of revenue, not as an obligation to the diſcharge of important duties.

We venture to prognoſticate, that a bill of greater ſeverity either will not paſs the Houſe of Commons, or will fail of its object. Conſidering the times, and circumſtances, we are convinced we have ſtated the greateſt quantum of *attainable* good; which of courſe will not be attained; by the cuſtomary error, of attending to what is deſireable to be done, rather than to what it is practicable to do.

ART. XXIII. *Eſſays on Miſcellaneous Subjects.* By Sir John Sinclair, Baronet. 8vo. pp. 467. London. 1802.

THIS volume is a collection of various papers, moſt of which have been printed before, in various forms. They conſiſt of ſpeeches in the Houſe of Commons, addreſſes to the Board of Agriculture, to the Edinburgh Wool Society, to the Clergy of Scotland, &c. It would be idle in us to give any particular account of compoſitions, of which both the merit and the contents are ſufficiently known to all who are likely to take any intereſt in them. The reſt of the eſſays, which now appear for the firſt time, poſſeſs that general character with which the readers of Sir John Sinclair's works are well acquainted. And although theſe might have been withheld, without much injury to the author's reputation, they afford various proofs of the zeal with which he labours to merit the public approbation, as well as of his readineſs to ſave his country the trouble of beſtowing the applauſes he has deſerved. Theſe appear to be his ruling paſſions, of which, if the former be highly honourable, the other will eaſily be forgiven; and they are both ſo well expreſſed on the firſt page of this volume, that we cannot deprive our readers of the following advertiſement.

'I ſhould hardly have ventured to have troubled the world with this publication, had I not flattered myſelf with the idea, that any perſon who will take the trouble of peruſing the following Eſſays, will, on the whole, be inclined to ſay, "This is the work of an author who ſeems to have directed his attention to ſubjects connected with public utility and national improvement, and whoſe favourite object was, *not to have lived in vain.*"

In the *firſt* eſſay, which is given as a ſketch of the plan which the author intended to purſue in his analyſis of the Statiſtical Reports,

Reports, we are informed that all thoughts of that publication are for the preſent given up; and that 'it is impoſſible for him to foreſee whether it will ever be in his power, even to begin, far leſs to complete, ſuch a work.' We are greatly diſappointed by this intelligence: without ſuch a digeſt of the Statiſtical accounts as was promiſed, that immenſe ſtore of valuable information will remain almoſt inacceſſible; and the labours of Sir John's reſpectable coadjutors will prove, in a great meaſure, unprofitable to the public, unleſs the redundancies of topographical information be reduced into a general deſcription, and the varieties of detail embodied in a diſtinct arrangement. If he ſhould finally relinquiſh the taſk, we hope ſome other perſon may be tempted to undertake it, who will probably not adopt, without conſiderable change, that outline of contents which is ſketched in the preſent volume. Even with reſpect to ſuch articles as are properly included among the objects of Statiſtical deſcription, our author's plan might be adapted more nearly to the order of thoſe general inquiries, to which all local reſearches are ſubſervient. But the chief objection to his deſign is unneceſſary extenſion, and a want of diſtinct unity. It includes a deſcription of antiquities, annals of eminent men, an account of the laws and political conſtitution of Scotland; all of which belong to departments of literature quite diſtinct from that which profeſſes to deſcribe the reſources and political economy of particular ſtates. There was to be prefixed likewiſe, in an introduction, a review of the hiſtory of Scotland. It is not improbable that he may have been miſled, in this reſpect, by the example of Boulainvilliers, whoſe ſketch of the conſtitutional antiquities of France, moſt awkwardly prefixed to his abſtract of the Provincial Surveys, ſtill delights many readers. Were Sir John Sinclair to imitate that model with any degree of ſucceſs, we ſhould be apt to overlook any incongruity that might ſubſiſt between his hiſtorical ſketch and the work to which it ſerved as an introduction. If he feels himſelf bold enough to attempt ſuch a competition, he ought to leave the compilation of Statiſtical abſtracts to labourers of an inferior claſs.

We had almoſt forgotten to mention, that the outline, on which we have made theſe ſtrictures, is ſubjoined to general obſervations on the nature and advantages of Statiſtical inquiries; under which he enumerates, methodically, the ſources of human happineſs, and attempts to explain the means of extending the advantages of political ſociety.

Theſe obſervations are extremely trite and puerile, and are the worſt ſpecimen we have lately ſeen of a ſort of compoſition very faſhionable among Scotiſh writers, in which the hiſtory of political inſtitutions is deduced metaphyſically, from a ſup-

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poſed æra of extreme barbariſm, through the ſucceſſive ſtages of improvement. The maſterly ſketches which abound in the writings of Smith and Millar, communicated this taſte to the univerſities, and has, in ſome degree, vitiated the ſtyle of all our inferior writers. Such deductions unqueſtionably hold a moſt important rank among the inveſtigations of moral ſcience; but, in the execution, they require moſt profound ſkill and delicate management. Whether theſe powers are diſplayed in the following picture, our readers will determine.

'The pleaſures of ſhelter may properly be claſſed under the head of animal gratifications, as there are many animals, from the lordly lion to the ſkulking rabbit, who ſhelter themſelves in holes, and dens, and in caverns, from the inclemency of the ſeaſons, and from the dangers to which they themſelves, and their tender offspring are expoſed, from the attacks of their enemies, more eſpecially when in ſickneſs or at reſt. Similar apprehenſions, it is probable, firſt gave man a conviction of the neceſſity there was for ſhelter; and as ſuch dens and caverns as were formed by nature would ſoon be occupied, the idea would thence occur, of erecting the means of ſhelter and repoſe in the trees of the foreſt; then huts made of wood, of earth, or of ſtone, would be conſtructed; and by progreſſive improvement, thence would ariſe the comfortable cottage, the elegant and hoſpitable rural manſion, and the luxurious palace with all its ornaments and ſplendor. Habitations would then not only afford ſhelter from the inclemency of the weather, and ſafety during ſickneſs and repoſe, but a variety of other conveniencies and advantages would ariſe from that ſource of accommodation, more eſpecially the means of uſing the important article of fuel or heat; through the medium of which, food is prepared to more advantage; clothing is improved in its utility, and in the comfort of uſing it; and houſes themſelves, by warmth, and the excluſion of damp, rendered fitter for the habitation of men.' p. 9. 10.

After this profound deduction of 'the pleaſures of ſhelter,' we have an inquiry, equally learned and original, into the pleaſures of *friendſhip* and *matrimony*; and an ingenious account of the gratifications to be derived from *political* inſtitutions and *religious* practices. The beſt method for promoting all thoſe kinds of happineſs, we are finally informed, is to collect *ſtatiſtical* information; and the eſſay concludes with this prophetical *apotheoſis* of all who devote themſelves to ſuch meritorious reſearches.

'By ſuch inquiries, when properly conducted, and wiſely acted upon, every individual in a great political community may be enabled to enjoy as much real happineſs in this world, as the imperfect condition of human nature will admit; and may indulge the pleaſing hopes, of partaking in thoſe ſuperior bleſſings, which Revelation teaches us, a truly virtuous character will inherit beyond the grave.' p. 22.

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The next eſſay, which is entitled, 'Obſervations on the means of enabling a cottager to keep a cow,' was originally addreſſed to the Board of Agriculture, and circulated in a ſeparate form among the patrons and pupils of that inſtitution. It is now ſubmitted, for the firſt time, to the *exoteric* ſtudents of the ſcience, and really does not appear to contain any of its higher myſteries. There can be no other 'means of enabling a cottager to keep a cow,' we ſhould humbly conceive, than to allow him ſuch a quantity of land adjoining to his cottage, as may be found neceſſary for her ſubſiſtence; and if the cottager pays the ordinary rent for this land, there is every reaſon to believe that he will make as œconomical an uſe of it as any member of the Board of Agriculture could have done. This is the learned author's opinion alſo; and it is the ſum and ſubſtance of an eſſay conſiſting of nine titled ſections, and an oratorical peroration.

The third eſſay, 'On the converſion of paſture land into tillage,' conſiſts altogether of facts reported to the author by his correſpondents, which lead him, though they may not lead all his readers, to the following concluſions:

'On the whole, though it may not be adviſeable to recommend the ploughing up of very rich old paſtures, or water meadows, or land apt to be overflowed, yet, with theſe exceptions, there is every reaſon to believe that other ſorts of graſs lands may be rendered much more productive, by being occaſionally converted into tillage; and for that purpoſe, it is deſirable, that the converſion of ſuch lands ſhould be promoted as much as poſſible; by removing the obſtacles to ſuch converſion—by enforcing the neceſſity of commuting tithes, without which, no conſiderable tract of old paſture can be broken up—by pointing out to landlords the conditions under which they may agree to ſuch a plan, not only without detriment to the real value of their property, but alſo yielding a moſt important addition to their income—and, above all, by explaining to Parliament, and to the public, that the meaſure above recommended, is one which may effectually tend to prevent future ſcarcities; and to render this country independent of foreign nations, in the important article of proviſion.' p. 59. 60.

'Hints regarding cattle' is the title of the fourth eſſay. It contains neither ſyſtem nor conjecture, that approaches to originality; and ſtates no facts or maxims that are not either ſelf-evident, or familiar to the moſt ſuperficial obſerver of rural œconomics.

After this, follows a long paper on the improvement of Britiſh wool, being the ſubſtance of an addreſs to the Edinburgh Wool Society in 1791, which was publiſhed at that time, and is now reprinted with a few alterations.

The ſixth eſſay is a third edition of 'An addreſs to the Board of Agriculture, on the improvement of waſte lands,' which was printed

printed by their order in 1795, and annexed to a Report to the Houſe of Commons in 1796. Though theſe publications are within the reach of every one who takes an intereſt in the ſubject, the philanthropy of the author has determined him to give his work this additional chance of notoriety.

'The ſubſtance of a ſpeech in the Houſe of Commons, on the ſubject of private incloſure bills,' forms the ſeventh article in this collection. As a ſpecimen of Sir John Sinclair's eloquence, we extract the following paſſage from the concluſion of this oration. It deſcribes the feelings of a peaſant, 'looking with hungry anxiety' at an improveable waſte; and repreſents him as

—'enraged to ſee the ſkulking rabbit ſtarved, where the induſtry of man, once unſhackled, would ſoon enable the ſtately bullock to fatten itſelf in luxuriant paſtures; enraged to ſee goſs and ling, and furze and heath, and all the miſerable traſh that might be enumerated on ſuch an occaſion; to ſee them growing, where the knotted oak, the pride of the Britiſh foreſt, would expand its luſty branches, enliven the bleak ſcene, and, in future ages, would become the boaſt and bulwark of the country.' P. 204-5.

As our degenerate peaſants no longer feed on acorns, the 'knotted oak,' we ſhould imagine, would not relieve their hungry anxiety much more effectually than the goſs and the ling which are ſuppoſed to have excited their indignation.

In the eighth eſſay, which is entitled, 'Hints for the improvement of an extenſive property, more eſpecially applicable to an eſtate in the North of Scotland,' Sir John Sinclair has favoured the public with an account of what he has done, and propoſes to do, for the improvement of his own property in the county of Caithneſs. We ſhall not trouble our readers with any part of the eulogium which Sir John pronounces on this happy region; which he repreſents as admirably calculated for every ſpecies of improvement—though he confeſſes that trees will not grow in it; and that there is ſtill nothing more than a probability 'that a valuable mine of coal may be found.' As every Highland improver, however, is now ſuſpected of being acceſſory to the depopulation of his country, (which we are far from regarding as a very grievous offence), it may afford ſome conſolation to thoſe who ſhudder at ſuch conſequences, to learn how this matter is adjuſted by our author.

'The great difficulty in carrying on the improvement of the property I am converting into a ſheep farm, aroſe from the circumſtance of its being occupied by eighty ſmall farmers, who did not pay in all above 250l. *per annum.* Nothing could be more abſurd than to ſuffer ſuch an extenſive and valuable diſtrict to be employed almoſt in nothing

but in breeding an inconſiderable number of cattle, and feeding ſome red deer, who wandered about the upper parts of the eſtate. Humanity, however, required, that above five hundred individuals, who inhabited the eſtate, ſhould not be driven from their ancient poſſeſſions, without having ſome other means of ſubſiſtence pointed out to them: Hence it was neceſſary to proceed with caution in extending the farm, and to form ſome liberal plan to provide for the people. The following meaſure was at laſt adopted for that purpoſe,—that of giving two Scotch acres of arable land, or at leaſt fit to be made arable, with a houſe and garden, to each of thoſe little farmers, under the name of "*Cottage Farms*," the proprietor becoming bound to employ them for 100, 200, or 300 days in the year, as the cottager choſe, paying the labourer ſo much grain, and ſo much money, in proportion to the number of days agreed upon; and thus the cottager, in a manner, received rent from the landlord, inſtead of paying any.' p. 227-8.

The ninth eſſay is a republication of 'An account of the origin and progreſs of the Board of Agriculture,' which was publiſhed in 1796, and does not require any farther notice in this place.

The tenth eſſay contains a propoſal for eſtabliſhing a *great experimental farm*, to be ſupported by ſubſcription. Sir John beſtows a whole ſection in anſwering the objections which had been ſtated to this inſtitution; but there is one, of which he takes no notice, that would probably render the whole ſcheme abortive within two years after its eſtabliſhment: the ſubſcribers would quarrel about the management, and the theoriſts would diſpute and contradict each other about the actual reſult of the experiments. Experimental farms are beſt where they now are, in the hands of individuals; nothing ſhort of the monarchical power of a proprietor can preſerve any thing like uniformity or ſteadineſs under a new ſyſtem of operations.

The next eſſay is really a curioſity. It is 'a letter to a proprietor on the means of promoting the comfort of the people in his neighbourhood; and contains ſuch an enumeration of *truiſms* as has rarely been laid before the public in a ſerious compoſition. His directions for making the cottages of the lower orders comfortable, for inſtance, are as follows: '1. They ſhould be dry and healthy; 2 They ſhould be warm, cheerful, and *comfortable*; 3. Convenient; 4. Of a proper width,' &c. &c. On the ſubject of fuel, in like manner, we are gravely informed, 'that it is of uſe, 1. For cooking victuals; 2. For warmth; 3. To remove damp,' &c. 'All proprietors,' it is then ſaid, 'ſhould make *ſtatiſtical ſurveys* of their eſtates;' and take care to ſee the people of their diſtrict amuſing themſelves 'with muſic and dancing,' in imitation of the wiſe adminiſtrations of ancient Greece!

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The *laſt* eſſay, 'On Longevity,' is the moſt amuſing of the whole collection, though it contains as few traces of original genius, or judicious ſelection, as any of thoſe that go before it. Among the 'circumſtances tending to promote longevity,' we do not know by what rule of logic the learned author has enumerated 'the renewal of youth, by the reproduction of new teeth, new hair,' &c. This may be an indication of longevity, but can ſcarcely be accounted a circumſtance tending to promote it. Mountainous countries, even though expoſed to moiſture, ſeem to be by far the moſt favourable to long life; and habitual expoſure to the open air, appears of much greater importance than the moſt rigid temperance and regularity. Annexed to this eſſay is a curious liſt of ninety-ſix in-penſioners in Greenwich Hoſpital, above eighty years of age, (the whole number being 2410), with a ſhort note of their preſent ſtate and paſt conduct. Almoſt all of theſe veterans have uſed tobacco conſtantly for a great number of years, and moſt of them acknowledged the habit of drinking freely. It is a ſingular proof of the admirable management of this inſtitution, that while ſuch is the proportion of aged to the whole among the in-penſioners, there ſhould be no more than twenty-three among 2500 *out*-penſioners who are upwards of eighty years of age.

Upon the whole, there is not much to praiſe in this volume, but the motives from which it appears to have been compoſed. Sir John Sinclair would certainly be an uſeful man, if he knew how to ſet about it: though there will probably be always a conſiderable difference between his own eſtimate of his importance, and that which is adopted by the public.

ART. XXIV. ΑΝΑΛΕΚΤΑ ΜΕΙΖΟΝΑ. Pars altera. Poëtica complectens. Cum Notis philologicis, quas partim collegit, partim ſcripſit Andreas Dalzel, S.R.S. Edin. 1802-3.

AN excluſive attachment to experimental philoſophy, and a laudable deſire of extending knowledge, more immediately ſubſervient to the purpoſes of common life, have induced a very great majority of thoſe who beſtow any cultivation on their minds, either wholly to neglect, or, what is truly illiberal, to depreciate the valuable labours of the philological critic. It muſt be acknowledged, that the accurate grammarian has not always united a delicate taſte and a fine imagination, to ſkill in analyſing the language of ancient authors. Deſtitute of elegance, his diſquiſitions have been ſullied with barbarous invective, and the angry

polemic has irreverently ruſhed into the vales of Helicon, ſcattering diſmay through the peaceful haunts of Parnaſſus. But claſſical learning is ſufficiently vindicated from the charges too commonly imputed to it. We may contraſt the candour of Markland with the ſeverity of Bentley, and the elegance of Heyne with the dryneſs of Burmann.

The performance now before us is calculated to remove impreſſions unfavourable to the ſtudy of verbal criticiſm, by the amiable ſpirit which pervades the annotations of the learned Profeſſor, and by that happy union of philological erudition and cultivated taſte for general literature, which diſtinguiſhes this elementary work from all others of a ſimilar nature. The ſecond volume of the Collectanea Majora, preſented to the public in another edition more correct than the former one, and enriched with additional notes, deſerves all the attention from inſtructors which has been given to the proſe collection. The poetical Excerpta are divided into five parts. The firſt conſiſts of ſelections from the heroic poets, from Homer, Heſiod, and Apollonius Rhodius. Thoſe from Homer are exceedingly judicious, containing the whole firſt book of the Odyſſey—the diſcovery of Ulyſſes to Alcinous in conſequence of the ſtrains of Demodocus—his departure from Calypſo: the whole of the ninth book, which includes the moſt entertaining part of the hero's adventures—his deſcent to the ſhades, and the firſt meeting of Penelope and Ulyſſes after his return to Ithaca. The reader certainly has here an ample view of Homer's genius, as exhibited in the Odyſſey. We are not, however, ſatisfied with the Profeſſor's reaſon for omitting to preſent ſome ſpecimen from the Iliad. Though this poem is in the poſſeſſion of moſt ſtudents of the Greek tongue, we ſhould have been highly gratified by a commentary on the more ſplendid parts of it from ſo diſcerning a critic. From Heſiod we have every thing which a man of taſte can wiſh to peruſe; the deſcription of the Ages in the Opera and Dies, and the Battle of the Titans in the Theogonia. We think the ſelections from Apollonius too copious. He is a poet by no means of the firſt claſs. Some few beauties from Quintus Calaber, or Tryphiodorus, might have ſupplied the place of part of them. The Second Part conſiſts of the Œdipus Tyrannus of Sophocles, and the Medea of Euripides. It ſeems a defect to have given no ſpecimen from Æſchylus, and no example of the Greek comedy. An 'expurgata editio' of ſome parts of Ariſtophanes would have contributed to the improvement and entertainment of the pupil. The Third Part contains the principal beauties of Theocritus, and ſome pleaſing compoſitions of Moſchus and Bion. In the Fourth diviſion, we have the Excerpta Lyrica, which are divided into Odes, Scholia, and Pæans.

Theſe

These selections are from various authors, and form an agreeable diversity. The same observation will apply to the miscellanies composing the Fifth part, and divided into Hymns, Ὕμνοι, and Epigrams. Upon the whole, though we have taken the liberty of suggesting some little improvement, a more amusing and instructive selection could scarcely be presented to the public.

The preface to this useful volume claims attention, as it contains some information respecting a consummate master in the critical art. The Professor apologizes for not following the Medea of Euripides, as edited by Porson. This new edition of the *Collectanea* was printed before that eminent scholar had published the Tragedy. Dr Raine, master of the Charter-House School, had however communicated to the Professor the other plays by Porson, before the publication of this second edition. His encomium on the critical abilities of that editor, is remarkable for its pure and elegant Latinity, and for the spirit and animation of the style.

In the procem to the Notes, the Professor acknowledges his obligation to two of his friends in the most liberal manner, happy to avail himself of the learning and abilities of others, and not affecting an ostentatious display of his own acquisitions. Our readers will peruse the whole paragraph with pleasure, as a specimen of that candour and politeness, which ought ever to accompany an offering to the Muses. We assent also to the just praise bestowed on Dr Young in this walk of literature. Had he never attempted to transgress into parts beyond his reach, we should have, on former occasions, been spared much trouble.

The notes upon Homer are preceded by an elegant dissertation on his life and writings. In this preliminary treatise, we have occasional glimpses of that accurate and profound erudition, which, to have displayed more fully, would have been foreign to the object of a book intended for novices in the study of antiquity. The reader is every where referred to authorities for more complete information. The following comprehensive view of Homer's merits, as a poet, is drawn with much judgment, and expressed in clear and pleasing language.

'Sed ne longiùs in campum hunc immensum progrediar (ubi quicunque Homerum justis laudibus prosequi aggressus fuerit finis ei circumspicienti nusquam apparere videtur) mihi tantùm observare liceat, quicquid animum humanum heroicorum facinorum admiratione in sublime rapiat, quicquid lætitiam, luctum, misericordiam, cæterosque affectus, quorum exercitatione aut is valde delectatur aut promovetur, excitet, id omne inesse carminibus Homeri. Neque effectus hi plani admirandi ex inconditâ rerum gestarum, descriptionum aut narrationum congerie oriuntur: sed in Iliade et Odysseâ exhibentur duo pulcherrima

opera, quorum partes tum benè ſunt diſpoſitæ, omneſque tum apti inter ſe connexæ ut exempla adhuc abſolutiſſima præbeunt nobiliſſimi illius fatûs humani ingenii, epici nimirum vel heroici poëmatis.'

But to inquire into the merits of ſuch diſcuſſions, would far exceed our limits. The diſſertation is followed by a catalogue of the principal editions of the poet. The plan of annexing an account of the beſt editions of each author, is purſued throughout the volume, and cannot be too much commended. The peculiar excellence of the Profeſſor's valuable performance, conſiſts in the ſubſtitution of philological notes for Latin verſions, which are often erroneous, and, even when executed in the moſt perfect manner, convey little or no knowledge of the idiom of the Greek language. In the preface to the former edition, he begins with mentioning the propriety of rejecting tranſlations for the aſſiſtance of pupils.

'Fuit jamdiu mihi perſuaſiſſimum, nihil ad ætatem juvenilem verâ linguæ Græcæ cognitione imbuendam plus collaturum, quam ut præceptores, perpetuis interpretationibus Latinis repudiatis, annotationum philologicarum uſum adoptarent.'

The notes which accompany each ſelection are chiefly extracted from the moſt eminent critics, who have illuſtrated the ſenſe of ancient authors by grammatical accuracy and deep erudition. The reader becomes acquainted with the critical acumen of various ſcholars, and is thus enabled to eſtimate their comparative merits, and incited to make himſelf more familiar with their writings. In this collection of verbal criticiſms, the foundation is laid for the moſt conſpicuous attainments in Greek literature; the ſources of more extenſive information are pointed out to the pupil; and his improvement is every where conſulted by the moſt ample inſtruction in matters involved in difficulty and obſcurity. Nor is this the only merit to which the volume may lay claim. Proviſion has been made for the cultivation of a refined taſte, as well as for a minute acquaintance with the peculiarities of the Greek language. The pleaſures of imagination are not wholly ſacrificed to verbal minutiæ, which, however important as the baſis of a literary education, are but a means to a great end.

In his notes on Theocritus, the Profeſſor directs his pupils to ſeek information on the ſubject of paſtoral poetry.

'Cæterùm de poëſi Bucolicâ multi ſcripſere. Eſt hoc quidem argumentum inter criticos ſatis tutum. Qui in eo verſari cupit; præter has ingenioſas Wartoni et Heynii diſſertationes adire poteſt.—Rapin, de Carm. Paſtoral.—Diſſert. ſur l'Eclogue, par Fraguier—Memoires de l'Acad. des Inſcript. tom. II. p. 132.—Pope's Diſcourſe on Paſtoral Poetry.

Poetry.—The Rambler, No. 36. et 37. auctore Sam. Johnſon.—Poſtea autem hicce vir celeberrimus ſi iniquiſſimum oſtendit in hoc genus poëtas in libro ſuo jucundiſſimo.—The Lives of the Engliſh Poets, ad fin. —Vitæ Joan. Gay,—et alibi paſſim.'

It is ſuperfluous to remark, how greatly notes, containing ſo much literary information, muſt conduce to the improvement of the juvenile reader. We cannot cloſe our obſervations, without expreſſing great obligation to the Profeſſor for the outline, which he has preſented, of the Iambic, Trochaic and Anapæſtic metres; a ſubject perplexed with ſo many conſiderable difficulties, but which are in ſome degree leſſened by the ingenious ſcheme communicated to him by a friend. Upon this paſſage we beg leave to obſerve, that whether the canons of metrical criticiſm be perfectly eſtabliſhed by Porſon or not, that it is a very doubtful point. The exquiſite learning and ingenuity of the preface to the Hecuba, are undeniable. But perhaps the rejection of the anapæſt from the third ſeat of the Iambic verſe, is only a probable doctrine.

'Jam loca' (ſays the author) quæ huic doctrinæ adverſantur, tam pauca ſunt, tam facilia emendatu pleraque, ut ſi unus et alter forte ſuperſint, quibus nos mederi nequeamus, non idcirco ſana judicanda ſint.' (Præf. ad Hecub.)

But why have recourſe to conjectural emendation to eſtabliſh an hypotheſis, when the very paſſages in queſtion may be inſtances of negligent compoſition? The Comic poets, it is granted, are more licentious. May not the Tragic poets have ſometimes indulged themſelves in ſimilar liberties? On theſe grounds, we think our Profeſſor has too haſtily admitted as certain, a canon, which ought to have been ſtated as dubious.

Upon the whole, we are happy in having the opportunity of recommending a work, which promiſes to diffuſe the knowledge and love of Greek learning, which initiates the ſtudent in the arcana of the Muſes, and tends in the moſt effectual manner to preſerve a reſpect for thoſe venerable monuments, to the exiſtence of which we owe almoſt every thing noble and beautiful in the productions of modern genius.

ART. XXV. ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΧΑΙΡΩΝΕΩΣ ΤΑ ΗΘΙΚΑ. Plutarchi Chæronenſis Moralia, id eſt, Opera, exceptis Vitis, reliqua. Græca emendavit, notationem emendationum, et Latinam Xylandri interpretationem caſtigatam ſubjunxit, animadverſiones explicandis rebus ac verbis, item indices copioſos, adjecit, Daniel Wyttenbach Hiſt. Eloq. Litt. Gr. et Lat. in illuſtri Athen. Amſtelod. Profeſſor. XI. Tom. * Oxonii, E Typographio Clarendoniano 1795-1802.

THOSE works of Plutarch, which are improperly ſtyled his Morals, are very miſcellaneous in their ſubjects, and various in their degrees of merit. They all, however, bear evident marks of an induſtrious mind, and a deſire to be uſeful. Some of them are entitled to much higher praiſe: They diſcover an accurate and extenſive knowledge of mankind, and the ability as well as the deſire to communicate that knowledge, or to apply it to the intereſts of virtue. If we conſider the miſcellaneous works of Plutarch, in connexion with his Lives, the merits of which are more generally known and more eaſily appreciated, we ſhall not heſitate to conſider him as one of the moſt uſeful and entertaining of the Greek writers. It is ſurpriſing, therefore, that his works ſhould have been ſo ſeldom edited during the laſt two centuries, and that, in moſt of the editions, there ſhould have been diſplayed little of the ſkill and the induſtry of Criticiſm. This was particularly unfavourable to his miſcellaneous works, in which the corruptions of the text are ſo frequent and ſo great, as to leſſen the pleaſure and inſtruction they would otherwiſe afford. The edition of Henri Etienne, the moſt portable and convenient which has yet appeared, abounds with vacant ſpaces, which that editor was unable to fill up, and with corruptions ſo glaring and fatal, as to defy the utmoſt licence of conjectural emendation. None of the editions which have appeared ſince that of Etienne, diſplayed a text much more full or correct. Few manuſcripts ſeem to have been conſulted, and little ingenuity exerciſed.

It was therefore with conſiderable ſatisfaction that the claſſical world beheld the publication of Plutarch's Treatiſe, *de Serâ Numinis vindictâ*, about thirty years ago, by Profeſſor Wyttenbach. Their ſatisfaction was much increaſed, when they beheld the manner

* There are properly ſpeaking only five volumes; but they are divided into ſo many parts, as to be bound in eleven.

There are three editions; one in 4to, and two in different ſized 8vo,

manner in which he edited that tract, and received his promise of an entire edition of Plutarch, executed in the same manner, and with the same exertion of industry and talent. Part of this great and difficult work is now completed. The eleven volumes already published, comprehend the text of the Morals, a Latin version, and various readings. The Professor means to publish separately the Notes and Indices, and afterwards to proceed to the Lives. We have thought it advisable to notice the part already published, without waiting even for the notes; because such a corrected edition of the text as this appears to be, cannot be known or appreciated too soon; and because, from the great length of time which has been consumed on these volumes, the publication of the notes appears precarious or distant. This work is dedicated, very briefly, to the University of Oxford, at whose press it was printed. The first volume commences with a very long preface, consisting of 145 pages, divided into chapters, and subdivided into sections. This preface to all will appear too long, and frequently too minute and tedious, and to some entirely without interest. But it will be read with avidity and advantage by the classical scholar, to whom every thing which proves the authenticity and genuineness of his favourite writings, or which exalts their character, or removes their obscurities, is important. It will not be without its use or interest to the philosopher, who wishes to trace the productions of human industry and skill through all the stages of their progressive improvement, and to enter into the motives and the views, the hopes and the fears, which have operated during that time. For these reasons, and in order to relieve the dryness of verbal criticism, we shall pay particular attention to the contents of the preface, and make extracts from it, where it is remarkably interesting. Delighted and astonished with the exuberant eloquence of Plato, the learned Professor still felt that he had gained little real and useful knowledge, and turned his attention to the unadorned but more solid writings of Plutarch. The difficulty which at first retarded his progress, and almost repelled him, afterwards became the point of attraction, and the source of pleasure.

' Qui (Plutarchus) me, fatebor enim, primo sua quadam difficultate rejiciebat; postea eo magis alliciebat, quo magis ad ejus familiaritatem proficerem. Animadvertebam quotidie, quantam illa patefaciendæ intelligentiæ difficultas, patefactæ suavitatem ferret: quantam illa nominibus verbisque et tralatis et efficacibus referta, ac per complures enunciationes continuata oratio præstantiam haberet figurarum et sen-

tentiarum, cum ex ipsa natura expressarum, tum ex omni doctrinæ genere delibatarum.' Præf. p. 12.

This may be called the language of pedantry or prejudice, of zeal without knowledge; but it expresses, more or less fully, the sentiments of all, who possess that ardour and perseverance of mind, before which the difficulties of literature and science vanish. That truth which is easily discovered, seldom gives much pleasure, or tends to much good. He describes very fully the progress, the difficulties which he met, and the encouragement and advice he received. He exhibits a striking proof of the imperfection of human foresight, or the weakness of human resolution and perseverance, even in men habituated to exertion. He hoped to have finished the publication of the Morals within ten years after the publication of his Specimen. This calculation he made, from considering the time which he had employed on it. But thirty years, instead of ten, elapsed before the completion of his design. The labour which he appears to have bestowed on his grand work is immense, and must have protracted its publication. He not only performed the customary duties of an editor, in comparing editions, and collating manuscripts, but he read, with great care, almost every author of antiquity. As a proof at once of his knowledge of Greek literature, and the care and industry which he added to that knowledge, it may be mentioned, that he occupied eight months in the perusal of Athenæus, whom, when he had not his edition in view, he had read in fifteen days. A man who can peruse a Greek author with so much rapidity, and yet, when it is necessary, can devote so much time and attention to it, is well qualified for an editor. In order to facilitate his progress, he undertook the tedious and laborious work of index-making. Of those he completed four: the first, of words; the second, of modes of construction; the third of authors and passages mentioned by Plutarch; and the last, of the names of men, &c. With regard to the means he followed for amending the text, he acknowledges that he first employed conjectural criticism.

'Erat enim ferax emendationis partæ accurata lectione auctoris: erat eadem laboris pars jucundissima, nec labor potius quam condimentum laboris.' Præf. p. 23.

But he had also recourse to all the editions and manuscripts within the reach of himself or his friends; and he gives a striking instance of the happy effects of the acuteness of conjectural criticism,

ticism, when joined to careful collation, in restoring a corrupted passage.

'In libello περὶ τοῦ λάθε βιώσας, Ed. Gr. Lat. p. 1130. E. Steph. p. 2071. ita legitur: οὐδὲν ἐστιν ὑπόλειμμα σώματος τοῖς τεθνηκόσι τιμωρίας ὅπερ ἐστιν ἀντιτύπου δέξασθαι δυνάμενον. Cætera satis sunt plane: sed quid illud ὅπερ ἐστιν? Possit quis ita sententiam accipere: "Mortuis nullæ sunt corporum reliquiæ, quæ possunt *illud quantum est* solidi supplicii suscipere." Probabilis est sententia, nec in Latina interpretatione tantum duri habet quantum in Græca Plutarchi oratione. Ergo lectio fertur, vera habetur. At veteribus libris conferendis vidi exstare αἴπερ εἰσιν in Aldina et Basiliensibus editionibus, item in plerisque meis codicibus scriptis: at istud nullo modo intelligi poterat: igitur antiquus jam corrector mutavit in ὅπερ ἐστιν, quod patet ex collectionibus Schotti, collationibus Jannotti, et libro Poli, in quibus est ὑπέρ ἐστιν. Stephanus, qui ex his libris suæ ipsæ editionis scripturam constituebat, hoc arripuit et edidit. Equidem ut vidi veterem lectionem αἴπερ εἰσιν, ita ex ea cognovi veram lectionem ἀπέρεισιν, quam recepi: et Xylandri interpretationem, neque reliquiæ corporum sunt post mortem, quæ cruciatus sustinere possint: ita leniter correxi et immutavi, retentis quoad ejus fieri poterat plurimis verbis: neque reliquiæ sunt corporum post mortem, quæ cruciatus inflictionem solidi capere possent.' Præf, p. 29.

He seems to have been very indústrious and fortunate in the procuring of manuscripts. He laments that he could bestow no more than half a year on the collation of those which he found in the royal library of Paris; and gives this concise but full account of all which he consulted.

'Defungimur iis notitiis, quas nostro ipsi usu collegimus. Videmur nobis quatuor recensiones & ætates Moralium deprehendisse. Prima est ante seculum xiii. ex qua ætate sunt Moscuenses valde illi mendosi, iisque haud paulo meliores Parisienses D. & F. iisdem tamen lacunis, quibus Aldina et Basilienses editiones affecti. Altera est sub finem sæculi xiii. recuperata a Græcis Constantinopoli, libris Plutarcheis et Vitis et Moralibus in unum volumen collectis, cujusmodi est Codex A, scriptus anno 1296, cum quidem librarii non tam emendata lectionis, quam collectionis omnium, qui reperiri possent, librorum, rationem habuerunt. Tertia est Codicis E. qui eundem librorum numerum, sed lectionem scripturamque magis sinceram habet, petitam ex vetustioribus ac melioribus libris: scriptus sæculo xiv. ineunte: ejusdem generis est Palatineus, in symposiacis etiam melior, quippe quas Codex E, a deteriore ac posteriore manu scriptas habet: cæterum aliis in libris cæteros ejusdem ætatis codices multum superans. Quarta exstat in Codice B. cui major etiam adhibita est emendationis cura quæsitæ ex pluribus et antiquioribus

bus exemplis: numeri et ſummæ librorum Plutarcheorum non item habita ratio. Sequuntur codices ſæculi xv. fere omnes in Italia deſcripti e codicibus recenſionis ſecundæ, id eſt, Codicis A. adhibitis forte uno alteroque in libro, aliis exemplis: ex hoc genere ſunt codices, Beſſarionis, Veneti, unde princeps editio Aldina expreſſa eſt.' Præf. p. 76.

In the firſt ſection of the third chapter, he gives a liſt of writers, who have either mentioned Plutarch, or quoted his writings. The Profeſſor here diſplays an accuracy and wideneſs of reſearch, which does credit to his learning and induſtry; and gives a perfect ſpecimen of the mode of exhibiting that kind of hiſtorical evidence, on which we muſt ground our belief in the genuineneſs and authenticity of the ancient authors. He begins with the ſecond century, and proceeds regularly down to the fifteenth, that is, to the invention of printing. In the ſecond ſection, he enumerates and eſtimates the different editions, verſions, animadverſions, and commentaries.

In his account of the ſeventh century, he mentions the capture of Alexandria by the Saracens, and gives an opinion reſpecting the probable loſs which literature ſuſtained, from the deſtruction of its famous library, which, as it appears to us to be new and well-founded, we ſhall give; and, as it may be intereſting to ſome of our readers who have no turn for claſſical learning, we ſhall tranſlate it.

'Alexandria having been taken by the Saracens in the year 641, its celebrated library was then deſtroyed; we ſhall not inquire how; the fact is certain. It will be more to our purpoſe to inquire, whether many of the writings of Plutarch, and other ancient authors, then periſhed; whether the learned world ſuſtained as great a loſs as is commonly imagined; and whether, if that library had not been deſtroyed, we ſhould have had at preſent, either the books it contained, or copies of them. I am not of this opinion. In the firſt place, it is highly probable, that, before the invaſion of the Saracens, many of the ancient manuſcripts contained in that library had periſhed, through the neglect of tranſcribing them; and that great part of the manuſcripts, at the time of its deſtruction, were new, and on eccleſiaſtical ſubjects. Beſides, it is very likely that there were copies in Greece of moſt of the Alexandrian manuſcripts, which might have been preſerved, if proper care had been taken in tranſcribing them. The ſloth of the Greeks, and the inattention which was then, and for long afterwards, manifeſted towards literature, were the cauſes of the loſs of more works, than all the barbarians; ſo that, if the Saracens had either not taken Alexandria, or had ſent all the books into Greece, we ſhould not have been more fortunate.' Præf. p. 57.

Reiſke is one of the lateſt editors of Plutarch. His edition, however, diſappointed the expectations of thoſe who were not acquainted

acquainted with his ſituation and character. The *res anguſta domi*, the irritability of his temper, and the unſettledneſs of his diſpoſition, made him conſtantly dependent on the bookſellers; and he was therefore more anxious to do much, than to do well. We ſhall conclude our extracts from the preface, with the character which the Profeſſor draws of Reiſke; becauſe all may diſcover in it the hand of a maſter, and thoſe who have read his works, and the particular and full account of his life, publiſhed ſoon after his death, will acknowledge the likeneſs to be juſt and impartial; and becauſe the Profeſſor appears from it to have followed a maxim, highly neceſſary to be obſerved in every department of literature, but by ſcarcely any more treſpaſſed, than by the editors of the claſſics.—*Amicus Plato, ſed magis amica Veritas.*

'Omnino ex omnibus ingenii facultatibus judicium, ſive datum a natura ſive negatum, minime excoluerat Reiſkius. Judicium dico eam facultatem quæ res confuſas diſtinguit, quid cuique proprium et conſequens ſit perſpicit, et verum a falſo accurate diſtinguit. Hæc in Reiſkio facultas non apparuit: minus etiam ea facultas, qua id quod verum judicaſſet, oratione ſubtiliter, ordine, perſpicue, explicaret. Senſus veri in Reiſkio fuit: quidquid ad hunc ſenſum accideret eumque veriſimilitudinis ſpecie percuteret, hoc continuo probabat, hoc amplectebatur: ſententiamque ſi ſcriptione proderet, eam quaſi projiciebat cum impetu, duriter et ſubito. Nam lenioribus illis cum judicio conjunctis mentis partibus minus utebatur, ratione, ſubtilitate, induſtria, aſſiduitate: ſemper actuoſus ex alio in aliud involebat, ejuſdem operis diu perſequendi ſatietatem fugiens, doctrinæ copias in adverſaria congerere negligebat: itaque nullo fere apparatu inſtructus ad auctores vel emendandos vel edendos accedebat. At valebat memoriæ bonitate, infinita lectione Græcæ linguæ ſcientia, uſu collecta illa, non ad rationem conformata: valebat ingenii velocitate et acumine, ſubito movebatur, impetu ferebatur: cumque ita incitatus omnes locos, de quibus dubitaret, emendando attingeret, in pleriſque a propoſito aberrabat, alios probabiliter tractabat, nonnullos penitus complectebatur et certiſſima reſtituebat conjectura quæ plane divinitu oblata videbatur——in nullo auctore habitabat: vagabatur per omnes: nec apud quenquam tamdiu divertebat, ut in paulo interiorem ejus conſuetudinem ſe inſinuaret: itaque per feſtinationem omnia arripiebat: ſana, corrupta, obſcura, difficulia, corrigere tentabat, mutabat, tranſponebat, demebat, addebat de ſuo: hæc in charta notabat, et in vulgus prodebat: et plane ut alter Lucilius—*in hora ſæpe ducentos* faciebat correctiones *ſtans pede in uno.* Et tamen, *cum flueret lutulentus, erat quod tollere velles:* non ille quidem *garrulus* ſed *piger ſcribendi ferre laborem; ſcribendi recte: nam ut multum, nil moror.*' Præf. p. 129. 130.

—'Nunquam eum vidi. Sed conciliavit commune literarum ſtudium, poſtremus ejus annis, quandam inter nos per epiſtolas notitiam et

consuetudinem. Favebat nascenti meæ laudi. Accedebant animi virtutes, quæ eum commendarent: in quibus excellebat candor et veritatis amor. Ergo et vivum dilexi, et mortui memoriam cum benevolentia colui. Et quando nunc de eo dicendum fuit, ita me ejus memoriæ consulturum existimavi, si nec dicerem nec tacerem quidquam contra animi ipse mei sententiam, nec vel verum detraherem viro laudem vel falsam tribuerem.' Præf. p. 134.

In the last chapter of the preface, he particularises what he has performed in this edition. He here speaks the language of a man conscious of his own industry and talents, and capable of estimating fairly the value of his labours. We shall therefore enter minutely into the contents of this chapter, because from it the reader may infer, what he may justly expect, and because it will render it unnecessary to protract this article, and render it dry, by a critical examination of every volume. After having given the author's account of his labours, and declared that, from an attentive examination of them, it appears to be just, we shall merely quote a few passages, which he has been particularly fortunate in correcting, and some, where he appears to us to be mistaken. He professes to have considered the Aldine edition as the foundation of his. Conjectural criticisms he has rarely indulged in or admitted, except where they were supported by other editions, or agreed with the conjectures of other learned men. In forming his conjectures, he very properly has considered, what most probably the author wrote, rather than what he ought to have written; a rule, by which some of the commentators on Shakespeare might greatly have profited: And, lest the text might have been injured by his conjectures, he has given, in the annotations, the old and common reading, and the correction which he proposes. He has followed Stephen's edition in the order of the treatises.

The annotations are of three kinds: *first*, where a new reading is received; *secondly*, where a conjectural reading is proposed; and, *thirdly*, where the authority of the common reading is doubtful, or where another equally probable is produced. He never has admitted a new reading, without having given the common one, that is, the one to be found in Stephen's edition. He has adopted the Latin version of Xylander; and has endeavoured to render it less imperfect, in what appears to him the three great requisites of a Latin version; that it express faithfully the meaning of the author; that the Latinity be pure and correct; and that it be as much as possible literal, and follow the peculiarities of the author in his phrases and construction.

He

He acknowledges to have had the uſe of as many manuſcripts as ever were brought to the elucidation of any Greek author; but he profeſſes to have paid attention to them, more becauſe they were manuſcripts, than becauſe they were neceſſary. He has been religiouſly ſcrupulous in giving to every former editor the merit of thoſe emendations which he firſt propoſed; and ſpeaks with proper abhorrence of thoſe who are ſilent, where praiſe is due to another, and name only in order to cenſure.

Such is the preface; and from the ſketch of its contents, and the extracts from it, which we have given, we think the candid and learned reader will join with us in the character we gave of it, and be induced to peruſe the whole. The preface is followed by an account of the different manuſcripts and editions which he has uſed, and a liſt of the marks or abbreviations by which he deſignates them in his Notes; and by a full, and apparently complete enumeration of the different editions of Plutarch's works, either altogether or ſeparately, which have been publiſhed.

We think he has been too ſcrupulous in not admitting into the text, the reading of the following paſſage, which he mentions in the note.

'ὡς οἷς τὴν παντελῆ δικαιοπραγίαν τρία δεῖ συνδραμεῖν, φύσιν, καὶ λόγον, καὶ ἔθος. Καλῶ δὲ λόγον μὲν τὴν μάθησιν· ἔθος δὲ, τὴν ἄσκησιν. Εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ μὲν ἀρχαὶ, τῆς μαθήσεως.

'Amiotus ita vertit ac ſi legerit, εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ μὲν ἀρχαὶ τῆς φύσεως, αἱ δὲ προκοπαὶ τῆς μαθήσεως. et ita ſententia auctoris plane poſtulare videtur. Atque ita eſt cum in Heuſingeri una editione ex priore quadam Germanica, unde illa expreſſa eſt: tum in Auguſtano codice, ut quidem teſtatur Schneiderus. Equidem religioni mihi duxi quidquam mutare atque hæc verba recipere, quum abſint ab omnibus omnino et editis et ſcriptis quibus utor libris, atque adeo a Fabricii et editione et codicibus.'

It ſeems wrong not to receive a reading confeſſedly neceſſary to the ſenſe, and ſupported by one manuſcript; merely becauſe the editor had ſeen no copies in which it was to be found. Not only what immediately precedes, but what follows the words in queſtion, make it highly probable that the reading in the note is genuine.

'Ἡ μὲν γὰρ φύσις ἄνευ μαθήσεως, τυφλόν· ἡ δὲ μάθησις δίχα φύσεως, ἐλλιπές· ἡ δὲ ἄσκησις χωρὶς ἀμφοῖν, ἀτελές.' Tom. I. p. 4.

We differ from him, but with heſitation and doubt, reſpecting the neceſſity of the reading of the following paſſage.

'Εἰ δέ τις οἴεται, τοὺς οὐκ εὖ πεφύκοτας, μαθήσεως καὶ μελετῆς τυχόντας ὀρθῆς πρὸς ἀρετῆν, οὐκ ἂν τὴν τῆς φύσεως ἐλάττωσιν εἰς τοὐνδεχόμενον ἀναδραμεῖν, ἴσω, &c.

'ἀναδραμεῖν) Legendum ἀναλαβεῖν. quanquam vulgatum in omnibus meis exſtat libris et ſcriptis et editis.' p. 5.

ἀναλαβεῖν

ἀναλαβεῖν would certainly suit the passage, but ἀναδραμεῖν, *to surmount*, seems equally applicable.

'Μεγάλη τοι ῥοπὴ πρὸς ἀρετῆς κύεσίν ἐστιν, καὶ ἤθη, &c.

'κύεσιν) Ita omnes libri. Auctor aut scripsit, aut scribere debuit, κτῆσιν.' p. 8.

The author perhaps ought to have written κτῆσιν, as less harsh, and more strictly applicable; but κύησιν, *conception*, *production*, is sufficiently correct and intelligible.

'Ἔχω δὲ δι' οἰκόνος παραστῆσαι τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ γνωμήν· ὥσπερ περιπλεῦσαι μὲν πολλὰς πόλεις καλὸν, ἐνοικῆσαι δὲ τῇ κρατίστῃ χρήσιμον.

'ὥσπερ γὰρ περιπλεῦσαι μὲν) Malim περιπλεῦσαι μὲν γὰρ. ita nil desirabitur ad sententiæ absolutionem.' p. 24.

This appears to us a happy conjecture: and also the following,

'καποιδάν ποτε εὐφραίνωνται, ταῖς ἐπίπληξιν ἐν αἰχυνῇ ποιοῖσθαι. Forte legendum ἀφραίνωσι.' p 30.

'Ὅτι ὅτως οὐδὲν γεννᾶν καὶ τρέφειν ὡς ἡ μνημὴ πέφυκε. Excidit forte παιδεῖαν. aut corrigendum γνῶσιν ἐκτρέφειν.' p. 33.

Either will suit the sense: the latter seems more probable.

'Τὸν γὰρ ἀρχιμάγειρον Εὐτρωπίωνα γεγενημένον ἐν τάξει ἐκπέμψας, παραγενέσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἠξίου, &c. Jubebat is per Eutropionem coquorum principem qui munus aliquod gesserat, ad se venire Theocritum, &c. Xylandri versionem correxi ad sententiam forte veram. Locus nec perspicuus, nec satis certus est.' p. 38.

But it is sufficiently plain, if it be translated in the following manner, which the words will certainly bear: 'He requested Theocritus to come to him, having sent Eutropion, who had been his chief cook, on this errand.'

To the common title of the treatise, Περὶ τοῦ ἀκούειν, he adds, τῶν φιλοσόφων, on the authority of the index to Plutarch's works, which is supposed, and with great probability, from the testimony of Suidas, to have been written by Lamprias, the son of Plutarch. The argument of this tract, and the idiom of the Greek language, require this addition.

As a proof of the advantage which the text has received from the extensive and careful reading of the Greek authors, by which the Professor prepared himself for the office of an editor, we quote the following passage:

'Τοῖς μὲν οὖν ὄρνισι τὰς ὑπηνέμους λοχείας καὶ ᾠδῖνας ἀτέλων τινων καὶ ἀψύχων ὑπολειμμάτων ἀρχὰς λέγουσιν εἶναι.'

'ὑπολειμμάτων) Non dubitavi recipere ex uno D. accedit auctoritas Aristotelis Hist. Animal. l. vi. c. 2. vulgo ὑπολημμάτων, quod ex hoc loco laudat Stephanus. Thes. Gr. tom. ii. p. 582.' p. 147.

By

By comparing the passage in the treatise Περὶ Πολυφιλίας, in this edition, p. 366. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ ἀληθίνην, with the passage as it stands in Stephen's edition, Tom. i. p. 163, the reader will perceive how a long and intricate sentence, evidently incorrect in many places, has been restored to a clear meaning, and most probably the very words of the author, by extracting from different faulty readings what was good in each, with the assistance of two words of skilful conjecture.

Tom. I. pars 2. p. 528. § 21. 'ἀκριβεῖς καὶ τεταγμένας τινὰς ἐκ περιοδοῦ κριτικὰς ἐμβάλλοντες ἀσιτίας. οὐκ ὀρθῶς τὴν φύσιν μὴ δεομένην διδάσκουσι δεῖσθαι συστολῆς καὶ ποιεῖν ἀναγκαίαν τὴν οὐκ ἂν ἀναγκαίαν ὑφαίρεσιν, ἐν καιρῷ ζητούμενον ἔθος ἀπαιτοῦντι.'

This passage, which is extremely difficult both from the words and the construction, and which in Xylander's version is unintelligible, he thus translates:

'Statas quasdam, certa tempore conversione quasi decretoria, interponunt cibi abstinentias: temere assuefacientes naturam, cum non indigeat, indigere coarctatione, et subductione sibi, minime, clam necessariam, reddere necessariam in tempore adscititiam consuetudine desiderante. Κριτικὴ ἀσιτία est decretoria cibi abstinentia, ut dies decretorius medicorum, vulgo κρίσιμος ἡμέρα, rarius κριτικὴ ἡμέρα. Forte legendum περιοδοῦ κριτικῆς.'

—— p. 594. Symposion.

'Διὸ καὶ Κλεόβουλον ἡ πρὸς τὸν Φρύγιον αὐλὸν νεβρόγονος κνημὴ κράσφορον οὖας ἧξε θαυμάσειν ἕκατι κρούσεως· ὥστε θαυμάζειν τὸν ὄνον, εἰ παχύτατος καὶ ἀμουσότατος ὢν ἄλλα, λεπτότατον καὶ μουσικώτατον ὄρνιον παρέχεται.'

'In loco desperato, cui nil medicinæ præbent codices, licet audacius periclitari: non qui eum sanari a nobis confidamus: sed ut alios in vestigio reperiundi certioris remedii ponamus. Igitur adhuc probabilis mihi visa est hæc mutatio. Κλεοβουλίνη πρὸς τὸν Φρύγιον αὐλὸν εἶτε, Νεβρόγονος κνημὴ κερασβόλον οὖας ἧσε ἕκατι κρούσεως· ὥστε θαυμάζειν τὸν ὄνον κ. τ. λ. Cleobulina dixit de Phrygia tibia, Hinnulea tibia duræ auri placuit propter ictum, seu crepitum.'

From this proposed emendation we dissent, for the following reasons. Κλεόβουλος, the father, is more probable than Κλεοβουλίνη, the daughter. The latter would more probably have been called Eumetis, the name by which she is mentioned in the list prefixed to this dialogue, and by which her father called her. Vide p. 585. The daughter does not appear from any other passage to have taken any part in the conversation. The verb ἄδω, (ἀδέω, ἀνδάνω) *placeo*, requires a dative case: but all the MSS. have οὖας. Vid. Herodot. Thal. Hom. Iliad. γ. ver. 748, &c.

Lastly, The connexion between the latter and the former part of the observation is loose, or rather entirely broken.

—— 672. B. 7. 736. E. 1. 753. B. 1. 841. D. 11. 857. C. 2. 1081. E. 6.

—— pars 2. p. 741. F. 6. '*ἐξόνεια*'— we ſhould prefer *ἐξώνεια*, as more conformable to the adjective and to the oppoſite noun *δωνέωσις*.— Vid. Dioſc. L. 11. et Plut. *ἐν τῷ εἰ περιεβόλη πολίτων*.

Tom. iv. p. 12. B. 8. 265. C. 9. The reading propoſed here in the note, appears to us neither ſo probable, nor to expreſs the ſenſe ſo fully, as the following—*ἢ καρτὸν ὃ μόνον—ἀλλὰ μέγαλα*.—

—— p. 336. A. 4. 461. F. 9. —pars 2. p. 852. A. 3. 988. E. 7.

Tom. v. p. 12. E. 8. 21. B. 5. Here he has been too ſcrupulous in not admitting the reading given in the note, with the text. No future editor will, we imagine, heſitate, but receive it, without, moſt probably, either mentioning who firſt propoſed it, or the authorities on which it reſts.

—— p. 104. C. 9. 253. F. 7. 273. E. 1. —pars 2. p. 324. F. 7. 377. E. 14. 480. B. 2. 651. D. 4.

The Third part of the Fifth tome, which makes the eleventh volume, and completes the Works, contains Fragments of Plutarch, and ſeveral Treatiſes which have either not been publiſhed till lately, or printed very ſeldom: moſt of which are wanting in the editions of Plutarch's Morals. The Profeſſor, here, has had more than common occaſion for his reading and acuteneſs, and has diſplayed them to great advantage: a few references, however, to this volume muſt ſuffice.

Tom. v. pars 3. p. 895. B. 5. 1010. E. 3. 1138. C. 3. 1146. B. 5. 1266. C. 1.

We think we have adduced ſufficient proofs of the character we have given of this edition. Many paſſages are ſtill corrupt; many words wanting; and ſome of the ſuppoſed readings may not to every critic appear ſupported by ſufficient authority: but, on the whole, the miſcellaneous works of Plutarch, have perhaps received as much emendation, as can well be expected, when we conſider the ſtate of the common text, the failure of aſſiſtance from manuſcripts, in many paſſages where the moſt bold conjecturiſt would be at a loſs, and, compared with theſe advantages, the text which the Profeſſor has given.

We cannot conclude this Article, till we have entered our proteſt againſt the editing of the Greek claſſics with Latin verſions: we hoped, from a few works which were publiſhed here, and on the Continent, that the practice was about to be diſcontinued—But it is not ſo. The reaſons alleged, will appear ſtrong and convincing only to thoſe, who intereſt themſelves more in the ſale of the book, than in the advantage which claſſical literature may derive from it.

Warton,

Warton, in his obſervations on Pope, after having quoted, in Greek, a paſſage from Ariſtotle, de Mundo, laments, that the ſtate of Greek literature in this iſland is ſuch, as to render it neceſſary to add a Latin verſion. We hope the ſame imputation cannot now be made with equal juſtice: but, if it can, the only mode of effacing it is by taking away the temptation and the aſſiſtance of a Latin tranſlation: the room which it occupies, nearly doubles the ſize, and conſequently the price of a book, and might certainly be filled to more advantage and utility by a judicious ſelection of notes. We would even object to notes, if they were very numerous, or minute: thoſe difficulties ſhould be left unexplained, which would merely exerciſe and improve the knowledge and acuteneſs of the reader. There ſhould be rather too few for the ignorant, or idle, than too many for the induſtrious ſcholar. Schutz, in his excellent edition of Æſchylus, has erred in this reſpect: but, in annotating ſuch an author as Æſchylus, the error is more pardonable. Moſt other claſſical authors might be given to the world, with every requiſite note, in leſs bulk, and at leſs expence, than they are increaſed to by the Latin verſion.

The univerſity of Oxford has done itſelf much honour by the encouragement it gave to Wyttenbach, and by the correct and elegant manner, in which it has publiſhed his Plutarch.

ART. XXVI. *Account of the Life and Writings of William Robertſon, D. D. F. R. S. E. late Principal of the Univerſity of Edinburgh, &c. &c. &c.* By Profeſſor Dugald Stewart, F. R. S. E. London. Cadell & Davis. 1801. pp. 307.

THE few preliminary remarks which we have to ſuggeſt upon the plan of this very intereſting performance, are dictated by the higheſt veneration for the memory of that illuſtrious man who is the ſubject of the publication; and tempered by the moſt unfeigned reſpect for the perſonal character and literary talents of his biographer. Indeed, when we conſider how much Profeſſor Stewart muſt have reflected upon the nature of a ſpecies of compoſition that has occupied ſo large a ſhare of his attention, we deliver our opinion upon this point with real diffidence, inaſmuch as it differs very materially from the ſentiments which he appears to entertain.

We have heard of various kinds of biography enumerated by ſuperficial thinkers. We are told of the life of the man, as diſtinct from the life of the author; and literary is thus ſeparated from perſonal biography. In this diviſion or arrangement we cannot by any means acquieſce. It appears to us, in the firſt place, that the literary and the perſonal hiſtory of an author are as cloſely connected together, as the public and private

life of a warrior or a ſtateſman. What, indeed, is an author, but a public character, who has made himſelf known to mankind by his influence on their minds, as the general or the miniſter has diſtinguiſhed his name by the effects of his meaſures upon the deſtinies of the world? His writings are his memorable achievements; his victories are gained over prejudice, ignorance, and error: the laws which he gives, and the ſway which he exerciſes, are extended over the opinions of men. We may obſerve, in the next place, that to ſeparate the public from the private hiſtory of a general, or ſtateſman, would be to omit exactly one part of his ſtory; a part, too, ſo intimately connected with the whole, that no opinion whatever could be formed of the perſonage ſo imperfectly depicted. The diſtinction between the military and civil life of a man, who like Marlborough or Frederic, united the eminent qualities of both ſtations, would be as juſt a principle of arrangement as that which we are conſidering. We can underſtand the plan of the hiſtorian who writes the hiſtory of Frederic's campaigns, and leaves another to narrate the civil events of his reign. The former intends merely to detail thoſe military occurrences in which Frederic bore a more diſtinguiſhed part than any other individual; and he connects his ſubject with the Pruſſian warrior, in order to limit its extent, and give it a ſort of unity. In like manner, the hiſtorian of his civil actions chooſes for his theme another branch of the Germanic hiſtory, connecting its different parts, and bounding the whole ſubject by the relation of the leading figure to the reſt of the group, and by his duration upon the ſtage. But both the one and the other of thoſe hiſtorians leave to a third writer the biography of Frederic; that is, the narrative of which Frederic forms the paramount object, which is undertaken on his account, and embraces other men and things only from their relation to him. Of this narrative, the private character and actions of the prince form an eſſential part; and to ſeparate them from his conduct as a ſtateſman and a warrior, would be as inconſiſtent with the idea of biography, as to denominate an account of his campaigns, or a ſummary of his civil reforms, a hiſtory of Frederic the Second. In like manner, it ſeems inconſiſtent with the idea of biographical compoſition to confine the narrative to the hiſtory of an author's works, that is, his public achievements, while his private conduct, and his perſonal deeds, remain unnoticed. This is a worſe than uſeleſs ſubdiviſion of a ſubject, which appears to be undoubtedly one, and ſimple. it is a teparating and frittering down, which diſtorts and confuſes; prevents us from either feeling ſo warm an intereſt, or forming ſo correct a judge-
[illegible]e might do upon the whole piece. The ſkin of one
beauty,

beauty, the mouth of another, and the eyes of a third, have been the theme of univerſal admiration; but no one, beyond the walls of the academy, would wiſh to ſee the moſt finiſhed ſketch of thoſe *chef-d'œuvres* of natural or artificial workmanſhip, abſtracted from the whole figures to which they belong. It is, in fact, exactly becauſe the public character intereſts us, that we deſire to view the great man in his private walks. Where a man has moved through life with nothing but innocence or common virtues to recommend him, we would rather ſubſcribe to the marble-cutter and the author for a monumental narrative, than read the biographics of his friends and admirers. But, where the author has inſtructed or delighted, where the great man has aſtoniſhed or overawed, we deſire to ſee mingled with the ſtory of that grandeur, which we ourſelves can view, the narratives of thoſe incidents and anecdotes which, during their occurrence, were veiled from the world. The private life is only intereſting in its connexion with the public; and the deeds which live in common fame, muſt, in a biographical ſketch, be fixed down to ſome real perſon, not to an abſtract being; they muſt be told of a man who lived, as well as wrote, and acted, and ſpoke. They immediately excite a deſire to know all that belonged to this *real* man. The gratification of this double curioſity, is the province of biography. This union of objects conſtitutes its claim to a diſtinct place in the circle of the ſciences. From its ſubſerviency to this important purpoſe, both its name and value are derived. But if the hiſtory of a life ought, in every caſe, to comprehend the private as well as public tranſactions of the man, how much more forcibly does this remark apply to the biography of a ſcholar—a perſon, whoſe public life furniſhes of itſelf ſo faint a delineation of his peculiar habits and character? Thoſe who might be ſatisfied with reading the ſtory of a general's campaigns and political conduct, becauſe they neceſſarily occupy a very large ſpace in the canvas, and throw much light on the private circumſtances of the ſubject, would be diſappointed at finding, in the biography of an author, no account of his manners—no anecdotes of his peculiarities—no perſonal hiſtory of the man; becauſe theſe are circumſtances on which the recital of his literary achievements throw little or no light.

We have now been conſidering that diviſion of ſubject, which ſeparates the literary from the perſonal life of an author. By literary life, however, we muſt be underſtood to mean ſomething very different from the account which Mr Stewart has in this work given of Dr Robertſon. We conceive, that all hiſtory,

whether of nations or of individuals, bears a reference to the ſucceſſion of events in the order of time. We can form no other idea, either of national or individual hiſtory. The private biography of an author, is a narrative of the events compoſing his private life; his literary biography, is a narrative (interſperſed, no doubt, with more diſcuſſion and remark) of the events which diſtinguiſhed the progreſs of his mind in its literary attainments, and tended to form his peculiar habits of thinking and compoſing.

Now, Mr. Stewart's life of Dr Robertſon cannot poſſibly be ſaid to conſiſt of this: it contains a few ſhort notices of his private life; that is, the date of his birth and death and marriage; a nomenclature of his contemporaries, a liſt of his preferments, a ſtatement of the periods of his different publications, with numerous excerpts from the correſpondence of his friends, and various admirable *critiques*, both upon the nature of his merits as an author, and as a leader of the Scotiſh Church. But we muſt be allowed to ſay, that he will be diſappointed, who ſhall expect from theſe pages an account of the progreſs of Dr Robertſon's mind, or a diſtinct view of his mental character, farther than can be obtained in his works. We meet neither with ſtriking anecdotes, nor diſcriminative touches, nor fine and deſcriptive ſketches. We recognize in every part of the piece a great maſter's hand: but the painting is not hiſtorical—it is not a portrait. It is a compoſition of inimitable beauties: the contemplation of its harmonious arrangement and brilliant colouring, confer a delight which we ſhould in vain ſeek elſewhere. But all that part of the effect which is didactic, which conſiſts in awakening diſtinct ideas of reſemblance, which is intended to deſcribe unknown objects, or to recal exact impreſſions of objects that are known; all this may be produced, by contemplating the only original from which the imitative part of the piece is taken —the portraits contained in the works of the original himſelf. Such appears to us to be the ſum of Mr Stewart's merit, as an hiſtorian of Dr Robertſon's mind; or, in other words, a literary biographer. He has given us criticiſms inſtead of narrative; and on opening what we expected would prove a life of Robertſon, or at leaſt an account of his literary life, we find ourſelves engaged in reading an exquiſite diſſertation upon the merits of his works.

But if this performance gives us little new information with reſpect to the hiſtorian, much leſs does it introduce us to the man. The care with which Mr Stewart has avoided all deſcriptive anecdote, is indeed mortifying to the very natural curioſity inſpired by a peruſal of Robertſon's works. We cannot

avoid

avoid feeling ſome deſire to extend our acquaintance with the man who has ſo often inſtructed, dazzled, enchanted us, by the profundity of his diſquiſitions, the brilliant majeſty of his narration, the varied ſpells of his language. We eagerly ſeize the opportunity which ſeems to be preſented by the title of this work; and we cannot avoid expecting, when we open it, that Mr Stewart, himſelf an intimate friend, will introduce us to the great modern hiſtorian. We certainly perceive a figure, which tantalizes us by its reſemblance to the real or fancied original: But it is ſullen and ſilent; it deigns not to hold converſe; it vouchſafes not to cheer us by a ſmile, or to comfort us by the diſcloſure of a ſingle human imperfection; its eye has no ſpeculation, it wants expreſſion and animation. We ſoon diſcover it to be an airy fleeting form, lifeleſs and unſubſtantial. We are left in admiration of the magician who conjured it up; but we lament that his powers do not extend to recal a reality, as well as to deceive with a phantaſm.

But why do we talk of Mr Stewart's powers? Was it not Mr Stewart who ſketched the only ſtriking and living portrait that exiſts of Burns *? And did he know Dr Robertſon leſs intimately, or was the hiſtorian a leſs intereſting ſubject, or were his features leſs marked and leſs worthy of the pencil, than the coarſe lineaments of the Scotiſh ruſtic? The omiſſion is without doubt wilful: it muſt have proceeded from an amiable ſolicitude about the ſubject; a delicate fear of raking up things which, from their minuteneſs, might offend ſurviving relatives; a dread, not unnatural, of falling into the modern errors of goſſiping biography; errors which often tend to throw upon the ſubject a little of the contempt that ſhould be left entire for the authors.

Theſe feelings, no one will be much inclined to blame, who conſiders the high literary character which Mr Stewart has to ſupport, and the ſtill more ſacred truſt which is committed to him, as biographer of the great hiſtorian. But, unfortunately, there is ſomething eſſentially inherent in that walk of literature, to which Mr Stewart has devoted no inconſiderable ſhare of his attention, perhaps neceſſarily connecting it with deviations from the ſtately deportment that the hiſtorian of nations is required to maintain. Perſonal biography is one of thoſe walks, we can ſcarcely call them ſubordinate, in treading which, a man muſt ſtoop to contemplate and pick up objects of a leſs dignified nature and leſs extenſive mafs, than thoſe that beſet the paths of the annaliſt. Unleſs the biographer will condeſcend, thus,

* See Mr Stewart's "*Letter*" in Dr Currie's life of Burns; in our opinion the moſt intereſting part of that publication.

thus to lower his attention, his work will neither be uſeful, nor ſatisfactory, nor pleaſing, nor, in one word, biographical. And when we recollect the illuſtrious names which have adorned this branch of ſcience, we are inclined to think, that the poſſibility of maintaining as much dignity as would ſatisfy a man of ordinary ambition and laudable pride, depends altogether upon the right choice of the ſubject, and the manner in which the writer applies his talents to the taſk. We acknowledge, that ſo long as the works of Xenophon, of Plutarch, of Tacitus, and of Johnſon, remain to inſtruct and delight mankind, we ſhall be diſpoſed, in ſpite of the Boſwells, the Piozzis, and the herd of anecdote-mongers, who have filled our libraries with table-talk, to mingle ſufficient reſpect with our eſteem of the men who devote their talents and induſtry to that captivating art, which conſiſts in the delineation of individual excellence; in pourtraying the reſemblance of all that is eſtimable or ſingular in mind; in embalming, for the veneration, for the love, for the perſonal acquaintance and ſocial intercourſe of poſterity, thoſe finer parts in the frame of the benefactors of mankind, which eſcaped all the ſkill of all the artiſts of Egypt. Let the men who undertake to exhibit ſpecimens of this faſcinating power, chooſe ſubjects worthy of their pencil, ſtudy their originals with a temperate attention, and delineate only thoſe parts which decency does not command us to veil, in attitudes which are neither mean, nor ungraceful, nor unintereſting. The artiſt may be well aſſured, that the public, far from diminiſhing the ſentiments of reſpect due to his ſkill and uſefulneſs, becauſe he has choſen to paint portraits in preference to hiſtory, will beſtow upon the maſter ſomewhat of the veneration, challenged by his ſubject, and dignify with a name as high as that of the hiſtorical painter, him who has preferred the individual to the group, and brought forward from the multitude thoſe moſt ſtriking figures, ſo well worthy of nearer contemplation.

Upon the whole, our readers will perceive, that we are decidedly partial to that ſpecies of hiſtorical compoſition, which conſiſts in the minute deſcription of the lives of ſuch men as are worthy of a biographer; that we can in no ſenſe of the word be ſatisfied with mere general ſketches of ſuch intereſting perſonages; that we wiſh to have the ancient practice revived, of handing down to poſterity the manners as well as the deeds of famous men; that we are far, indeed, from thinking it any degradation to the moſt celebrated of our contemporaries, thus to occupy themſelves in recording excellence and virtue; that we even regret to ſee the example of Gibbon and Hume ſo little followed, and would willingly pardon a much greater degree of vanity than thoſe illuſtrious men have exhibited, for the ſake of acquiring accurate and lively

lively repreſentations of the ſpirits which have animated and guided the world.

'*Clarorum virorum facta moreſque* (ſays the biographer of Agricola) *poſteris tradere antiquitus uſitatum. Sed apud priores ut agere memoratu digna pronum, magiſque in aperto erat: ita celeberrimus quiſque ingenio ad prodendam virtutis memoriam ſine gratia aut ambitione, bonæ tantum conſcientiæ pretio ducebatur. Ac plerique ſuam ipſi vitam narrare, fiduciam potius morum quam arrogantiam arbitrati ſunt: nec id Rutilio et Scauro citra fidem, aut obtrectationi fuit: adeo virtutes iiſdem temporibus optime æſtimantur, quibus facillime gignuntur.*

The other feeling, by which we have ſuppoſed our author to be influenced, is the much more manly and dignified tenderneſs for the character of a departed friend: And here, again, we can only obſerve, that if the execution of the biographer's taſk brings an illuſtrious character into contempt, the blame is imputable, not to that ſpecies of compoſition which we recommend, but to the unſkilful manner in which an uſeful and honourable duty is performed. The ſtory of a man's life may be rendered contemptible, and his character held up to profane ridicule, by the prying curioſity, the perfidious breaches of confidence, the babbling pen of a ſilly goſſiping woman, or by the inimitable folly of a Boſwell, ambitious of univerſal abſurdity. But this viſitation of the ſins of the author upon his ſubject, is not peculiar to any one department of literature. It is poſſible by tedious minuteneſs, and the detail of ludicrous particulars, which have no other recommendation than that they are natural and true, to caſt a broad glare of ridicule around the moſt venerable, and important tranſactions. The victory of Marathon might have been deſcribed by ſome Greek trifler, with a minute detail of Miltiades's dreſs; an Homeric deſcription of the paſſage of each javelin among the entrails of the wounded; and a narrative accompanied by cuts, of the diſtortions which the pain occaſioned in the ſleek faces of the Perſians, or the more manly viſages of the Grecian warriors. Had Mr Boſwell unfortunately lived about the age of Leonidas, we ſhould doubtleſs have received from his pen, a catalogue of the diſhes which compoſed the laſt repaſt of the Spartan warriors, and a full detail of all the notable impertinences with which he interrupted the ſlumbers of the devoted hero. But, ſurely, although ſuch abſurdity would have cauſed the name of this trifler to live in deathleſs ridicule, little of that ſentiment could have been lent to his immortal ſubject; and if a Plutarch or a Xenophon had accompanied the Lacedemonian monarch to the ſcene of his glory, we ſhould have gladly pored over

over volumes of all the anecdotes which their pen might have preſerved; and reverenced the more, upon more intimate acquaintance, that achievement of which we ſcarcely know any thing but the name, the martyrdom of Thermopylæ.

It appears to us, that the life of a perſon, whoſe days and nights were ſpent for above half a century in conferring everlaſting benefits, not upon a petty diſtrict of ſavages, but upon the whole community of the world, is as worthy of minute record, as that of a petty prince, who is only known to us by the laſt action of his career, the ſavage valour of four-and-twenty hours: nor do we repoſe ſo little confidence in Mr Stewart, as to think that any effort of his pen, had he really employed it in biography, would have rendered contemptible a character, in itſelf more dignified, more uſeful, and, in every ſenſe of the word, far more venerable than the heroes, whoſe private lives delight and inſtruct us in the divine portraits which the claſſics have left.

There is another conſideration to which we have not adverted, becauſe we truſt it has had much leſs weight with Mr Stewart than any of the above circumſtances. We allude to a fear, neither inexcuſable nor unmanly, of giving offence, or creating any kind of uneaſineſs to the ſurviving relations of the hiſtorian. We conceive that when an individual, who is only known to the private circle of his friends, departs this life, he leaves to thoſe who inherit his property the legacy of his honour and character. They only have an intereſt in defending his memory, and procuring a good reception for his name when it happens to be mentioned: they naturally endeavour, by all poſſible means, to trumpet forth his praiſes, and conceal his defects even at the expence of truth. In all this the public is wholly unconcerned; it is entirely a family matter. The intereſts of truth or of virtue can never be injured by the falſehoods which vanity or affection draw from a few private individuals, which are propagated through a narrow and inſignificant circle, and which tend to gloſs over the faults, or raiſe the virtues of a perſonage, ſo wholly unimportant, that no exaggerations can extend his notoriety, or prevent his name from being forgotten in a month. It has frequently happened, that the feelings of friends, we mean their ſilly and prepoſterous vanity, induce them to print (they perhaps cannot ſo eaſily publiſh) a narrative of the deceaſed perſon's life. In this caſe it can do no manner of good to ſpecify the dark, as well as the bright parts of his character; for as no one will, in the ordinary courſe of things, peruſe the performance, but either friends whom the recital of his foibles would hurt, or enemies whoſe malignity it would

would gratify, it is contrary to the object for which the writer is hired, to mingle, with the funeral eulogium, any ſacrifices to candour and truth Now in all theſe circumſtances, the caſe of a great and public character is diametrically oppoſite to that of an obſcure and private individual. As his time and talents were not his own; as his life was devoted to the public ſervice; as he belonged not ſo much to the family in which he ate, and drank, and ſlept, as to the great community for whom he read and thought: ſo, after his death, his name and character is the property of the public; and it is the intereſt of the world that the whole truth ſhould be made known. His friends indeed may feel, or affect to feel, the conſequences of ſuch ſacrifice to the public cauſe. But it is the tax which they muſt of neceſſity pay for the honours and advantages of their connexion with the departed worthy. It is a tax which he paid during life for his glory, and which his name muſt continue to pay or renown. If friends are determined to tickle themſelves with an eulogium, unalloyed by the more ſevere graces of the hiſtorian, a ſkilful preacher may make the temple reſound with unmingled praiſe, and load the altar with burnt-offerings to his memory: or let them, if their relative was ſo very obſcure that no preacher would give him a funeral ſermon, procure admittance for the panegyric into the Memoirs of a Belles Lettres Academy, or a Royal Society. But, when a great man falls, ſomething more remains to be done. That truth, which relations dare not hear, it is criminal to conceal from the world.

For theſe reaſons, (very few of which can have any particular application to the caſe of Dr Robertſon), we conceive it to be in general highly improper, to ſay the leaſt of it, that much deference ſhould ever be paid to the feelings of relations: in theſe caſes they are the parties leaſt concerned; their number is ſo ſmall, their ſtake ſo trifling, and the injury their feelings can ſuſtain ſo inconſiderable, in a comparative view, that it would be wholly unworthy of a *man* to ſteer according to their wiſhes, in performing ſo ſacred a duty as that entruſted to the biographer.

Now, although we do not conceive that Mr Stewart merits ſuch a cenſure as this, we ſuſpect that a tenderneſs, ſcarcely excuſable, may have perhaps induced him to balk the natural curioſity of his readers with general diſſertations upon Dr Robertſon's ſtyle, and ſtill more general remarks upon his character, while every one who opened the book expected to find anecdotes of the man. Did Mr Stewart know leſs of the hiſtorian's life and manners than he did of thoſe of the Ayrſhire Poet; or, were the public more curious about Burns, than about Robertſon? Had our author been deſired to write an article for the Edinburgh Tranſactions, containing the life, that is, the praiſes, of an obſcure

Judge

Judge or Lord Mayor, it might have been injudicious in him to comply with the requeſt, but ſtill more injudicious, after compliance, to defeat the end propoſed, by minute details either of peculiarities in manner, or of foibles in character. Thoſe details would inevitably have ſunk the puny name of the ſubject a few moments ſooner than the deſtined time; but the name of the hiſtorian is ſufficiently buoyant to float all the details which the moſt intimate acquaintance could have enable a biographer to heap upon it. We are far from inſinuating that there were faults in the character of Dr Robertſon which his biographer has voluntarily concealed. Our veneration for that great and good man is as profound as any which it is poſſible for Mr Stewart to entertain. In reading his tract we have frequently ſaid to ourſelves, *Si quis piorum manibus locus, ſi ut ſapientibus placet, non cum corpore extinguuntur magnæ animæ, placide quieſcas: nos domum tuam ab infirmo deſiderio, et muliebribus lamentis ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces, quas neque lugeri, neque plangi fas eſt: admiratione te potius, temporalibus laudibus, et ſi natura ſuppeditet, ſimilitudine decoremus.* A character more adorned both with the ſeverer and milder virtues, we believe has ſeldom appeared among men. As his imperfections and faults (if indeed he had any) were uncommonly few, the impartial part of his biographer's taſk would have been extremely ſmall. In truth, our remarks apply to what we imagine may have been Mr Stewart's feelings upon the *minuteneſs*, rather than upon the *impartiality* of his narrative. We have endeavoured to ſhow, that all the reaſons which can be alleged againſt giving thoſe details to the world are groundleſs: that the biographer's dignity, or the dignity of his ſubject, can never be impaired by the faithful diſcharge of his taſk; and that where a man has a duty to perform to the world, to violate it by conſulting the feelings of a ſmall circle of relations, is not atoned for by the benevolence of the motive. Mr Stewart will, therefore, excuſe us for ſuggeſting, that a life of Robertſon is ſtill an important *deſideratum* in literary biography; and for expreſſing a wiſh, that ſome perſon, as nearly as poſſible allied to Mr Stewart in talents and in taſte, but differing from him as much as poſſible in his ideas of this branch of hiſtory, may be found to ſupply the want, while authentic materials are yet within our reach. To thoſe friends who are tender of Dr Robertſon's memory, we would addreſs, together with the foregoing remarks, one additional conſideration. The blank which Mr Stewart has left is ſo great, and ſo obvious, that attempts to fill it up muſt inevitably be made. Let thoſe who are intereſted in defending the memory of their friend, reflect how infinitely more agree-

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able it is, even to their tendereſt feelings, that a complete account, from which they can have nothing to fear, ſhould be given at preſent, than that hereafter, as has uniformly happened in ſuch caſes, the unavoidable defect ſhould be ſupplied by multiplied falſehoods.

The work of Mr Stewart which is now before us, may be conſidered as belonging to a new and moſt intereſting department of literature. It is a union of general criticiſm with literary hiſtory, and contains the moſt judicious and profound remarks upon ſome celebrated writings, interſperſed with all thoſe anecdotes concerning the works which the reader is moſt deſirous to know. We expreſs ourſelves with unaffected and unaccuſtomed praiſe, when we ſtate the great pleaſure which we have received from a peruſal of this tract. The extracts from Dr Robertſon's correſpondence are generally intereſting, ſome of them truly delightful. We particularly refer to the charming and inimitable letters of Mr Hume. So far from thinking an apology neceſſary for publiſhing any one of theſe, we are really ſurpriſed that any of them have been ſuppreſſed. We are by no means eager to extend the ſame remark to the letters of Horace Walpole. We cannot help thinking it a little injudicious in Mr Stewart to have filled ſo many pages of his valuable collection with the effuſions of this *dilettante*. To introduce Horace Walpole as ſpeaking to the character of Dr Robertſon, is nearly as unneceſſary as to prefix the teſtimonials of obſcure friends to the poems of Dryden and Pope, more eſpecially if we conſider that the former teſtimonials are not, like the latter, given to the world, while the fame of the author, and the ſucceſs of his work, are matters of doubt. Beſides, Mr Stewart has himſelf acknowledged, that the teſtimony of this perſon deſerves no regard in point of ſincerity; and all the facts contained in it are much better told by various other correſpondents of the Hiſtorian. Indeed, as the biographer himſelf has expreſſed his own decided, though cautious contempt of it, we are the more inclined to marvel at the apparent inconſiſtency of admitting this branch of correſpondence.

We cannot avoid remarking, that our author does not appear to have adopted the beſt mode of procuring authentic information with regard to the conduct of Dr Robertſon as a leader of the Scottiſh Church. Had the narrative of Dr Hill, which is partly inſerted in his own words, partly incorporated with Mr Stewart's compoſition, been confined to a ſtatement of Dr Robertſon's views and meaſures, we ſhould perhaps have admitted him to be a fair witneſs; becauſe he was intimately

mately acquainted with that eminent perſon, and is one of thoſe who continue zealouſly to ſupport the ſame, or at leaſt ſimilar principles. But the reverend author has alſo given a general account of the Church eſtabliſhment; and Mr Stewart has received this account as part of his work, entering indeed his caveat, that it reſts entirely upon the authority of the writer. Now, with great deference, we preſume to think Dr Hill and his friends exactly the moſt ſuſpicious quarter, from whence information of this deſcription could have been obtained. We are happily unacquainted with the diſputes of the Scotiſh churchmen, unleſs in thoſe parts which interfere with the municipal laws, and the civil hiſtory of the realm. But we know enough of *thoſe parts*, to ſatisfy us, that Dr Hill's narrative contains popular topics of invective and inſinuation againſt half the church, which we ſuſpect Dr Robertſon never condeſcended to uſe; and very glaring miſtatements of important points of ſtatute law.

In Mr Stewart's general opinion of Dr Robertſon's character as an hiſtorian, we are very much diſpoſed to concur. One obſervation we think he has omitted, which muſt ſtrike every one who compares the hiſtorian's narrative with the authorities from which it was drawn, or indeed who reads the narrative with a view to make uſe of it in ſerious inquiries. The hiſtories of Robertſon abound in the fineſt deſcriptions, the moſt pleaſing delineations of character, the moſt dignified and judicious mixture of reflections; and more eſpecially they are diſtinguiſhed by a ſtyle of narration, at once manly, copious, and eaſy. But all theſe deſcriptions, delineations, reflections, and even this narrative itſelf, are too general for practical uſe and application. The politician and political œconomiſt will ſearch thoſe writings in vain for the accurate details of fact which they have a right to expect from one who inveſtigates the ſubjects of particular men and nations. We will not by any means go ſo far as ſay, with Johnſon, that the ſubſtance of Robertſon's works is like a guinea wrapt up in a wool pack; but we think that the maſs of the hiſtorian's gold has come from a mint, where the beauty of the die is rather more attended to than the accuracy of the marks which prevent falſification, and give the coin its uſes and currency. In this inſtance, indeed, there is no light weight; but he who poſſeſſes the powers of ornament may give baſe metals a ſimilar appearance. In plain terms, Dr Robertſon appears to have ſtudied grace and dignity, more than uſefulneſs. He has choſen thoſe features of every figure which he could beſt paint, rather than thoſe which were moſt worthy of the pencil. His buildings are more remarkable for that ſymmetry and thoſe ornaments which would pleaſe a common obſerver, than for the Doric

ric ſtrength which adapts them for laſting uſe—that internal arrangement which is neceſſary to the purpoſes of inhabitancy, or even that accuracy of proportion in the external parts, which is as much required by the eye of a learned architect, as chaſteneſs of ornamental deſign. The charms of Robertſon's ſtyle, and the full flow of his narration, which is always ſufficiently minute for ordinary readers, will render his works immortal in the hands of the bulk of mankind. But the ſcientific reader requires ſomething more than periods which fill his ear, and general ſtatements which gratify by amuſing: he even requires more than a general text-book—a happy arrangement of intricate ſubjects, which may enable him to purſue them in their details. It is not always enough that proportions ſhould be ſtated by general terms of compariſon. A period may look finer for the want of figures; and common readers will certainly be ſatisfied with the words *more* and *leſs*. Thoſe who alone, as Lord Bolingbroke ſays, deſerve the name of hiſtorical readers, require to be told *how much more* and *how much leſs*. When we repair to the works of Robertſon for the purpoſe of finding facts, we are inſtantly carried away by the ſtream of his narrative, and forget the purpoſe of our errand to the fountain. As ſoon as we can ſtop ourſelves, we diſcover that our ſearch has been vain, and that we muſt apply to thoſe ſources from which he drew and culled his ſupplies.

We do not maintain that hiſtory ſhould be degraded to the rank of German ſtatiſtics; but we are inclined to think that this tedious, and, in general, uſeleſs department of literature, owes its origin, and certainly all its bad qualities, to an unneceſſary diviſion of labour, which has been rendered indiſpenſable by ſuch writers as Dr Robertſon, who, in order to poliſh their periods, and generaliſe their remarks, have carefully avoided all thoſe ſubſtantial parts of hiſtory which render ſtyle and diſcuſſion neceſſary and uſeful. If theſe writers had filled up this vacuity, and made this requiſite combination, the political world would have reaped more advantage than it has gained from all the learned labours of the German pedants, and been ſaved from the weight of all that large proportion of the ſcience which is utterly uſeleſs.

We are therefore inclined to wiſh that Dr Robertſon had added to his other accompliſhments a taſte for inductive ſcience, which would have given minute details a greater importance in his eyes, without drawing off his attention in any degree from thoſe general views of ſyſtem and arrangement, unaccompanied by which, details are altogether nugatory. Perhaps, too, we might wiſh that the turn of his mind had been more generally ſcientific, and leſs popular; and that he had gained, in rigid philoſophical ſpirit, what

he probably would have loſt in elegance and taſte. As illuſtrations of all theſe remarks, which at the ſame time we offer with extreme diffidence, (greater perhaps than we have contrived to expreſs), we refer our readers to the account of the feudal ſyſtem in the firſt book of the Hiſtory of Scotland, to the greater part of the firſt volume of the Emperor Charles, and to the whole of the eighth book of the Hiſtory of America.

With reſpect to the ſtyle of Robertſon's Hiſtory, we are very much inclined to agree with Mr Stewart in his account of its various excellences. It is infinitely more faultleſs than Hume's, if it is leſs forcible; and although it wants ſome of the inimitable beauties that ſhine in the hiſtories of the Engliſh fanatics and courtiers of the ſeventeenth century, it compenſates the deficiency by the poſſeſſion of many excellences, which Hume's narrative does not poſſeſs, and which are of much more ordinary application and general uſe in hiſtorical compoſition, than powers that can only be called forth by the downfal of kingdoms and hierarchies, or the romantic valour and faithfulneſs of Sydneys and Falklands. It deſerves to be remarked, alſo, that Dr Robertſon's ſubjects were infinitely more difficult, more various, and leſs ſuſceptible of decoration, than Mr Hume's. He has, in fact, brought within the range of civil hiſtory, and the province of the hiſtoric muſe, various ſubjects that had formerly been confined to the dry pages of the geographer and the naturaliſt. His Hiſtory of America, in our opinion the fineſt of his performances, though perhaps not the moſt faultleſs, abounds in examples of this bold originality of plan, which neither formed any feature of his general intellectual character, nor, we believe, of his paſſions and actions. We ſhall preſent our readers with the following ſtatement of Mr Stewart's opinion upon this unrivalled ſpecimen of hiſtorical compoſition, which at once expreſſes our ſentiments, and exhibits one of the moſt ſplendid efforts of Mr Stewart's own diſtinguiſhing vein of eloquence.

'After theſe teſtimonies to the excellence of the American Hiſtory, joined to twenty years poſſeſſion of the public favour, it may perhaps be thought preſumption in me to interpoſe my judgment with reſpect to its peculiar merits. I cannot help, however, remarking (what appears ſtill more characteriſtical of this than of any of Dr Robertſon's other works) the comprehenſive ſurvey which he has taken of his vaſt and various ſubject, and the ſkilful arrangement by which he has beſtowed connexion and ſymmetry on a maſs of materials ſo ſhapeleſs and diſjointed. The penetration and ſagacity diſplayed in his delineation of ſavage manners, and the unbiaſſed good ſenſe with which he has contraſted that ſtate of ſociety with civilized life, (a ſpeculation in the proſecution of which ſo many of his predeceſſors had loſt themſelves

ſelves in vague declamation or in paradoxical refinement), have been much and deſervedly admired. His induſtry, alſo, and accuracy in collecting information with reſpect to the Spaniſh ſyſtem of colonial policy, have received warm praiſe from his friends and from the public. * But what perhaps does no leſs honour to the powers of his mind than any of theſe particulars, is, the ability and addreſs with which he has treated ſome topics that did not fall within the ordinary ſphere of his ſtudies; more eſpecially thoſe which border on the province of the natural hiſtorian. In the conſideration of theſe, although we may perhaps, in one or two inſtances, have room to regret that he had not been ſtill more completely prepared for the undertaking by previous habits of ſcientific diſquiſition, we uniformly find him intereſting and inſtructive, in the information he conveys; and happy, beyond moſt Engliſh writers, in the deſcriptive powers of his ſtyle. The ſpecies of deſcription, too, in which he excels, is peculiarly adapted to his ſubject; diſtinguiſhed, not by thoſe picturesque touches which vie with the effects of the pencil in preſenting local ſcenery to the mind, but by an expreſſion, to which language alone is equal, of the grand features of an unſubdued world. In theſe paſſages, he diſcovers talents, as a writer, different from any thing that appears in his other publications; a compaſs and richneſs of diction the more ſurpriſing, that the objects deſcribed were ſo little familiarized to his thoughts, and, in more than one inſtance, rivalling the majeſtic eloquence which deſtined Buffon to be the hiſtorian of nature.

'After all, however, the principal charm of this, as well as of his hiſtories, ariſes from the graphical effect of his narrative, wherever his ſubject affords him materials for an intereſting picture. What force and beauty of painting in his circumſtantial details of the voyage of Columbus; of the firſt aſpect of the New Continent; and of the interviews of the natives with the Spaniſh adventurers! With what animation and fire does he follow the ſteps of Cortes through the varying fortunes of his vaſt and hazardous career; yielding, it muſt be owned, ſomewhat too much to the influence of the paſſions which his hero felt; but beſtowing, at the ſame time, the warm tribute of admiration and ſympathy on the virtues and fate of thoſe whom he ſubdued! The arts, the inſtitutions, and the manners of Europe and of America; but, above all, the ſplendid characters of Cortes and of Guatimozin, enable him, in this part of his work, to add to its other attractions that of the fineſt contraſts which occur in hiſtory.

'On theſe and ſimilar occaſions, if I may be allowed to judge from what I experience in myſelf, he ſeizes more completely than any other modern hiſtorian the attention of his reader, and tranſports him into the midſt of the tranſactions which he records. His own imagination

* We cannot avoid remarking, on this ſentence, that, independent of our radical objections to the propoſition implied in it, the tameneſs of the thought and expreſſion is not Mr Stewart's.

was warm and vigorous; and, although in the conduct of life it gave no tincture of enthuſiaſm to his temper, yet, in the ſolitude of the cloſet, it attached him peculiarly to thoſe paſſages of hiſtory which approach to the romantic. Hence many of the characteriſtical beauties of his writings; and hence too, perhaps, ſome of their imperfections. A cold and phlegmatic hiſtorian, who ſurveys human affairs like the inhabitant of a different planet, if his narrative ſhould ſometimes languiſh for want of intereſt, will at leaſt avoid thoſe prepoſſeſſions into which the writer muſt occaſionally be betrayed, who, mingling with a ſympathetic ardour among the illuſtrious perſonages whoſe ſtory he contemplates, is liable, while he kindles with their generous emotions, to be infected by the contagion of their prejudices and paſſions.' p. 111—115.

If, in a ſtyle which has received ſuch unqualified admiration from the public, as well as from the moſt judicious critics of the age, we might be permitted to point out any defect, we ſhould ſuggeſt, that the roundneſs of the narrative, which it ſeems ſo much the author's object to preſerve entire, does not always ſtrike the mind as perfect, upon a ſecond peruſal, even after the ear has been filled and ſatisfied with the firſt. A more minute inſpection frequently diſcovers blanks, rather in the ſenſe than the ſound; which, nevertheleſs, by aſſociation, diminiſh the effect of the ſound as well as the ſenſe. Often, too, we find in the compoſition ſome ſacrifices of the pureſt taſte made to the preſervation of ſymmetry and regularity; morſels inſerted, which are extraneous to the ſubſtance of the maſs; a perpetual attempt always to pleaſe the eye, by ſmoothneſs and equability of ſurface, by gradation and blending of tints, when the general effect of the piece would have been much better ſecured by a ſkilful attention to the general maſſing, grouping, and diſpoſition of the ſubject, and the balancing of the whole deſign, although accompanied with the neglect of a few particular departments. Robertſon has unqueſtionably avoided all thoſe unchaſte graces which, in common language, are uſually denominated tinſel; yet there is certainly ſomething in the whole ſtructure of his periods, which, even at firſt ſight, appears a little artificial. We do not at preſent allude to thoſe circumlocutions which Mr Stewart has well accounted for, by ſuggeſting that they owe their origin to the fear of vulgar or provincial phraſes: we ſpeak of thoſe additions to his periods, which, without at all perverting the meaning, ſeem often to conſiſt rather of tautological explanations, than of parts neceſſary to the ſenſe, and of remarks and inferences of the hiſtorian, which, as they did not form part of his materials, ought to have been given under the ſeparate form of obſervations and conjectures.

The

The ſpeeches which we meet with in the writings of ancient hiſtorians, are confeſſedly the work of the author, put into the mouths of the actors. No modern hiſtorian has indulged his imagination ſo far as to imitate this practice; but we cannot help thinking that ſomething of the ſame kind is imputable to the ordinary ſtyle of them all; more eſpecially, of Mr Gibbon and Dr Robertſon. Theſe excellent writers ſeem to be a great deal too well acquainted with the manners and events of paſt times, and with the very thoughts of the actors in the ſcenes which they deſcribe. In order to give their narrative ſmoothneſs and rotundity, they do not borrow altogether from cotemporary hiſtorians, not even from the accounts of eye-witneſſes. They rather ſeem to tranſport themſelves ſome centuries back, ſeize the places of thoſe eye-witneſſes or cotemporary narrators, and give their deſcriptions as they would have done had they actually occupied thoſe ſituations. Now, we are not ſo faſtidious as to object to this, where the only inducement is the communication of force and novelty to the narrative; but we think ſuch painting may be well ſpared in many caſes, where it has been introduced for the ſole purpoſe of filling up gaps, and adding members to ſentences, in order to match other members which naturally belonged to them.

The conſequence of all theſe circumſtances is, that Dr Robertſon's ſtyle has acquired a degree of regularity not natural to the ſubject, and often bordering on monotony. When a battle is to be deſcribed, or a character drawn, or the effects of contending emotions upon a man's mind, and of difficult circumſtances upon his plans, are to be ſketched, we can almoſt tell beforehand the very periods which we ſhall meet with. In almoſt all theſe branches of narrative, much is indeed left to the fancy of the hiſtorian; and Dr Robertſon appears to have had but little variety in the ſtyle of his imagination, or rather he ſeems to have conceived it neceſſary to adopt always one ſtyle, nay, one cadence of periods, and one ſet of expreſſions, on all thoſe occaſions. Mr Gibbon's ſtyle would have the ſame general appearance, were not its artificial texture perpetually broken by inelegant harſhneſs, ſhaded by quaint obſcurity, and daubed with meretricious ornaments.

We think that Mr Stewart's own ſtyle, chaſte, animated, and elegant as it is, can by no means be reckoned free from an imperfection ſimilar to that with which we have ventured to charge Dr Robertſon's. The ſtream of his diction rolls on with admirable ſmoothneſs, ſometimes with conſiderable rapidity, and with great variety of windings, though unbroken in its courſe. Its ſound changes from time to time in loudneſs. The muſic is always grateful, often charming; but ſometimes its effect is to lull, rather than to rouſe the attention.

Both the ſtyle of Dr Robertſon and that of his biographer, would have been improved by a little negligence, even by a little roughneſs, and occaſional harſhneſs of expreſſion; by now and then diſplaying thoſe careleſs efforts of ſtrength, which mark the reach of a maſter genius, and 'here and there diſcloſing a brave neglect,' which would alarm an ordinary mind.

Theſe remarks, we are ſenſible, would be extremely miſplaced upon any common occaſion. They belong excluſively to works of genius which far ſurpaſs the uſual ſtandard. Had an ordinary writer publiſhed a tract, in any degree approaching to the excellence either of Dr Robertſon's or Mr Stewart's compoſition, we ſhould naturally have thought that he had done more than enough, and ſhould have pronounced our unqualified approbation: but at preſent we are ſpeaking of works in which the ſtyle forms an important ingredient, and of authors whoſe merits muſt be tried by the moſt delicate and ſuſceptible teſts.

The ſtyle of Mr Stewart, although it reſembles Robertſon's, in being liable to the criticiſm which we have juſt now preſumed to offer, is nevertheleſs diſtinguiſhed from Robertſon's, and indeed from every other, by peculiar features of beauty and expreſſion. Its flow and rotundity is perhaps ſuperior to that of moſt other writers upon any ſubject, and far ſuperior to that of either Hume, or Gibbon, or Robertſon himſelf, upon general and abſtract topics. We are acquainted with no author who has ſo happy a faculty of writing *finely* upon matters of ſcience, without admitting into his compoſition any of thoſe puerile conceits, or gaudy ornaments, or fictitious and declamatory periods, which are obviouſly incongruous with the character of philoſophical ſtyle. But there are more marked peculiarities in Mr Stewart's ſtyle, which render it perhaps more eaſily diſtinguiſhed, than that of any author who is not a manneriſt. Theſe it is by no means difficult to *exemplify*; but we are doubtful if we ſhall ſucceed in *deſcribing* them. They perhaps conſiſt rather in a rare union of qualities, which ſeldom appear combined, and a ſingular poſſeſſion of various excellences, unaccompanied by the defects which uſually attend them, than in any ſingle or ſtriking characteriſtic. Indeed all ſuch characteriſtics, as thoſe of Tacitus, Salluſt, Cicero, and even Robertſon, are rather to be viewed in the light of imperfections than beauties. If we examine them, we ſhall find, that all thoſe diſtinguiſhing marks are certain favourite forms of thought or expreſſion, ſtriking and prominent, becauſe unnatural, unexpected, and ſurpriſing; or conſtant repetitions of the ſame pleaſing train of ideas and combinations of words. We think the marks of Mr Stewart's ſtyle are of a purer and higher caſt: it has character without manneriſm, or eccentricity. All the graces of the ſtricteſt propriety are preſerved, combined

bined with animation, adorned by elegance, reconciled to characteriſtic tones of ſentiment and modulations of ſpeech.

This admirable ſtyle is in an eminent degree abſtract: It is drawn from metaphyſical ſources, and adapted to general ſpeculations; but it is as remarkable for clearneſs and perſpicuity, as the ſatires of Swift, or the popular eſſays of Addiſon. It is in a great meaſure metaphorical; ſometimes compaſſing the higher efforts of imagery; generally attracted towards a fanciful, in oppoſition to a plain form of expreſſion; never chargeable with florid or indecent ornaments; and as diſtant from the ludicrous (ſo nearly allied to all the higher ſtyles), as the reaſonings of the Principia, or the narration of the Optics. But nothing is more remarkable in the compoſition of Mr Stewart, than the calm and unimpaſſioned manner in which his ſentiments are delivered—a calmneſs very diſtant from cold or inanimate writing. Nothing tends ſo much to prepoſſeſs us in his favour as a reaſoner, and to diſarm our minds of any prejudices that we might have entertained againſt his doctrines: nothing ſo completely marks the philoſophical ſtyle. This is a ſpecies of eloquence almoſt peculiar to Mr Stewart. The congenial nature of his favourite ſubjects, gives it the greateſt ſcope; and although it conſiſts as much in qualities of thought and matter, as of expreſſion and compoſition, it is that feature of his writings, which, more than any other, beſtows upon them their intereſt and charms. He delights, too, it may be remarked, in certain ſimple and expreſſive words or phraſes, which, when cautiouſly uſed, add much to the force, and greatly ſuſtain the dignity of a compoſition. Theſe he often uſes with great felicity; but they are the ornament of which he is the leaſt ſparing. We are rather inclined to think, that their frequent introduction tends to increaſe the monotony of his periods. This circumſtance is the more to be regretted, that ſuch phraſes and epithets derive their principal effect from their rare occurrence. In the uſe of another kind of phraſes, Mr Stewart is often very fortunate, and ſometimes a little too profuſe: we allude to certain general deſcriptive or narrative expreſſions, which are neceſſary to preſent an idea not eaſily ſpecified, by leaving more to the force of the reader's conceptions than is always ſafe. The adoption of this mode of expreſſing one's ideas, is delicate and dangerous in the extreme; for it is as nearly allied to looſeneſs and careleſſneſs, as the ſublime is to the ludicrous, or the metaphorical to the florid. It is principally in the adoption of certain metaphyſical abſtract terms, that we conceive our author to be a little incautious.

By theſe two modes of expreſſion chiefly—by the uſe of ſimple phraſes, which derive much of their power from aſſociations and

found, and by the introduction of general and philosophical terms, which leave much to the reader's mind after directing it into the proper channel—Mr Stewart fills up those finer passages, where language is required to make its greatest efforts, to pourtray the most fleeting and delicate forms of thought. As one writer describes by simile; another by skilful enumeration of particulars; a third by fine quotation from those classics whose beauties are universally well known, like the beauties of nature: our author, in a more abstract and comprehensive manner, presents a great general idea, rather than a peculiar feature of his subject; awakens lively associations, by indirect movements, and conjures up those conceptions which are perhaps a little factitious, and owe their origin to the conventional signs of language.

We may farther remark, but it is a defect of almost unavoidable occurrence in a style that abounds with metaphorical and abstract turns of expression, that we not unfrequently find a little inaccuracy, perhaps confusion of figure; and, without any more general illustration, we shall present one or two examples, involving all the peculiarities, both the eminent beauties, and the slight imperfections, which we have now endeavoured to point out. In the following admirable passage, the advantages of choosing the reign of Charles V. for a subject of historical composition, are happily illustrated by a new and appropriate comparison.

'The advantage of making the transactions of a particular nation, and still more the reign of a particular sovereign, a ground-work for such comprehensive views of human affairs, is sufficiently obvious. By carrying on a connected series of important events, and indicating their relations to the contemporary history of mankind, a *meridian* is traced (if I may use the expression) through the vast and crowded map of time; and a line of reference is exhibited to the mind, for marking the bearings of those subordinate occurrences, in the multiplicity of which its powers would have been lost.' p. 89. 90.

Immediately after, we meet with another fine period in Mr Stewart's peculiar style of expression.

'The reader who is previously acquainted with the last scenes of his enterprising and brilliant life, while he follows him through the splendid career of his ambition, can scarcely avoid to indulge occasionally those moral sympathies which the contrast awakens; and to borrow from the solitude of the cloister some prophetic touches, to soften the sternness of the warrior and the statesman.' p. 91. 92.

In the whole of the passage formerly quoted (p. 242-3.), the same peculiarities are observable. In one part of it, we meet with the slight

ſlight and venial inaccuracy of figure which has been hinted at—'*a compaſs and richneſs of diction rivalling the majeſtic eloquence which deſtined Buffon to be the hiſtorian of nature.*' The *diction* of Robertſon rivalled the *eloquence* of Buffon. *Compaſs* and *richneſs* are qualities of that diction, which enabled it to ſtand the competition, and which could only be compared with ſome *quality* of Buffon's eloquence. A rich diction may rival a majeſtic eloquence, or richneſs of diction may rival majeſty of eloquence; but richneſs of diction does not properly rival majeſtic eloquence.

In the following ſentence, we meet with the character of Mr Stewart's ſtyle, although the ſubject is of a nature much more humble and tame than that of the above paſſages.

'A letter from William Lord Mansfield, though it bears no marks of the ſuperior mind of that eminent man, is valuable at leaſt as a teſtimony of his reſpect for Dr Robertſon: nor will it, perhaps, when contraſted with the ſplendour of his profeſſional exertions, be altogether unacceptable to thoſe who have a pleaſure in ſtudying the varieties and the limits of human genius.' p. 103. 104.

We may remark here, that '*a letter of Lord Mansfield*' is contraſted with '*the ſplendour of his profeſſional exertions*'—a figure ſomewhat more violent than the unimportant nature of the occaſion required or juſtified. Perhaps '*the varieties and limits of human genius*' is intended to mean a good deal more than ſeveral ſentences would ſuffice accurately to deſcribe. For the reſt the ſtructure of the period is a good ſpecimen of that repoſe which diſtinguiſhes Mr Stewart's ſtyle.

Before taking our leave of this ſubject, we muſt offer to the author our thanks for the pleaſure which we have derived from his very ſkilful and appropriate illuſtrations drawn from antiquity. The alluſions and quotations which he introduces, diffuſe a claſſical light over the ſubject; awaken a thouſand delightful aſſociations, which endear the diſcuſſions to us; and caſt upon objects, in themſelves not always the moſt elegant or pleaſing until they are ſoftened through diſtance, the charming tints ſpread by the evening of a brighter day.

ART.

ART. XXVII. *The Poetical Works of the late Thomas Warton*, B. D. Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, and Poet-Laureat. Fifth Edition, corrected and enlarged. To which are now added, *Inscriptionum Romanarum Delectus*, and an Inaugural Speech, as Camden Professor of History. Together with Memoirs of his Life and Writings; and Notes, critical and explanatory. By Richard Mant, M. A. Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 2 vol. 8vo. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1802.

IF we may be allowed to judge from our own feelings, the curiosity and expectation of the admirers of Mr Warton can scarcely fail to be agreeably excited by the external appearance of these volumes, which would seem to promise a large accession to the 'poetical works' which the author himself had formerly given to the world. In this expectation, the reader will be quickly undeceived. With some very trifling exceptions, he will find that no addition has been procured to the stock of original composition; and that the industrious editor has swelled out the work to its present size, by the introduction of a very copious admixture of biographical, critical, and explanatory matter.

Among the literary artizans of the present age, it has become a favourite and prevailing occupation to set forth the writings of the older English classics, with all the tediousness of annotation and commentary, which, till of late, was exclusively bestowed on those of Greece and of Rome. For these voluminous compilations, there is an obvious apology in the obscurities which time has thrown over the language, and manners, and accidental associations of a remote period, from which the veil can be withdrawn only by the diligent and fatiguing study of prior and contemporary writers. Even while we turn away, with occasional disgust, from the profuse and tasteless quotations of the black-letter annotator, we are forced in justice to acknowledge the utility of his labours. Such researches are to be regarded as a natural and necessary step in the progress of the literature of every country. We ought to consider them, not as the finished workmanship of an artist, but as the rude materials on which future, and perhaps more enlightened critics, are to employ their powers of selection and combination, and by a more judicious and happy arrangement of which, they may be at length enabled to illustrate and adorn, without encumbering and overwhelming the pages of Spencer, of Shakespeare, and of Milton.

Although the late Mr Warton certainly had the merit of exhibiting to the public one of the earliest and most successful examples of that species of critical research to which we have been alluding, we did not expect to see him, so very soon, become the subject

ſubject of a ſimilar experiment. To unfold their beauties, to illuſtrate their obſcurities, to catch their alluſions, and to trace the forgotten ſources of imitation, are pious duties, which, in behalf of the generality of writers, have been diſcharged only by late poſterity. Whether fortunately or unfortunately for the fame of Mr Warton, we have now before us a very decided exception to this uſual tardineſs of procedure; and in Mr Mant he has already found a biographer and a commentator, who has given an edition of his poetical works that would ſeem intended to vie with the moſt elaborate of thoſe '*cum notis variorum.*'

As a man of genius and a ſcholar, Mr Warton holds a place in the literary hiſtory of his age, which cannot fail to give an intereſt to the events of his life, and the delineation of his character. But in undertaking the taſk of his biographer, Mr Mant labours under the diſadvantage of having been perſonally unacquainted with Mr Warton. For this diſadvantage, no induſtry in the collection of materials, no ingenuity or addreſs in the management of them, can ever fully compenſate. In the chronological narration of facts, or in the impartial eſtimation of literary or political merit, the diſadvantage may be ſurmounted; but it muſt inevitably deprive the repreſentation of manners and character of all that boldneſs, and truth and ſpirit, which give, if not the greateſt value, yet ſurely the greateſt charm to biographical writing.

Mr Mant informs us, that he was himſelf educated under the late Dr Joſeph Warton at Wincheſter ſchool; and he would appear to have there imbibed that admiration of the 'learned brothers,' by which, probably, he was determined to his preſent undertaking. In the collection of the materials from which his narrative is derived, his diligence, we truſt, has been greater than his ſucceſs. Beſides the ſlight ſketches of his author, which have appeared in ſome former biographical compilations, Mr Mant ſeems to have drawn his information from a few of the ſurviving relatives and academical friends of Mr Warton; and among the latter, the name of Dr Huntingford, Biſhop of Glouceſter, appears with peculiar advantage. From epiſtolary correſpondence, that moſt favourite and fertile ſource of characteriſtical anecdote, he has derived but very ſlight aſſiſtance. Mr Warton is ſaid to have been an indolent and careleſs correſpondent; and the few letters which have been preſerved were ſcarcely worthy of inſertion, unleſs as ſpecimens of the artleſs and unaffected good humour of the writer.

Among the writers of literary lives, barrenneſs of incident is an eſtabliſhed topic of apology and regret; and certainly no life of equal length, and of equal importance to letters, can well be conceived to have flowed on in a tenor leſs diverſified or diſturbed by

by caſual events, than that of Mr Warton. Although a divine by profeſſion, he does not appear to have been a very aſſiduous or ſucceſsful votary of fortune in the road of eccleſiaſtical promotion; and his courſe through life is ſcarcely marked by any of thoſe enlivening gradations of preferment, which are uſually recorded with ſo much chronological accuracy and minuteneſs of detail, in the annals of learned churchmen. From the period at which he firſt quitted his father's roof, at the age of ſixteen, when he became a member of the Univerſity of Oxford, till his death, at the age of ſixty-three, his life was completely academical. On ceaſing to be a pupil, he became himſelf an inſtructor; and his reſidence as a Fellow of Trinity College was never interrupted, but by his viſits, during vacation, to his brother at Wincheſter, or by ſhort occaſional excurſions of curioſity or amuſement. During this long period, though he continued to be the boaſt of Oxford, as one of her brighteſt ornaments for genius and learning, yet the ſhare he obtained of the more ſubſtantial rewards of literary eminence, either in the Church or in College, was by no means liberal; a neglect which is ſaid to have excited the indignant exclamations of Warburton, but which, without being fully juſtified, might perhaps be traced to ſome peculiarities of character and of manners not entirely conſonant to rigid notions of academical propriety and reſerve, and which, while they made him the delight of the *common-room*, might be thought incompatible with the more artificial and guarded formalities of office.

Whatever may have been the cauſes which influenced his profeſſional fortunes, they certainly left him at full liberty to follow the literary career to which he was led by the natural bent of his genius. In tracing the different ſteps of his literary progreſs, his biographer is, accordingly, very little diſtracted by extraneous objects; and in the execution of this important part of his undertaking, Mr Mant ſeems entitled to the praiſe of fulneſs, and apparently of accuracy in his details. To praiſe of any higher kind, he does not ſeem to have greatly aſpired; and the modeſty of his pretenſions as an original writer, ought to diſarm criticiſm of her ſternneſs and faſtidious ſeverity. In the view which he has given of the literary labours and literary character of his author, Mr Mant has ſeldom had the temerity to think or judge for himſelf. His aim rather has been, to catch the prevailing opinions and ſentiments which have already gone forth into the world; and he has prudently withdrawn from the more perilous enterpriſe of guiding or correcting the public taſte. His defects in vigour and preciſion are probably compenſated, in ſome degree, by a timid and vague approximation to the truth; and from the details which are preſented, the reader may be enabled to form, for himſelf, a tolerably correct

correct eſtimate of the peculiar character and merits of Mr Warton as a poet, a critic, and an antiquary.

That all the peculiarities of intellectual character, by which individuals are ſo widely diſcriminated, may have had their origin in accidental and extrinſic cauſes, perhaps of ſeeming unimportance, has been, with ſome, a favourite conjectural ſpeculation: but it is rarely that curioſity can be gratified by the actual diſcovery of them in particular inſtances. It would be certainly too much to ſay, that the biographer of Warton has been in this reſpect completely ſucceſsful; yet, to thoſe who are acquainted with ſome of the more ſtriking and noted peculiarities of his taſte, an anecdote, communicated by Dr Huntingford, may probably appear to furniſh an amuſing hint for the ſolution of the problem.

'Dr Joſeph Warton (he obſerves) was accuſtomed to relate a circumſtance, which, though in itſelf apparently unimportant, yet, with reſpect to the writings of Mr Thomas Warton, was perhaps in its effects of conſiderable importance.—When they were both boys, their father took them to ſee Windſor caſtle. The ſeveral objects preſented to their view, much engaged the attention and excited the admiration, of the father and his ſon Joſeph. As they were returning, the father, with ſome concern, ſaid to Joſeph, "Thomas goes on and takes no notice of any thing he has ſeen." This remark was never forgotten by his ſon, who, however, in mature years, made this reflection: "I believe my brother was more ſtruck with what he ſaw, and took more notice of every object than either of us." And there is good reaſon to think, that the peculiar fondneſs for *caſtle imagery*, which our author on many occaſions ſtrongly diſcovers, may be traced to this incident of his early days. That his imagination ſhould afterwards be turned to the deſcription of ſcenes, with which, in his youth, his fancy had been captivated, it is natural to conceive, if we do but recollect, how often the mind takes its complexion and bias through life, from a trivial circumſtance happening before we arrive at manhood.'

Without ſtopping to examine the ſolidity of this ſpeculation, we ſhall only obſerve, that it is by no means invalidated by that appearance of mute inſenſibility with which the firſt impreſſions are ſaid to have been received. The real ſublimity of the object, and the many intereſting aſſociations which it is calculated to excite, may be very naturally ſuppoſed, at the firſt moment of obſervation, to have overpowered his youthful faculties: the ideas left in the memory, which were at firſt indiſtinct and diſtracting, graſped with difficulty, and incapable of being uttered, inſtead of fading away, may have gradually acquired additional vigour and a parmanent influence: and we may be tempted to believe, that the recollection of theſe early impreſſions may have contributed to

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rouſe that fond enthuſiaſm with which, almoſt at the cloſe of life, he ſung the progreſſive glories of this venerable pile,—the proud and ſtupendous monument of the rude magnificence of former ages.

At an early age, Mr Warton began to be diſtinguiſhed as a poet; and, in his firſt and rudeſt efforts, he diſcovered the ſame caſt of genius and manner which characteriſes all his ſerious compoſitions. His moſt prominent feature is a fancy ſplendid and vigorous, which delights to form its objects in picturesque and fantaſtic groupes, but which appears to draw its materials leſs from an extenſive and original obſervation of nature, than from a memory richly ſtored with images rifled from the poetical treaſures of a former period. Without being inſenſible to the charms of claſſical learning, he appears to have been ſtill more powerfully attracted to the literature of what may be called the heroic ages of modern Europe. His mind ſeems to have rioted in the gaudy fictions of the Gothic chivalry and romance. In queſt of 'Gothic manners,' and 'Gothic arts,' he did not ſhrink from the fatigue of exploring the more remote and neglected ſources of this fairy lore: but, above all, the writers from whom he probably firſt caught this enthuſiaſm, who had themſelves been under its powerful influence, and whoſe works were fitted to afford it the moſt full and exquiſite gratification, were unqueſtionably Spenſer and Milton. Indeed, we might perhaps be warranted in ſaying, that his fond admiration of the peculiar beauties of theſe two poets had, in a great degree, ſubdued his own originality of genius. The obvious character, and moſt obvious defect of the poetry of Warton, is a too ſervile imitation, or rather an adoption of their imagery and language. It gives to many of his larger and moſt ſucceſsful compoſitions, too much of the air of a parody or a cento: and, even when his ideas may have been derived from other ſources, or may be regarded as his own, they ſeem, involuntarily, to have embodied themſelves in the borrowed language, and ſet phraſes, of his great maſters.

As it is not our intention to enter into a particular criticiſm on the poems of Warton, which have been long in the poſſeſſion of the public, it would be of little utility or intereſt here to follow his biographer through the detail of their reſpective dates, which he has very properly, and we preſume very accurately given. Of his poetry ſo much has now been ſaid, only as it ſerves to indicate the general character of his mind, and the particular direction which it gave to his literary purſuits. A ſtill more decided proof of the indulgence he had given to his favourite propenſities, was afforded by his 'Obſervations on the Fairy Queen of Spenſer,'

Spenſer,' firſt publiſhed in the year 1754; and of which an enlarged edition was given in 1762. Of the merits of this work, a very fair eſtimate, we believe, has long been formed by the public. The chief praiſe, unqueſtionably, is due to the diſcovery which it made of a new track of reſearch in the literature of early Engliſh poetry and romance, which is certainly by no means incurious or unintereſting in itſelf, and which on all hands muſt be admitted to poſſeſs very great attractions, as conducting almoſt excluſively to the full illuſtration of the great writers of a later period. This track of reſearch, Warton himſelf continued to purſue with great ardour; and even in the earlieſt ſpecimen of his critical talents, we may diſcern the commencement of thoſe inveſtigations which ultimately led him to the accompliſhment of his greateſt and moſt important work, 'The Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry.'

Although the compilation of this elaborate work muſt have occupied much time, and exacted no common ſhare of diligence and induſtry, yet we find the intermediate period, preceding the appearance of the firſt volume in 1774, filled up with many other literary purſuits. Of theſe, Mr Mant has given a particular chronicle. They ſufficiently ſerve to indicate the ardour and verſatility of Warton's mind; but are not, in general, of ſuch a kind as eſſentially and permanently to affect his fame. The moſt conſiderable among them is his ſplendid edition of Theocritus; a work which we believe was received by critical ſcholars with diſappointment, and from which, certainly, his reputation has not derived much increaſe. The undertaking is ſaid to have been preſſed on him by the exhortations of ſome of his literary friends; but we ſuſpect that he had, by this time, become too much a 'truant to the claſſic page,' to perform, with adequate diligence and zeal, the toilſome duties of an editor.

The 'Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry' is a work which has long been ſo perfectly known to the learned, that in this place it would be inexcuſable to enter into any minute examination of its character and merits. In Mr Mant's circumſtantiate details relative to the hiſtory of the work itſelf, the reader who is not altogether a ſtranger to literary hiſtory and anecdote, will meet with very little that is intereſting from its novelty; but, in the life of Warton, ſome degree of prolixity on this head may be forgiven. The unfiniſhed ſtate in which the work has been left by its author, is known to every one. In addition to three ponderous volumes in quarto, a conſiderable portion of the poetical annals of the reign of Elizabeth, and thoſe of the important and intereſting period which followed, till the commencement of the eighteenth century, ſtill remained to be given. At his death, a few ſheets

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of a fourth volume had been printed; but, among his manuſcripts, no diſcovery has been made of any part of the remainder, and a ſuſpicion naturally ariſes, which we cannot help regarding as warranted by the conſtruction and execution of the whole work, that Warton, confiding in his great facility of compoſition, was in the practice of writing immediately for the preſs. The introductory paragraph, containing the general ſcheme of the volume, has been tranſcribed by Mr Mant, and will be read with feelings of regret for the irreparable loſs of ſo valuable a portion of this intereſting work.

In Mr Mant's attempt to eſtimate the merits of the 'hiſtory of Engliſh poetry,' there is a great deal of that feeble ſobriety which diſtinguiſhes moſt of his critical lucubrations: and we expect to be very readily pardoned for avoiding a minute ſtatement or review of his opinions. We will confine our remarks to a ſingle point. When taken as a whole, it is impoſſible to deny that there is a certain lifeleſs maſſiveneſs in 'the Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry,' which, in the peruſal, becomes extremely oppreſſive, and which, with various excellences in other reſpects, has already, we ſuſpect, condemned it to be in the number of thoſe books which are oftener praiſed than read. This, we apprehend, is not to be aſcribed to the bulk of the work, to the minuteneſs of its details, or to the profuſeneſs of its quotations from obſcure and antiquated writers. To thoſe who are not mere loungers in reading, there is in all this a richneſs and fulneſs which would not be without powerful attractions. To us it appears, that the fault is intimately connected with the general frame and conſtruction of the work. In adopting a ſimply chronological arrangement of his materials, inſtead of a ſyſtematic method founded on ſome leading principle, Mr Warton is known to have deviated from the projected plans of Pope, and of Gray; and, in doing ſo, he has been at pains to vindicate his choice, by aſſuring us, that it proceeded from an experimental conviction of the utter impracticability of the latter. How far ſuch an experiment had been ever fairly made, might perhaps be queſtioned, from the rapid and ſlovenly manner in which the compoſition of the work appears to have proceeded. But the real difficulty of the attempt we are inclined to aſcribe, not ſo much to its own impracticable nature, as to the abſence of thoſe ſcientific powers and habits which were requiſite to its ſucceſsful execution. No ordinary ſhares of genius and of taſte may be allowed to Warton; and we ſincerely believe, that in point of mere literary accompliſhment, few men could have been found ſo well qualified for the execution of the particular parts of ſuch a work. But, unqueſtionably, to powers of that higher order which, by a ſort of magical influence, could have

have given the unity, and ſimplicity, and ſtrength of a whole, to an infinite number of ſcattered and various parts, the pretenſions of Mr Warton were extremely moderate. We would not be underſtood to inſinuate, that the plans ſuggeſted by Pope, and by Gray, were very happily conceived, or very judiciouſly digeſted, or that the ſimple adoption of them by Warton would have cured the radical defect of his book. Neither do we mean to ſtate, that an arrangement of a chronological nature was in itſelf utterly incompatible with that higher ſpecies of excellence which he has failed of attaining. The excellence of which we ſpeak, is by no means eſſentially dependent on mere mechanical arrangement; and, by the infuſion of an informing ſpirit into the whole maſs, we ſhould even conceive it poſſible to vanquiſh the diſadvantages of an awkward and unnatural method. The ſucceſsful execution of the plan might probably be attended with the ſacrifice of ſome of thoſe collateral details which Warton has not ſcrupled to collect in his long and deſultory courſe; yet it may be ſafely preſumed, that, with a tolerable ſhare of addreſs, almoſt every thing might be retained and incorporated which is not an offenſive excreſcence even on the miſcellaneous pages of his curious and amuſing work.

During the publication of the ſucceſſive volumes of 'the Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry,' and after the appearance of the laſt of them, Mr Warton continued to amuſe and inſtruct the public by various inferior literary productions. Among theſe, was his ſhort, but ſatisfactory detection of the forgeries of Chatterton; which appeared at a period when it was regarded as ſome merit, to have been among the foremoſt to expoſe the ſhallow impoſtures of that wonderful boy. But the moſt important of his later works was his edition of the Juvenilia of Milton, with very copious annotations, in which he gave full ſcope to that ſpecies of critical diſcuſſion in which he was beſt fitted to excel. His early and intimate acquaintance with the poetry of Milton, and his liberal uſe of Miltonic imagery and language, we have formerly noticed. In return, he here employs himſelf in tracing the obligations of Milton to his poetical predeceſſors; but in his detections there is nothing invidious, or that will not tend to heighten, rather than to lower the admiration of that mighty genius. Even in his imitations, Milton throws aſide every air of ſervility, and moves on with native and unborrowed dignity. The annotations of Warton have been blamed for their exceſſive minuteneſs and prolixity: but we beg leave to profeſs ourſelves of the number of thoſe to whom even his tedioufneſs never ceaſes to be ageeeable. His biographer, with better reaſon, takes occaſion to blame the too frequent and impertinent intruſion of his cenſures on the political o-

pinions and conduct of Milton. The idle asperity of his strictures sounds too much like the still more idle apology of the courtly laureat for appearing as the commentator of the democratic Milton.—These commentaries, and his observations on Spenser, may be now regarded as in some degree supplemental to his great unfinished work on English Poetry.

In accepting the laurel, 'profaned by Cibber, and contemned by Gray,' it would be difficult, and even unjust, to suppose that Warton was not conscious of degradation. Of this feeling there indeed appear to us very evident symptoms in the choice of the subjects, and in the general strain of what, with ludicrous gravity, a former biographer has been pleased to denominate his *official* odes. By excluding the usual topics of adulation, he may be said to have escaped, rather than conquered, the difficulties of his periodical task. His constant excursions into his own favourite regions of Chivalry, remind us too often of the cypress in the sea-piece, and of the '*nunc non erat his locus*' of Horace. In some of them, however, the turn and application is ingenious and happy; and after all, even in his wildest rambles, he is not without the apology of precedent in the father of Lyric poetry himself—his grand predecessor and prototype in the art of *official* ode-writing.

In delineating the private character of Mr Warton, his biographer has gone through his task with the most inefficient and drawling prolixity—such as was to be expected from a writer whose knowledge is derived from casual information, and through whose mind the scattered lights seem to pass without the least tendency to convergence. Of the truth of the likeness, such as it is, we do not pretend to judge; and shall refrain from hazarding any criticisms on its merits in that respect.

We have already observed, that in estimating the literary character of Mr Warton, his biographer generally takes the safe ground of prevailing opinion. Among the few deviations from the noiseless tenour of his way which he has ventured to make, the most eccentric and amusing is a parallel of the literary characters of Warton and Gray. It chiefly consists of a statement, on the one hand, of the many things which Gray projected, and the few he executed; and, on the other hand, of the many similar things which Warton had the industry to carry into actual execution. The result of the comparison is intended to exalt the character of Warton: yet the most partial admirers of Gray would have certainly very little pretence for challenging the award of Mr Mant. In poetry, and in epistolary writing, the palm is given, almost without a struggle, to Gray.

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As the editor and annotator of Warton's poems, Mr Mant has been naturally led to enter into a more minute and careful examination of his poetical character, and the peculiar merits or defects of his compositions of that class. This, although it partakes of the same common nature with the rest, is perhaps the least exceptionable part of Mr Mant's performance: but it would exceed the proper bounds of this article to examine the justness and solidity of his criticisms. As a specimen of his manner, and indeed one of the most favourable which we could have chosen, we shall present our readers with the concluding paragraphs of Warton's life. We would not be understood as implicitly assenting to his panegyric: but a little may be pardoned to the natural partialities of a biographer.

'If these observations are just, it may be concluded, by way of general remark, that notwithstanding his blemishes, for blemishes he undoubtedly had, Warton is entitled to claim no mean rank amongst the poets of his country: that he displays great facility and variety of powers; that his style is forcible and ornamented; his thoughts lofty and dignified; his imagery in his descriptive poetry, select, new, and distinct; in his lyric poetry, gorgeous and magnificent: that in his less serious pieces, he has the humour, without the grossness of Swift; that in his Latin compositions, he shows a true classical taste and feeling; and that in all his poems, though he abounds in imitations of his predecessors, his imitations are not servile, and that what he borrows he makes his own.

'In one department, he is not only unequalled, but original and unprecedented: I mean, in applying to modern poetry, the embellishment of Gothic manners and Gothic arts; the tournaments and festivals, the poetry, music, painting, and architecture of "elder days." Nor can I here refrain from repeating, that, though engaged in his service, the talents were never prostituted to the undue praise of royalty: nor from adding as a topic of incidental applause, that, though he wanders in the mazes of fancy, he may always be resorted to as supplying at least an harmless amusement; and that with Milton and Gray, whom he resembled in various other points, he shares also this moral commendation, that his laurels, like theirs, are untainted by impurity, and that he has uniformly written' (to use the words of another unsullied bard)—

"Verse that a virgin without blush may read."

We will not detain our readers with a particular examination of the remaining part of these volumes. We have already said, that to the text of Warton's poems very little has been added by the present editor; and of that little, no particular notice appears to be requisite. Of the value of Mr Mant's labours as an anno-

tator, we have also hinted our opinion. And judging, as we can only pretend to do, from a cursory inspection, it may be enough to say, that the instruction or amusement we have derived from his notes, has rarely compensated the pain of perpetual interruption in the perusal of the text. From his constant and liberal adoption of the poetical phrases and formularies of a few favourite authors, it is easy to suppose that the poems of Warton must furnish to his annotator abundant opportunities for the display of imitations and parallelisms. These Mr Mant has set himself to trace with the most scrupulous minuteness; and although he has already done more than is sufficient to gratify the curiosity of most readers, yet it would probably be no arduous task to enlarge the collection. This, however, is a hint which we would be sorry to see improved by any future editor. To detect the sources from which the great original poets of any country have silently drawn, is a matter at least of great curiosity, and is often essential to the full illustration of their meaning; but for the cumbrous labours of Mr Warton's annotators, we are not aware that any similar apology can be pleaded.

To the original poetry of Warton, his editor has annexed a small selection of Latin metrical inscriptions, published in 1758. The original edition has long been rare, and almost forgotten: and the present republication will, we presume, be acceptable to every classical reader. It is composed of a few of the choicest flowers, culled from the tasteless and unwieldy collections of Mazochi, Smetius, and Gruter, blended with a few sprigs of modern growth. Those which have been since ascertained to be Warton's, might have imposed on the discernment of a connoisseur; and may be regarded as affording another curious instance of his faculty of imitation.

The volumes conclude with an inaugural oration, pronounced by Mr Warton, on his appointment to the Camdenian Professorship of History in the University of Oxford. The institution of Camden was one of the earliest attempts to innovate on the established system of academical education, by intermingling more liberal and useful studies with the scholastic discipline which had long exclusively prevailed. Of the *boldness* of the innovation we may judge from the duties imposed on the professor of history by the statutes of the University: '*Prælector historicus Camdenianus, bis in qualibet septimana, Lucium Florum, aut alium quemvis antiquioris et melioris notæ historicum, prælegat Artium Baccalaureis et studiosis in jure Civili.*' Leaving the bachelors in arts, and the students in the Civil law of the present day, to their own private studies in the interpretation of Lucius Florus, the Camden professor here announces his design of taking a wider range, more suitable

ſuitable to the genius of the age. In his views of the capabilities of his ſubject, he cannot, however, be accuſed of deviating very extravagantly from the ancient track. Inſtead of aſpiring to thoſe higher ſpeculations, which the *matter* of hiſtory is calculated to ſuggeſt, or aiming to inſtruct his hearers in thoſe leſſons of moral and political wiſdom which give to it its greateſt value, he propoſes to confine himſelf to a critical examination of the literary merits of the great hiſtorians of Greece and Rome. In chooſing this ſubordinate walk, our readers will probably agree with us, that Mr Warton prudently conſulted the vigour and extent of his own powers.

ART. XXVIII. *Practical Obſervations in Surgery, illuſtrated with Caſes.* By William Hey, Eſq. F. R. S. Senior Surgeon to the General Infirmary at Leeds, &c. &c. &c. London. Printed for T. Cadell & W. Davies. 1803. 8vo. 537 pages.

THIS work has many claims to the attention of the practical ſurgeon. It is written by a man who, during a period of more than forty years, ſeems to have enjoyed very favourable opportunities for obſervation, and who has been in the cuſtom of daily committing to paper whatever appeared to him to be new, or peculiarly inſtructive in practice. In communicating the reſult of his experience to the public, Mr Hey uniformly ſpeaks with a proper degree of modeſty of his ſucceſs, and of the improvements which he conceives he has introduced into the practice of his art; while at the ſame time he acknowledges, with a frankneſs and candour which do him much honour, the miſtakes he has occaſionally committed. Unlike, in their nature and object, to the ephemeral medical productions of the day, theſe 'Practical Obſervations' may be regarded as a legacy bequeathed to the coming, rather than as a recommendatory introduction to the preſent generation.

The work now before us will not readily admit, nor does it ſeem to us to require, a regular analyſis. In reviewing it, therefore, we conceive we ſhall beſt fulfil our duty to the public, by pointing out ſome of thoſe modes of practice which ſeem to be peculiar to the author, and the particular points in which we may happen to differ from him in opinion.

The firſt chapter is entitled, 'On fractures of the ſkull,' and ſeems to have been written chiefly with a view to recommend the uſe of a ſmall ſaw, in place of the inſtrument called Trephine, in removing depreſſed portions, or too prominent points of the

ſkull

skull. Mr Hey gives, in a plate, figures of two forms of this saw; one with a semicircular, the other with a straight edge.

'The straight-edged saw (he observes) executes its task with greater readiness; but the convex edge is necessary when the bone is to be sawed in a curvilinear direction. It is also useful when the thickness of that part of the cranium which is to be sawed out is very unequal.

'This instrument is worked with ease, if the pressure made upon it by the hand is light. It saves much time in cases of extensive fracture, where the repeated application of a trephine would have been needful; and it may be used with less danger of wounding the dura mater, if the same precautions are used in examining, from time to time, the depth of the groove, as is necessary in the use of the trephine.'

In this chapter, two cases of caries of the tibia are related, in which a cure was effected by removing the diseased bone with instruments. They are obviously cases in which most surgeons would have judged it necessary to have had recourse to amputation. The mode of practice adopted in these cases by Mr Hey, certainly deserves a more extensive trial than it has hitherto received.

The chapter 'on Cataract' contains many curious facts, and some original observations. Mr Hey is a strenuous advocate for the method of cure by *couching*. He has given very accurate figures of the needle he employs. It differs from the common, by being nearly one half shorter; by having a semicircular, instead of a pointed extremity; and by its increasing gradually in diameter from the extremity to the handle. Its principal merit, however, would seem to us to consist in being smaller than the common needle. This circumstance has not in general been sufficiently attended to, though we believe it will be found that the degree of inflammation succeeding to the operation of *couching*, will be in some measure proportional to the size of the needle which is used. From the shortness of Mr Hey's instrument, it is easy, in operating, to judge of the depth in the eye to which the instrument has penetrated. We doubt whether the comparison of this instrument with the common needle be in all respects fair. Some of the defects attributed to the old instrument are common to both, and are perhaps inseparable from every form of cataract needle that can be conceived.

Mr Hey has observed, that when the needle is pushed through the coats of the eye, in a direction parallel to the iris, that the eye is apt to roll; but that by directing the point of the needle to the centre of the eye, that organ is rendered steady, and the needle passes through its coats, without any danger of wounding either the iris or the ciliary processes. The point of the instrument

ſtrument is to be carried forwards till it reach the centre of the cryſtalline; but as it is in this part of the operation that our author's practice ſeems to us to be peculiar, we ſhall give his account of it in his own words.

'If, in bringing forwards the point of the needle, I perceive the cataract to advance, and dilate the pupil, I then know that the cataract is firm, and that the needle is in contact with its poſterior part. The preſſure uſed in bringing forwards the cataract, ſometimes cauſes the point of the needle to ſink ſo far into the cryſtalline, and to become ſo much entangled in its more tenacious part, that the depreſſion may be completed, though the inſtrument has not been ſeen through the pupil. When, therefore, the appearance which I have mentioned takes place, I do not perſiſt in bringing forwards the point of the needle, leſt the iris ſhould be injured by the too great dilatation of the pupil; but I depreſs the point, and at the ſame time carry it backwards. If this motion of the needle removes the cataract from its place, the operation is uſually concluded without any farther trouble.

'If the cataract does not follow the motion of the needle, I cautiouſly bring forward its point through the ſofter part of the cryſtalline, till I can ſee my inſtrument through the pupil, and then proceed in my attempts to effect the depreſſion. In theſe attempts, I always move the needle backwards, as well as downwards; for the operator ought always to be ſure, that his needle is behind the ciliary proceſſes when he moves it upwards or downwards. Before I withdraw the needle, I uſually elevate its point a little, to ſee whether the cataract riſes again when the preſſure is removed. If it does, the preſſure is renewed once or twice, and the needle is then withdrawn. I always endeavour to lodge the cataract below the place where my needle entered the vitreous humour, and withdraw the needle in a direction nearly parallel with the axis of the pupil.

'Though I do not think it adviſeable to perſiſt in preſſing an entire cataract into the anterior chamber, when the advance of the cataract cauſes a large dilatation of the pupil; yet after the needle has wounded the capſule, a firm cataract, or at leaſt its nucleus, will ſometimes ſlip through the pupil, without the deſign of the operator. This has been conſidered by ſome authors as a diſagreeable circumſtance, and has been ranked amongſt the objections to the operation of couching. On the contrary, it ought to be conſidered as a favourable event; ſince the cataract always diſſolves in the aqueous humour, and finally diſappears, without any injury to the eye. This, at leaſt, has been the event in every caſe of the kind which I have ſeen. I have ſix or ſeven times ſeen the whole opake nucleus fall into the anterior chamber of the eye, and very frequently ſmall opake portions. Indeed, if the cataract could, in all caſes, be brought into the anterior chamber of the eye, without injury to the iris, it would be the beſt method of performing the operation. But this is not uſually practicable; the ſoftneſs, as well as the bulk of the cataract, preſenting an obſtacle to this proceſs.

'If

'If the cryſtalline, or rather its capſule, is found to adhere in part to the iris, great caution ſhould be uſed in our attempts to deſtroy the adheſion; as it is much more ſafe to repeat the operation after a gentle attempt, than by continuing the uſe of force, to riſk the danger of an inflammation. It is uſeful, in this caſe, to lift up the cataract with the needle; as elevation may be ſucceſsful, where depreſſion has failed. Mr Warner ſucceeded, at the fourth operation, in deſtroying an adheſion of the iris; and I have repeated the operation oftener than four times, with advantage, rather than incur the hazard of inflammation, which might have left my patient in total blindneſs.

'Hitherto, the cataract has been conſidered as firm, and capable of bearing the preſſure of the needle; but, in the greater number of caſes which have fallen under my care, the cataracts have been found ſo ſoft, as to permit the needle to paſs through them in all directions. In this ſtate of the diſeaſe, I do nothing more than break down the texture of the cataract, and endeavour to puncture, or tear off a portion of the capſule, that the aqueous humour may flow in upon the broken cataract. In doing this, it is common to ſee ſome fragments of the cataract fall, through the pupil, into the anterior chamber of the eye. I am always glad to ſee this take place; as I then know that there is a paſſage opened for the admiſſion of the aqueous humour, and that thoſe opake fragments, which have paſſed through the pupil, will ſoon diſappear.

'Sometimes the cataract is ſo uniformly ſoft, that the paſſage of the needle through it makes no alteration in its appearance. This ſpecies of cataract was conſidered by the late Mr Sharp and Mr Warner, as incurable. In this opinion, theſe excellent authors were certainly under a miſtake; for I find, that although an uniform ſoftneſs of the cataract may require a more frequent repetition of the operation, it affords no permanent impediment to the cure. Upon repeating the operation in ſuch caſes, I have often found that the firſt operation had produced more effect than at the time of operating it appeared to produce. The cataract, upon a ſubſequent operation, appears more broken, and irregularly opake. Some portions may now be removed, which before appeared immoveable; ſome fall into the anterior chamber; and the remainder becomes gradually diſſolved into its original ſituation.' p. 57.–62.

The aſſertion, p. 42. that 'the point of a needle, which has penetrated the coats of the eye behind the ciliary ligament, cannot be brought into the poſterior chamber without paſſing through the cryſtalline,' is not ſupported by an accurate anatomical inveſtigation of theſe parts. If the needle employed in performing the operation for cataract be curved at the point, and its convexity be turned towards the iris, we know from trial, both on the dead and living eye, that by inſinuating it between the capſule of the lens and the ciliary proceſſes, it can be brought over the upper edge of the cryſtalline, into the poſterior chamber, without

without wounding either the lens or the iris. This is a mode of operating in cataract, which has been described by several very eminent oculists upon the Continent; and a mode which bids fairer than that practised by our author, to prevent the formation of secondary membranous cataract, either by depressing the capsule along with the lens, or by rupturing it so, that its parts shall recede sufficiently, to admit the rays of light into the bottom of the eye, should it afterwards become opake.

Mr Hey concludes his account of cataract, with a very satisfactory refutation of some of the unfair and ill-founded objections of Baron Wenzel, to the operation by *couching*. We cannot go so completely along with our author, when he endeavours to prove the decided superiority of the mode of operating by couching to that by extraction. Each mode of operating has, we conceive, its peculiar advantages, and each its peculiar defects; and we should be sorry to see either mode practised, to the complete exclusion of the other. In deciding upon the comparative merits of the two operations, the partizans of each have generally appealed to their own individual experience; and it has been but too common with them to attribute to the mode of operating, accidents and evils, which are owing, in a great measure, to the unskilfulness and improper management of the operator.

Chapter Third treats of Strangulated Hernia; and contains the history of many interesting cases, skilfully and ably treated, with some very judicious practical remarks. The following paragraph conveys a sufficiently distinct account of Mr Hey's mode of dilating the abdominal ring.

'The next step is to enlarge the aperture through which the prolapsed parts have descended from the abdomen, by dividing the aponeurosis of the external oblique muscle, together with the neck of the hernial sac, which sometimes produces the principal part of the stricture. If the tip of the fore-finger can be sufficiently introduced to conduct the bubonocele knife, the division may be made in this way with the greatest advantage. It should be made upwards and a little outwards, when the hernia descends through the abdominal ring; and in this species of hernia I have never found any difficulty in executing this part of the operation.' p. 147. 148.

Upon this mode of dilating the ring, we must observe, that when the stricture is seated solely in the tendinous fibres crossing the pillars of the ring, and surrounding its orifice, the complete division of the parieties of the abdomen seems to be wholly unnecessary. This mode of removing the stricture, not only tends to weaken the parieties of the abdomen, but may even be attended with fatal consequences in those cases in which the epigastric artery is

We ſhall not add to the prolixity of this review, by entering into critical examinations of the doctrines and modes of practice contained in the remaining parts of this work. We have ſaid enough to recommend it to the attention of our ſurgical readers; and we would not willingly diſpute about minute or unimportant points with an author from whom we have received ſo much valuable inſtruction.

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ART. I. *A Series of Plays, in which it is attempted to delineate the Stronger Passions of the Mind; each Passion being the subject of a Tragedy and a Comedy.* By Joanna Baillie. Vol. II. London. 1802.

THESE plays require a double criticism; first, as to the merit of the peculiar plan upon which they are composed; and, secondly, as to their own intrinsic excellence.

To such peculiar plans, in general, we confess that we are far from being partial; they necessarily exclude many beauties, and ensure nothing but constraint: the only plan of a dramatic writer should be, to please and to interest as much as possible; but when, in addition to this, he resolves to write upon nothing but scriptural subjects, or to imitate the style of Shakespeare, or to have a siege, or the history of a passion in every one of his pieces, he evidently cuts himself off from some of the means of success, puts fetters upon the freedom of his own genius, and multiplies the difficulties of a very arduous undertaking.

The writer of the pieces before us, has espoused the patronage of what she has been pleased to call *characteristic truth*, as the great charm of dramatic composition; and, in order to magnify its importance, has degraded all the other requisites of a perfect drama to the rank of very weak and unprofitable auxiliaries. With a partiality not at all unusual in the advocates of a peculiar system, she admits, indeed, that a play may have qualities that give nearly as much pleasure; but maintains, that this is altogether owing to the *folly* of mankind, and that if we were constituted as we ought to be, we should care very little for any thing but the just representation of character in our dramatic performances. This sentiment, we think, is pretty clearly expressed, in the following passage of the 'Introductory Discourse,' prefixed to the former volume.

'Our love of the grand, the beautiful, the novel, and, above all, of the marvellous, is very strong; and if we are richly fed with what we have a good relish for, we may be weaned to forget our native and favourite aliment: yet we can never so far forget it, but that we shall cling to, and acknowledge it again, whenever it is presented before us. In a work abounding with the marvellous and unnatural, if the author has any how stumbled upon an unsophisticated genuine stroke of nature, we shall immediately perceive, and be delighted with it; though we are *foolish enough*, at the same time, to admire all the nonsense with which it is surrounded.'

Now, we really cannot perceive why the admiration of novelty and grandeur should be considered as more foolish, than the admiration of just sentiments, or consistent character. The same power that gave us a relish for the one, formed us to be delighted with the other; and the wisdom that guides us to the gratification of the first propensity, can scarcely condemn our indulgence in the second. Where the object is to give pleasure, nothing that pleases can be foolish; and a striking trait of characters, or of nature, will only please the more, when it occurs in a performance, which has already delighted us with its grandeur, its novelty, and its beauty. The skilful delineation of character, is no doubt among the highest objects of the drama, but this has been so generally admitted, that it was the less necessary to undervalue all the rest. The true object of the drama, is to interest and delight; and this it can frequently accomplish, by incident, as effectually as by character. There are innumerable *situations* that excite our sympathy in the strongest degree, though the characters of those who are placed in them be left almost entirely to be filled up from our general conceptions of human nature. Mothers bereaved of their children; lovers separated or restored to each other; the young and valiant cut off by untimely death; tyrants precipitated from their thrones; and many other occurrences or representations, are capable of awakening the highest interest, and the most anxious curiosity, although the character should be drawn only with these vague and undistinguishing features that fancy has associated with the situation.

But, even if we could agree with Miss Baillie, that the striking delineation of character was the cardinal excellence of the drama, we should find great difficulty in admitting that her plan was the most likely to ensure its attainment. The peculiarity of that plan consists in limiting the interest of the piece, in a great degree, to the developement of some one great passion in the principal character, and in exhibiting this passion in all the successive stages of its progress, from its origin to its final catastrophe. It

does

does not appear to us that either of these observances is well calculated to increase the effect of any dramatic production.

If any thing more is meant by limiting the interest of the piece to the consequences of a single passion, than is implied in the vulgar rules for preserving unity of character and of action, we are inclined to think, that something more is meant than can very easily be justified. The old maxims evidently require the predominancy of certain motives in the minds of the leading characters, and a certain consistency in the sympathies that are excited by their fortunes. To carry these restrictions still farther, and to confine the whole interest of the story to the developement of a single passion, seems to us to be altogether impracticable, and could not even be attempted, in a very imperfect degree, without violating that unity of action by which the general effect of the piece would be very materially impaired. To confine the attention, and tie down the sympathies to the observance of one master passion through a whole play, is plainly impossible; first, because that passion, in order to prove its strength, must have some other passion to encounter and overcome in the bosom where it is at last to reign; and, secondly, because a certain portion of our sympathy must necessarily be reserved for the fate and the feelings of those who are the objects and the victims of this ruling passion in the hero. The first partition of our sympathy is altogether unavoidable; and Miss Baillie herself has accordingly been forced to submit to it. *Count Basil* is distracted between love and a passion for military glory; and the interest and sympathy excited by the whole story, may be referred to the one passion, just as properly as to the other. *De Montfort* is represented as struggling between a high sense of honour, and a frantic and disgraceful antipathy; nor could the latter have been made interesting in any degree, unless our sympathy had first been very powerfully engaged for the former. *Ethwald*, in like manner, is agitated by ambition, and gratitude, and personal attachment; and pleases us as much by his generosity and kind affections, as he terrifies us by the consequences of his thirst for power. The second division of interest that is claimed by those who inspire or oppose the domineering passion of the chief personage, is scarcely less necessary. We cannot easily sympathise with a lover, unless we take some concern in the object of his attachment; and are seldom much offended by the oppressions of a tyrant, when we do not enter very warmly into the feelings of those whom he oppresses. The only way in which the interest we take in the story can be in any degree engrossed by the hero, is to provide him with a succession of inferior patients and observers, through whom he moves in the grand career of his passion, and who are successively forgotten for the

the sake of those who replace them. By this contrivance, which is but seldom practicable, it is very obvious, however, that the interest of the piece is impaired and dissipated, and the unity of the action entirely broken. Miss Baillie has had recourse to it in the tragedy that occupies so large a portion of the present volume; and every reader of Ethwald must acknowledge, that the interest of the play is exceedingly diminished by the constant introduction and renewal of the inferior characters; and that the catastrophe, which is accomplished by persons with whom we have scarcely any previous acquaintance, is but ill calculated to produce any strong or satisfactory impression.

The peculiarity of Miss Baillie's plan, however, does not consist so much in reducing any play to the exhibition of a single passion, as in attempting to comprehend within it a complete view of the origin, growth, and consummation of this passion, under all its aspects of progress and maturity. This plan seems to us almost as unpoetical as that of the bard who began the tale of the Trojan war from the egg of Leda; and really does not appear very well calculated for a species of composition, in which the time of the action represented has usually been more circumscribed than in any other. Miss Baillie, however, is of opinion, that it will turn out to be a very valuable discovery; and insists much upon the advantage that will be gained by adhering to it, both in the developement of character, the increase of interest, and the promotion of moral improvement. We are afraid that these expectations are more sanguine than reasonable.

To delineate a man's character, by tracing the progress of his ruling passion, is like describing his person by the yearly admeasurement of his foot, or rather by a termly report of the increase of a wen, by which his health and his beauty are ultimately destroyed. A ruling passion distorts and deforms the character; and its growth, instead of developing that character more fully, constantly withdraws more and more of it from our view. The growth of the passion is not the growth of the mind; and its progress and symptoms are pretty conform, in whatever subject it may have originated. *Amor omnibus idem*, at least, says the poet; and it may fairly be admitted, that men become assimilated, by their common subjection to some master passion, who had previously been distinguished by very opposite characters. To delineate character, therefore, by the progress of such a passion, is like following a cloud of smoke, in order to discriminate more clearly the objects that it envelopes.

These considerations are so very obvious, that though Miss Baillie has certainly talked a great deal about tracing a passion from

from its origin, we are persuaded that she really did not expect much assistance from this maxim in the delineation of character. She has built, in general, upon a truer ground; and seems to have perceived very clearly the method of employing a predominating passion, so as to give brilliancy and effect to characteristic representation. This method, which, however, is by no means new, consists principally in the occasional introduction of the passion, or peculiar turn of mind, in transactions of inferior moment, and in circumstances where it does not serve at all to help forward the action of the piece. By this apparently accidental disclosure of consistency, a stamp of nature and reality is given to the whole delineation; and the glimpses that are thus caught of the hero, in the course of his ordinary deportment, serve, in a manner, to confirm those impressions that had been excited by his more studied and imposing appearances. In private life, and on trifling occasions, the splendid drapery of the passions is usually laid aside; and, if we are permitted to look in upon them in this situation, we fancy that we recognise their genuine features with less uncertainty. If care be taken, therefore, to relieve the glare and pomp of the main action, by the insertion of a few such casual incidents, we seem to be let into the interior of the character, and attain a certain familiarity with the chief personages, that renders our conception of their whole character much more lively, entire, and impressive. It is upon this principle, that the effect of most of the fine strokes of nature and of character, which occur in the writings of the poets, will be found to depend; and it is a principle, that has been quite familiar to criticism, ever since it was illustrated by the ancient commentators of Homer.

But, though Miss Baillie has not overlooked this powerful instrument, for the developement of characteristic effect, there is another, of still greater importance, which appears to be, in a good measure, excluded by her doctrine of the unity of passion. The art to which we now allude, is that by which an appearance of individual reality is communicated to an ideal personage, and the functions of a dramatic hero assigned to a living being, with the whole of whose capacities and dispositions we are made to feel that we are acquainted. This poetical deception, however, can never be accomplished by the display of a single passion, and cannot even take place, we should imagine, where such a display is made the chief object of our attention. It is to be effected, indeed, only by an occasional neglect and intermission of the principal action, and of the passions by which that action is forwarded, by the introduction of arbitrary and inconsiderable occurrences, and slight and transient indications of habits, sentiments,

ments, and failings, that could not have been inferred from the conduct or emotions of the chief characters in the greater incidents of the piece. It is by these, and by these alone, that a definite object can be created for our sympathies to attach upon, and the true image of a living man be presented to our imagination. There is no man alive, of whose whole character we could judge merely from his conduct or expressions in some important transaction; and our sympathies are always but feebly excited for those with whose internal feelings we are so imperfectly acquainted. It is not enough, therefore, that the qualities bestowed upon our heroes be suitable to the conduct which is assigned them, or consistent with each other. A naked combination of the qualities necessary to account for the action, will never make up the idea of a real and entire man. There must be a delineation of those, also, that are of no use at the moment, and are not necessarily implied by the presence of the leading features. Without these, an action, indeed, may be represented; but the actors will be utterly unknown, and all impression of reality, along with every emotion of individual sympathy, will be utterly excluded. A play, which discriminates its characters only by the great and leading passions that are essential to the parts they have to sustain, must be as deficient in interest and effect, therefore, as a picture which shows no more of the figures than is necessary to explain its subject; that displays the hand of the murderer, and the bleeding bosom of his victim, but omits all representation of the countenance and gestures of either, or of those circumstances in the surrounding scenery which may suggest aggravations or apologies for the crime. By the plan of Miss Baillie, however, these subordinate and arbitrary traits of character appear to be in a great measure excluded. Her heroes are to be mere personifications of single passions; and the growth and varied condition of one grand feature is to be incessantly held out to our observation, while an impenetrable shade is to be spread upon all the rest of the physiognomy. Among the debasements of modern tragedy, against which Miss Baillie declaims with so much animation, there is none, perhaps, so material as this, which her doctrine has so evident a tendency to sanction; nor is there any thing by which the writings of Shakespeare, and Beaumont and Fletcher, are so remarkably distinguished from those of the latter dramatists, as by the individual truth and completeness of their representations of character. They are all drawn with the full lineaments, and just proportions of real men; and, while the qualities, by which their conduct is to be determined, are marked with sufficient boldness and vivacity, the subordinate attributes are not forgotten, by which

which we recognise them to be creatures like ourselves, and are enabled to attach our feelings upon some definite and tangible object.

As to the *moral* effect of the drama, conducted upon this or upon any other plan, we confess that we are disposed to be very sceptical. Those plays are the best, we believe, that have done the least harm. The display of great passions is apt to excite an admiration which is not always extinguished by a fictitious view of their tragical effects; and the exhibition of interesting occurrences may sometimes beget a disgust and contempt for the insipidity of ordinary life. There is something of cant, however, in this also. Plays have, for the most part, no moral effect at all: they are seen or read for amusement and curiosity only; and the study of them forms so small a part of the occupation of any individual, that it is really altogether fantastical to ascribe to them any sensible effect in the formation of his character.

But even if the case were otherwise, and we were to believe all the pretty things that have been delivered by our essayists as to the moral effects of the stage, we really do not perceive that Miss Baillie's plan of composition is at all likely to forward that great and salutary object. It is her persuasion, it seems, that, 'looking back to the first rise, and tracing the progress of passion, points out to us those stages, in the approach of the enemy, where he might have been combated most successfully, and where the suffering him to pass, may be considered as occasioning all the misery that ensues.' Now, though this observation sounds tolerably well when taken in the abstract, it unfortunately fails altogether in the application. The greater part of the passions that are made use of in the drama, are laudable in themselves, and only become vicious in their excess; while, at the same time, their progress is so gradual, that it is frequently almost impossible to say where they ought to have been arrested. To look back to the first rise of such a passion, therefore, will be of no use to us in any case; since it is not till long after that period, that it can become an object of jealousy or alarm; and since the occasions and stages of its increase are so complicated and multiplied, that it must often be impracticable to settle where the vicious series begins. The passion itself, too, may often be confirmed, before it indicates any tendency to evil; and the warning of the drama must either come too late, or lead us to repress some of the noblest and most generous propensities of our nature. The love of Count Basil, for instance, for an accomplished and virtuous princess, has nothing in it that should lead the readers of that tragedy to stifle such an honourable and successful passion in their own bosoms, or to shut the avenues of their hearts to the approaches

approaches of beauty and merit. Ethwald's impatience of obscurity, and his thirst for honourable distinction, in like manner, is a feeling which no moralist would wish to eradicate from a powerful or aspiring mind. In all such cases, the shades, by which a passion graduates into criminality, are so fine, and the temptations and apologies by which its seductions are made effectual, so variously and nicely adapted to the circumstances of the imaginary character, that it is impossible to suppose, for a moment, that any one can be taught to guard against them by the peculiar incidents of one dramatic representation. Every one knows, that violent passions are apt to hurry men into crimes and improprieties; and this vulgar lesson, which surely stands in no need of illustration, can scarcely be brought more home to our feelings by a drama, which can never accommodate its fable to the particular character and situation of individuals.

If there be any passions to which Miss Baillie's dramatic warnings can be applicable, they can only be those, therefore, that are intrinsically and fundamentally vicious, and against the remotest approaches of which we ought to be continually on our guard. Hatred, jealousy, envy, and some others, are in this class; and it may be conceived, that, to trace these to their origin, may contribute to the preservation of our morality, by enabling us to detect them in their rudiments, and to resist them in their infancy. It has happened, however, that Miss B., by a very singular infelicity in the execution of her plan, has been at the trouble to trace the origin and progress of love and ambition with great care and exactness, while she has only given us a view of hatred in its matured and confirmed state. She has taught us, in this way, how to distinguish and resist the first symptoms of those passions, which, in their beginning, are neither criminal nor dangerous; and has left us altogether without any instructions for combating or discovering those other passions that are never for a moment either innocent or satisfactory, and against the first dawnings of which our conscientious vigilance should have been directed. Basil and Ethwald are made to run their whole career of love and ambition before us, while it is almost impossible to say at what period their passions become criminal; while De Montfort presents himself, in the very first scene, the victim of a confirmed and inveterate hatred. If Miss B. really believed that her readers would be better able to resist the influence of bad passions, by studying their natural history and early symptoms, in her plays, she ought certainly to have traced this of hatred to its origin, more carefully than any other, since there is none of which it would be so desirable to cut off the shoots, or extirpate the seeds, at the beginning.

Though

Though it be almost time to conclude those general remarks upon the plan announced on the title-page of this volume, yet we cannot leave the subject without making one remark upon the spontaneous addition that is made to its difficulties, by the extraordinary resolution of making every separate passion the subject of a tragedy and a comedy. Passion, perhaps, is not essential to comedy at all; but the distribution of passions into tragical and comical, is so old, so obvious, and so natural, that we really are at a loss to conceive what strange caprice could have tempted this ingenious writer into so wanton a violation of it. A comedy upon Hatred, sounds as paradoxical to our ears, as an elegy on a wedding, and implies as great a violation of all our customary associations. The constraint that must be submitted to, in order to make out this fantastic piece of uniformity, would deserve our most cordial compassion, if it were not assumed with a certain voluntary perversity: it would not be half so absurd in a manager to insist that all his performers should appear every night, both in a tragic and a comic character.

Upon the whole, then, we are pretty decidedly of opinion, that Miss Baillie's plan of composing separate plays upon the passions, is, in so far as it is at all new or original, in all respects extremely injudicious; and we have been induced to express this opinion more fully and strongly, from the anxiety that we feel to deliver her pleasing and powerful genius from the trammels that have been imposed upon it by this unfortunate system. It is paying no great compliment, perhaps, to her talents, to say, that they are superior to those of any of her contemporaries among the English writers of tragedy; and that, with proper management, they bid fair to produce something that posterity will not allow to be forgotten. Without perplexing herself with the observances of an arbitrary system, she will find that all tragical subjects imply the agency of the greater passions: and that she will have occasion for all her skill, in the delineation of character, and all her knowledge of the human heart, although she should only aim (as Shakespeare and Otway have done before her) at the excitation of virtuous sympathy, and the production of a high pathetic effect. Her readers, and her critics, will then discover those moral lessons, which she is now a little too eager to obtrude upon their notice; and will admire, more freely, the productions of a genius, that seems less incumbered with its task, and less conscious of its exertions.

This volume contains four plays, a comedy upon Hatred, and two tragedies and a comedy on Ambition. We shall make a few remarks upon each of them in its order.

If Miss Baillie had delighted us less with some passages of her tragedies, we should, perhaps, have had more reluctance in saying that we think she ought to write no more comedies. There is no flagrant violation of nature in these productions; and the language is for the most part unusually pure and easy. But there is no comic effect in them; a certain placid cheerfulness and gay good sense runs through the whole of them; but though these qualities form the greatest charm of real life, they are somewhat deficient in lustre and brilliancy for the stage. Though Miss Baillie's taste seems, upon the whole, to be tolerably correct as to the proper tone of pleasing conversation; yet she has no great powers, either of wit or humour, and appears to have made her observations on manners, with great judgment and sagacity, without having acquired the faculty of giving much life or animation to her characters. The story moves on too slowly, and the characters unfold themselves so very gently and leisurely, that even when the delineation is completed, the impression is but indistinct and feeble. Her comedies, therefore, have more the effect of moral tales, than of proper dramatic pieces; and an orderly sober-paced progression of dialogues and incidents, is left to bring out the catastrophe, that ought to have been committed to the chances and exertions of a more rapid, irregular, and varied assemblage. As these pieces turn professedly upon the stronger passions of the mind, we cannot help thinking the incidents, in general, too insignificant for the interference of such mighty agents. The plots are fitter for an after-piece, than for a regular moral drama of five acts; and the attention can scarcely support itself, through so long a period, without the relief of more drollery, variety, and surprise, than the writer has condescended to employ. Besides all this, there is too little *vice*, and too little *danger* in these comedies, to give interest to compositions of so serious a complexion. The greater part of the persons too, have so much good sense and so much good humour, that we are never very much alarmed for their happiness, and are apt to weary a little for the *denouement* that is to reconcile so many good people to each other. From a laudable desire to avoid the affectation or snappishness of modern comedy, Miss Baillie has reduced the language of these pieces, in many places, rather too near to the level of common speech. The dialogue is always deficient in brilliancy, and often in elegance; sometimes it sinks into vulgarity, and sometimes it is puerile and silly.

After these general remarks upon Miss Baillie's comedies, we need not detain our readers with any particular account of 'The 'Election, a comedy on Hatred.' The hero of this piece is the representative of an ancient, but decayed family, who has conceived

ceived an unconquerable antipathy at an opulent clothier for having bought up the greater part of his patrimonial domains, and established himself in a huge brick house within sight of the old baronial castle. They are both very good sort of people; but the tradesman is constantly giving offence by certain impolite allusions to his own riches or influence; and the gentleman is at length exasperated beyond all endurance, by his having the audacity to offer himself as a candidate for the old family borough, which becomes vacant at the beginning of the play. The humours of an election are not represented by Miss Baillie with any great spirit or effect; and, setting these aside, the piece is rather deficient in incident or variety. The characters are as fully developed in the second act, as in the fifth; and as we care very little for the issue of an election in an imaginary borough, we cannot help wishing for the close of the poll a good while before it is announced to us. The incidents that do occur, in the mean time, are certainly of a kind that do not naturally arise out of the character or situation of the parties. The tradesman plumps into a pond, and is fished up by his antagonist, at the risk of his life. The gentleman is then put in prison by some of his creditors, and is liberated by the generosity of his competitor. After this, they go out to fight a duel; and the piece ends with reconciling them, by the discovery of their being *brothers*, the gentleman's father having had an intrigue with the tradesman's mother before marriage. This comedy, we are afraid, will not live to mend the morals of posterity.

It is rather unfortunate for Miss Baillie's tragedies on Ambition, that they can scarcely be read by any body who is not familiar with Shakespeare's Macbeth. We do not remember any instance in which so notorious a model has been so exactly imitated. *Ethwald*, the hero of the play before us, is the son of an aged thane in Mercia, and distinguishes himself in a great battle against the enemies of the kingdom, for which he is rewarded by his sovereign with the earldom of Mairnieth; he then murders the old king, and violently possesses himself of the royalty; he descends into a cavern to consult the weird sisters as to his future destiny, and is terrified at the prediction of his crimes and his misery; he becomes gradually more suspicious, bloody, and ferocious; and is slain at length in his own palace, by a body of those who had escaped from the murderous hands of his assassins. Besides this correct transcript of Macbeth in the main fable, there are many subordinate scenes that are not less evidently borrowed from the same great author. The desolation and musical madness of Bertha, is an apparent copy of Ophelia; the wooing of Elburga, by the avowed murderer of her father, is plainly imitated from the

the scene between King Richard and Lady Anne; and the murder of Edward, with all its preliminary horrors, is compounded of the killing of the princes in the play last alluded to, and the inimitable consultation with Hubert in King John.

There is a good deal too much fighting and slaughtering in these tragedies. There are at least three pitched battles fought upon the stage, each of them lasting through two or three busy scenes; and one act opens with the view of a field covered with the dead and the dying, and is filled to a considerable extent with the last words of the wounded, who expire successively, in all manner of tempers and attitudes. There are also five or six assassinations perpetrated in the sight of the audience; and a head is fairly struck off, and held up to them, towards the conclusion of the piece. None of the dramas that are usually quoted as proofs of the bloodiness of the English theatre, and the barbarity of our national taste, come up to the horrors delineated in these tragedies by the delicate hand of a female.

In the conduct of the fable, there are two great defects. The story goes on a great deal too slowly, and it goes on a great deal too long. Every thing, especially towards the beginning of the piece, is described and transacted at full length before us. The conceptions of the author are commonly good, and they are generally brought out very completely; but it is done with so much labour, so slowly, and at so great length, that it frequently gives a great heaviness to the composition. Miss Baillie cannot insinuate any thing, without expressing it; and is afraid to trust her meaning to a short and incidental intimation. She spreads a broad canvas before her, and puts in every thing that presents itself with the full colouring, and the full proportions of reality. To show that Ethwald, while lost in visions of future royalty, disdains the petty glory and safe achievements of the chase, she makes his two brothers address, each of them, a whole page of blank verse to him, descriptive of the pleasures of hunting; and sets his uncle upon a very dull and useless vindication of himself, from the charges of heresy, which the priests had preferred against him. This apologetical oration, which fills nearly three pages, begins with these mean and miserable verses.

> 'Those cunning priests full loudly blast my fame,
> Because that I, with diligence and cost,
> Have got myself instructed how to read
> The holy Scriptures, which, they would maintain,
> No eye profane may dare to violate,' &c.

This elaborate and excessive fulness of expression is particularly remarkable in those parts of the play, where, in conformity to

to the general plan, the greatest exertions have been used to characterise the ruling passion of the hero. The different tendencies and emotions of an ambitious spirit are represented with considerable truth and sagacity; but they are obtruded upon the reader with so much pains and anxiety, and are delineated with such deliberate and persevering industry, that they fatigue and overwhelm the attention, instead of captivating the imagination, or awakening an unconscious sympathy. Though the play contains, therefore, a great number of good things on the subject of ambition, and even, perhaps, all the good things that could have been said on such a subject, still, there is such a want of compression and vivacity, throughout, that the whole composition has a most cumbersome and massive appearance; and the mind is overloaded, rather than delighted, with the undiscriminating superfluity of the images it affords. The piece, therefore, is more like a rich collection of materials, than a finished work: there are blocks of marble, and beams of cedar, in plenty; but they are not put together with gracefulness or effect: the heavy and coarse parts are not chisseled away, nor the massive and necessary supports sufficiently removed from observation.

To illustrate this observation at full length, would be to quote one half of the drama before us: we shall only observe, that the obvious and well-worn simile, in which an ambitious man is compared to a man climbing up a mountain, is introduced in three different places, and is dilated in one of them into a declamation of nearly twenty verses.

The other grand defect in the construction of these plays, is, the excessive prolongation of the story. All the characters with whom we set out, are killed off before the end of the first six acts, and a second generation of victims is half exhausted, before the tyrant is immolated to their safety. Vengeance is thus executed by a set of persons in whom we take no interest: and not one of those who have suffered by his tyranny, survives to enjoy the retribution. In this particular, Miss Baillie has deviated rather unfortunately from the model which she has followed with so much exactness in the other parts of the fable. In Macbeth, the son of the gracious Duncan survives to avenge his death, and to vindicate his inheritance; and the usurper falls by the hand of the very man for whose injuries we feel the strongest indignation. In Ethwald, the gentle Edward embraces the bloody fate of his predecessor; the deserted Bertha dies unrevenged; brother Selred, and uncle Ethelbert are massacred, without producing any disturbance; and the monster is taken off at last by one Hereulf, of whom we hear nothing till the middle of the sixth

sixth act, and by certain discontented Thanes, who are not even introduced by name to the acquaintance of the reader.

The diction and poetry of those tragedies is certainly entitled to very considerable praise. There is no part of Miss Baillie's introductory remarks better founded, than that in which she condemns the artificial stateliness and wearisome pomp of our modern tragedy. This lofty vein, indeed, has of late years been very generally ridiculed; but it has been supplanted by an opposite excess; and the plain vulgarity and prose ecstacies of the German drama deserve still less indulgence, than the mellifluous majesty of our native dramatic poetry. The writer of these plays has attempted a more temperate reform; and, taking for her model the middle style of Shakespeare's versification, has ventured to bespeak the public attention to a species of composition in which so many of her contemporaries have miscarried. There is something certainly very meritorious in this attempt, and its success has been such as should encourage the author to proceed in it. The principal peculiarity, in the style of these tragedies, is the free use of antiquated terms and phraseology. Miss Baillie has not only imitated the manner of Shakespeare, but has revived his language; and, not contented with making her characters speak more like real men and women than modern dramatists have usually done, she has thought it necessary to make them speak like men and women of the sixteenth century. Now, though something is undoubtedly gained in this way by the poetical and pleasing associations which the genius of Shakespeare has connected with this obsolete diction, it rather appears to us, that Miss Baillie has carried the practice a little into excess, and taken something both from the originality and the ease of her composition, by this decided predilection for a language that is no longer natural. There are many passages in the volume before us, that bear such evident marks of imitation, that we are apt to forget the sentiment they express, and to think more of Shakespeare than of the persons of the drama. The ideas contained in the following passages are not half so remarkable as the exactness with which the diction of our great dramatist is copied in the expression.

'Some do conceit that disembodied spirits
Have in them more capacity of woe
Than flesh and blood maintain.'

'I am as one, who, in a misty dream,
Listens to things wild and fantastical;
Which no congruity, nor kindred, bear
To preconceived impressions.'

'The

'The land is full of blood: and savage birds
O'er human carcases do scream and batten.
The silent hamlet smokes not; in the field
The aged grandsire turns the joyless soil.
Dark spirits are abroad, and gentle truth,
Within the narrow house of death, is laid
An early tenant.'

——'Let that be unto him,
Which in the crowded breach, or busy field,
All meet regardless from a foeman's hand.
Doth the still chamber, and the muffled head,
And the unseen stroke that doth th' infliction deal,
Alter its nature?'

These, however, are very favourable examples, and have much of the spirit and force that was necessary to justify so bold an imitation. There are many passages, however, that are mere centos, and have nothing of Shakespeare but the words: For instance,

'Yes, yes! from out the herd, like a mark'd deer,
They drive the poor distraught. The storms of heaven
Beat on him; gaping hinds stare at his woe;
And no one stops to bid heaven speed his way.'

The following lines are evidently a modern corruption of a fine passage in Macbeth:

'When vision'd horrors, thro' perturbed sleep,
Harden to deeds of blood the dreamer's breast;
When, from the nether world, fell dæmons rise
To guide with lurid flames the murderer's way.'

In her attempts to imitate the familiar and easy style of her great master, Miss Baillie is still more unsuccessful; and as failures in that department are inevitably ridiculous, her ill success is the more to be lamented. The following lines were intended to be pleasant and ironical.

'*Hex.* The King must be inform'd without delay.
Alwy. As quickly as you please, if that you please
To take that office on yourself, good father;
But as for me, I must right plainly say,
I will not venture it; no faith! Of late,
The frame and temper of King Ethwald's mind
Is chang'd,' &c.

An angry Thane, in another passage, goes off the stage with this striking exclamation,

'Mine armour man hath ta'en away my helm,
Faith! and my target too—hell blast the buzzard.'

If

has evidently accented on the first syllable, in the following and other examples:

——'This thickest grove
Has stopped the *pursuit*: here we are secure.'

'Unto the fortunes of their Royal Chief
Their *success* owe.'

——'Fame reports
That ye return with fullest *success* crown'd.'

'I should have known the *support* of thy state,' &c.

There are very few, even among our Scottish versifiers, who would now indulge themselves with so much of their national prosody.

The last play in this volume, is entitled, 'The Second Marriage, a comedy on Ambition;' and we are sensible that we do not speak at all equivocally of its merits, when we say, that it is by far the worst of Miss Baillie's dramatic performances. A more puerile or insipid performance, indeed, is not to be found in M. Berquin's Children's Friend; and as its morality is unexceptionable, we are not without expectation of seeing it included in the next edition of that useful collection. The story is that of a man, who marries a narrow-minded woman of quality, in the hopes of making his fortune, and is nearly ruined by being made the dupe of a crazy projector. The interest of the piece consists in the discontent of the children with their step-mother; and the most brilliant incident, is that of a ghost dressed up by the old cook, and the gardener and old butler, for the purpose of frightening their new lady in her chamber. There are some love scenes among the masters and misses, that are very innocent and edifying; and enough of *natural affection*, to sooth to profound sleep, any polite audience that could be induced to listen to it. There are some touches of pleasantry, and some discrimination of character, in spite of all this; and we cannot help feeling a considerable degree of admiration for the talents of the writer, even in that production in which they have been most injudiciously exerted.

Upon the whole, we think there is no want of genius in this book, although there are many errors of judgment; and are persuaded, that if Miss Baillie will relinquish her plan of producing twin dramas on each of the passions, and consent to write tragedies without any deeper design than that of interesting her readers, we shall soon have the satisfaction of addressing her with more unqualified praise, than we have yet bestowed upon any poetical adventurer.

ART.

ART. II. *Tableau des Etats Danois.* Par Jean Pierre Catteau. 3 tomes. 1802. à Paris.

THE object of this book is to exhibit a picture of the kingdom of Denmark, under all its social relations, of politics, statistics, science, morals, manners, and every thing which can influence its character and importance, as a free and independent collection of human beings.

This book is, upon the whole, executed with great diligence, and good sense. Some subjects of importance are passed over, indeed, with too much haste; but if the publication had exceeded its present magnitude, it would soon have degenerated into a mere book of reference, impossible to be read, and fit only, like a dictionary, for the purposes of occasional appeal: It would not have been a picture presenting us with an interesting epitome of the whole; but a topographical plan, detailing, with minute and fatiguing precision, every trifling circumstance, and every subordinate feature. We should be far from objecting to a much more extended and elaborate performance than the present; because those who read, and those who write, are now so numerous, that there is room enough for varieties and modifications of the same subject: but information of this nature, conveyed in a form, and in a size, adapted to continuous reading, gains in surface what it loses in depth,—and gives general notions to many, though it cannot afford all the knowledge which a few have it in their power to acquire from the habits of more patient labour, and more profound research.

This work, though written at a period when enthusiasm or disgust had thrown most mens minds off their balance, is remarkable, upon the whole, for sobriety and moderation. The observations, though seldom either strikingly ingenious or profound, are just, temperate, and always benevolent. We are so far from perceiving any thing like extravagance in Mr Catteau, that we are inclined to think he is occasionally too cautious for the interests of truth; that he manages the Court of Denmark with too much delicacy; and exposes, by distant and scarcely perceptible touches, that which it was his duty to have brought out boldly, and strongly. The most disagreeable circumstance in the style of the book is, the author's compliance with that irresistible avidity of his countrymen to declaim upon common-place subjects. He goes on, mingling bucolic details, and sentimental effusions, melting, and measuring, crying, and calculating, in a manner which is very bad if it is poetry, and worse if it is prose. In speaking of the mode of cultivating potatoes, he cannot avoid calling the potatoe *a modest vegetable;* and when he comes to the exportation

exportation of horses from the dutchy of Holstein, we learn that 'these animals are dragged from the bosom of their peaceable 'and modest country, to hear, in foreign regions, the sound of 'the warlike trumpet; to carry the combatant amid the hostile 'ranks; to increase the eclat of some pompous procession; or 'drag, in a gilded car, some favourite of fortune.'

We are sorry to be compelled to notice these untimely effusions, especially as they may lead to a suspicion of the fidelity of the work; of which fidelity, from actual examination of many of the authorities referred to, we have not the most remote doubt. Mr Catteau is to be depended upon, as securely as any writer, going over such various and extensive ground, can ever be depended upon. He is occasionally guilty of some trifling inaccuracies; but, what he advances, is commonly derived from the most indisputable authorities: and he has condensed together, a mass of information, which will render his book the most accessible and valuable road of knowledge, to those who are desirous of making any researches respecting the kingdom of Denmark.

Denmark, since the days of piracy, has hardly been heard of out of the Baltic. Margaret, by the union of Calmar, laid the foundation of a monarchy, which (could it have been preserved by hands as strong as those which created it) would have exercised a powerful influence upon the destinies of Europe, and have strangled, perhaps, in the cradle, the infant force of Russia. Denmark, reduced to her ancient bounds by the patriotism and talents of Gustavus Vasa, has never since been able to emerge into notice by her own natural resources, or the genius of her ministers and her monarchs. During that period, Sweden has more than once threatened to give laws to Europe; and, headed by Charles and Gustavus, has broken out into chivalrous enterprizes, with an heroic valour, which merited wiser objects, and greater ultimate success. The spirit of the Danish nation has, for the last two or three centuries, been as little carried to literature or to science, as to war. They have written as little as they have done. With the exception of Tycho Brahe, and a volume of shells, there is hardly a Danish book, or a Danish writer, known five miles from the Great Belt. It is not sufficient to say, that there are many authors read and admired in Denmark: there are none that have passed the Sound; none that have had energy enough to force themselves into the circulation of Europe, to extort universal admiration, and live without the aid of municipal praise, and local approbation. From the period, however, of the first of the Bernstorffs, Denmark has made a great spring, and has advanced more within the last twenty or thirty years, than for the three

three preceding centuries. The peasants are now emancipated; the laws of commerce, foreign and interior, are simplified, and expanded; the transport of corn and cattle is made free; a considerable degree of liberty is granted to the press; and slavery is to cease this very year in their West Indian possessions. If Ernest Bernstorff was the author of some less commendable measures, they are to be attributed more to the times, than to the defects of his understanding, or of his heart. To this great minister succeeded the favourite Struensee, and to him Ove Guldberg: the first with views of improvement, not destitute of liberality or genius, but little guided by judgment, or marked by moderation; the latter, devoid of that energy and firmness which were necessary to execute the good he intended. In 1788, when the King became incapable of business, and the Crown prince assumed the government, Count Andrew Bernstorff, nephew of Ernest, was called to the ministry; and, while some nations were shrinking from the very name of innovation, and others overturning every establishment, and violating every principle, Bernstorff steadily pursued, and ultimately effected, the gradual, and bloodless amelioration of his country. His name will ever form a splendid epoch in the history of Denmark. The spirit of œconomical research and improvement which emanated from him, still remains; while the personal character of the Prince of Denmark, and the zeal with which he seconded the projects of his favourite minister, seem to afford a guarantee for the continuation of the same system of administration.

In his analysis of the present state of Denmark, Mr Catteau, after a slight historical sketch of that country, divides his subject into sixteen sections.

1. Geographical and physical qualities of the Danish territory: 2. Form of government: 3. Administration: 4. Institutions relative to government and administration: 5. Civil and criminal laws, and judiciary institutions: 6. Military system, land army, and marine: 7. Finance: 8. Population: 9. Productive industry, comprehending agriculture, the fisheries, and the extraction of mineral substances: 10. Manufacturing industry: 11. Commerce, interior and exterior, including the state of the great roads, the canals of navigation, the maritime insurances, the bank, &c. &c.: 12. Establishments of charity and public utility: 13. Religion: 14. Education: 15. Language, character, manners, and customs: 16. Sciences, and arts.—This division we shall follow.

From the southern limits of Holstein to the southern extremity of Norway, the Danish dominions extend to 300 miles * in length,

* The mile alluded to here, and through the whole of the book, is the

length, and are, upon an average, from about 50 to 60 in breadth: the whole forms an area of about 8000 square miles. The western coast of Jutland, from Riba to Lemvig, is principally alluvial, and presents much greater advantages to the cultivator than he has yet drawn from it. The eastern coast is also extremely favourable to vegetation. A sandy and barren ridge stretching from north to south, between the two coasts, is unfavourable to every species of culture, and hardly capable of supporting the wild and stunted shrubs, which languish upon its surface. Towards the north, where the Jutland peninsula terminates in the Baltic, every thing assumes an aspect of barrenness and desolation. It is Arabia, without its sun or its verdant islands; but not without its tempests of sand, which sometimes overwhelm what little feeble agriculture they may encounter, and convert the habitual wretchedness of the Jutlander into severe and cruel misfortune. The Danish Government has attempted to remedy this evil, in some measure, by encouraging the cultivation of those kinds of shrubs which grow on the sea-shore, and by their roots give tenacity and aggregation to the sand. The *Elymus Arenana*, though found to be the most useful for that purpose, is still inadequate to the prevention of the calamity. †

The Danish Isles—are of a green and pleasant aspect. The hills are turf'd up to the top, or covered with trees; the vallies animated by the passage of clear streams; and the whole strikingly contrasted with the savage sterility, or imposing grandeur, of the scenes on the opposite coast of Jutland. All the seas of Denmark are well stored with fish; and a vast number of deep friths and inlets, afford a cheap and valuable communication with the interior of the country.

The Danish rivers are neither numerous nor considerable. The climate, generally speaking, is moist, and subject to thick fogs, which almost obscure the horizon. Upon a mean of twenty-six years, it has rained for a hundred and thirty days every year, and thundered for thirteen. Their summer begins with June, and ends with September. A calm serene sky, and an atmosphere free

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the Danish mile, 15 to a degree, or 4000 toises in round numbers: The ancient mile of Norway is much more considerable.—It may be as well to mention here, that the Danes reckon their money by rixdollars, marks, and schellings. A rixdollar contains 6 marks, and a mark 16 schellings. 20 schellings are equal to 1 livre; consequently, the pound Sterling is equal to 4 r. 4 m. 14 sch. or nearly 5 rixdollars.

† There is a Danish work, by Professor Viborg, upon those plants which grow in sand. It has been very actively distributed in Jutland by the Danish Administration, and might be of considerable service in Norfolk, and other parts of Great Britain.

free from vapours, is very rarely the lot of the inhabitants of Denmark: but the humidity with which the air is impregnated, is highly favourable to vegetation; and all kinds of corn and grass are cultivated there with great success. To the south of Denmark, are the counties of Sleswick and Holstein. Nature has divided these countries into two parts; the one of which is called *Geestland*, the other *Marschland*. Geestland is the elevated ground, situated along the Baltic. The soil resembles that of Denmark. The division of Marschland forms a band or stripe, which extends from the Elbe to the frontiers of Jutland, an *alluvium* gained and preserved from the sea, by a labour, which, though vigilant and severe, is repaid by the most ample profits. The sea, however, in all these alluvial countries, seldom forgets its original rights. Marschland, in the midst of all its tranquillity, fat, and silence, was invaded by this element in the year 1634, with the loss of whole villages, many thousands of horned cattle, and 1500 human beings.

Nature is as grand and wild in Norway, as she is productive in Marschland. Cataracts amid the dark pines; the eternal snow of the mountains; seas that bid adieu to the land, and stretch out to the end of the world; an endless succession of the great and the terrible, leave the eye and the mind without repose. The climate of Norway is extremely favourable to the longevity of the human race, and sufficiently so to the life of many animals domesticated by man. The horses are of a good breed; the horned cattle excellent, though small. Crops of grain are extremely precarious, and often perish before they come to maturity. *

In 1660, the very year in which this happier country was laying the foundations of rational liberty, by the wise restrictions imposed upon its returning Monarch, the people of Denmark, by a solemn act, surrendered their natural rights into the hands of their Sovereign, endowed him with absolute power, and, in express words, declared him, for all his political acts, accountable only to Him, to whom all kings and governors are accountable. This revolution, similar to that effected by the king and people at Stockholm in 1772, was not a change from liberty, to slavery; but from a worse sort of slavery to a better; from the controul of an insolent and venal senate, to that of one man: it was a change, which simplified their degradation, and, by lessening the number of their tyrants, put their servitude more out

* We shall take little notice of Iceland in this review, from the attention we mean to pay to that subject in the review of 'Voyage en Iceland, fait par ordre de sa Majesté Danoise,' 5 vol. 1802.

out of sight. There ceased immediately to be an arbitrary Monarch in every parish, and the distance of the oppressor, either operated as a diminution of the oppression, or was thought to do so. The same spirit, to be sure, which urged them to a victory over one evil, might have led them on a little farther to the subjugation of both; and they might have limited the King, by the same powers which enabled them to dissolve the senate. But Europe, at that period, knew no more of liberty, than of Galvanism; and the peasants of Denmark no more dreamt of becoming free, than the inhabitants of Paris do at this moment.

At present, Denmark is in theory one of the most arbitrary governments on the face of the earth. It has remained so ever since the revolution to which we have just alluded; in all which period, the Danes have not, by any important act of rebellion, evinced an impatience of their yoke, or any sense, that the enormous power delegated to their Monarchs, has been improperly exercised. In fact, the Danish government enjoys great reputation for its forbearance and mildness; and sanctifies, in a certain degree, its execrable constitution, by the moderation with which it is administered. We regret extremely, that Mr Catteau has given us, upon this curious subject of the Danish government, such a timid, and sterile dissertation. Many governments are despotic by law, which are not despotic in fact; nor because they are restrained by their own moderation, but because, in spite of their theoretical omnipotence, they are compelled, in many important points, to respect either public opinion, or the opinion of other balancing powers, which, without the express recognition of law, have gradually sprung up in the state. Russia, and imperial Rome, had its prætorian guards. Turkey has its uhlema. Public opinion almost always makes some exceptions to its blind and slavish submission; and, in bowing its neck to the foot of a Sultan, stipulates how hard he shall tread. The very fact of enjoying a mild government for a century and a half, must, in their own estimation, have given the Danes a sort of right to a mild government. Ancient possession is a good title in all cases; and the king of Denmark may have completely lost the power of doing many just and many unjust actions, from never having exercised it in particular instances. What he has not done for so long a period, he may not dare to do now; and he may in vain produce constitutional parchments, abrogated by the general feelings of those whom they were intended to controul. Instead of any information of this kind, the author of the Tableau has given us at full length the constitutional act of 1660, and has afforded us no other knowledge, than we could procure from the most vulgar histories; as if state papers

pers were the best place to look for constitutions, and as if the rights of king and people were really adjusted, by the form and solemnity of covenants, and pacts; by oaths of allegiance, or oaths of coronation.

The King has his privy council, to which he names whom he pleases, with the exception of the heir apparent, and the princes of the blood, who sit there of right. It is customary, also, that the heads of colleges should sit there. These colleges are the offices in which the various business of the State is carried on. The chancelry of Denmark interprets all laws, which concern privileges in litigation, and the different degrees of authority belonging to various public bodies. It watches over the interests of church, and poor; issues patents, edicts, grants, letters of naturalization, legitimacy, and nobility. The archives of the State are also under its custody. The German chancery has the same powers and privileges in Sleswig and Holstein, which are fiefs of the empire. There is a college for foreign affairs; two colleges of finance; and a college of economy and commerce; which, divided into four parts, directs its attention to four objects: 1. Manufacturing industry: 2. Commerce: 3. Productions: 4. Possessions in the East Indies. All projects and speculations, relative to any of these objects, are referred to this college; and every encouragement given to the prosecution of such as it may chance to approve. There are two other colleges, which respectively manage the army and navy. The total number is nine.

The Court of Denmark is on a footing of great simplicity. The pomp introduced by Christian IV., who modelled his establishments after those of Louis XIV., has been laid aside, and a degree of economy adopted, much more congenial to the manners of the people, and the resources of the country. The hereditary nobility of Denmark may be divided into those of the ancient, those of the modern fiefs, and the personal nobility. The first class are only distinguished from the second, by the more extensive privileges annexed to their fiefs; as it has been the policy of the Court of Denmark, in later times, not to grant such immunities to the possessors of noble lands, as had been accorded to them at earlier periods. Both of these classes, however, derive their nobility from their estates, which are inalienable, and descend according to the laws of primogeniture. In the third class, nobility derives from the person, and not from the estate. To prevent the female noblesse from marrying beneath their rank, and to preserve the dignity of their order, nine or ten Protestant nunneries have been from time to time endowed, in each of which about twelve noble women are accommo-

dated, who, not bound by any vow, find in these societies an economical and elegant retirement. The nobility of Norway have no fiefs. The nobility of Holstein and Sleswig derive their nobility from their fiefs, and are possessed of very extensive privileges. Every thing which concerns their common interests, is discussed in a convention held periodically in the town of Keil: during the vacancies of the convention, there is a permanent deputation resident in the same town. Interests so well watched by the nobles themselves, are necessarily respected by the Court of Denmark. The same institution of free nunneries for the female nobility, prevails in these provinces. Societies of this sort might perhaps be extended to other classes, and to other countries, with some utility. The only objection to a nunnery is, that those who change their mind, cannot change their situation. That a number of unmarried females should collect together into one mass, and subject themselves to some few rules of convenience, is a system which might afford great resources and accommodation to a number of helpless individuals, without proving injurious to the community; unless, indeed, any very timid statesman shall be alarmed at the progress of celibacy, and imagine that the increase and multiplication of the human race may become a mere antiquated habit.

The lowest courts in Denmark are composed of a judge, and a secretary, both chosen by the landed proprietors within the jurisdiction, but confirmed by the King, in whose name all their proceedings are carried on. These courts have their sessions once a week in Denmark, and are attended by four or five burgesses, or farmers, in the capacity of assessors, who occasionally give their advice upon subjects, of which their particular experience may entitle them to judge. From this jurisdiction there is appeal to a higher court, held every month in different places in Denmark, by judges paid by the Crown. The last appeal for Norway and Denmark is to the *Hoieste Rett*, or supreme court fixed at Copenhagen, which is occupied for nine months in the year, and composed, half of noble, half of plebeian judges. This is the only tribunal in which the advocates plead *viva voce*; in all the others, litigation is carried on by writing. The King takes no cognizance of pecuniary suits determined by this court, but reserves to himself a revision of all its sentences which affect the life or honour of the subject. It has always been the policy of the Court of Denmark, to render justice as cheap as possible. We should have been glad to have learnt from Mr Catteau, whether or not the cheapness of justice operates as an encouragement to litigation; and whether (which we believe is most commonly

monly the case), the quality of Danish justice is not in the ratio of the price. But this gentleman, as we have before remarked, is so taken up by the formal part of institutions, that he has neither leisure, nor inclination, to say much of their spirit. The Tribunal of Conciliation, established since 179-, is composed of the most intelligent and respectable men in the vicinage; and its sessions are private. It is competent to determine upon a great number of civil questions; and if both parties agree to the arrangement proposed by the court, its decree is registered, and has legal authority. If the parties cannot be brought to agreement by the amicable interference of the mediators, they are at full liberty to prosecute their suit in a court of justice. All the proceedings of the Tribunal of Conciliation are upon unstampt paper, and they cannot be protracted longer than fifteen days in the country, and eight days in the towns, unless both parties consent to a longer delay. The expences, which do not exceed three shillings, are not payable, but in case of reconciliation. During the three years preceding this institution, there came before the courts of law, 25,521 causes; and, for the three years following, 9,653, *making the astonishing difference of fifteen thousand eight hundred and sixty-three lawsuits.* The idea of this court was taken from the Dutch, among whom it likewise produced the most happy effects. And when we consider what an important point it is, that there should be time for disputants to cool; the strong probability there is, that four or five impartial men from the vicinage will take a right view of the case, and the reluctance that any man must feel to embark his reputation and property in opposition to their opinion, we cannot entertain a doubt of the beauty, and importance of the invention. It is hardly possible, that should be bad justice which satisfies both parties; and this species of mediation has no validity, but upon such condition. It is curious, too, to remark, how much the progress of rancour obstructs the natural sense of justice; it appears that plaintiff and defendant were *both* satisfied, in 15,868 causes: If all these causes had come on to a regular hearing, and the parties been inflamed, by the expence and publicity of the quarrel, we doubt if there would have been one single man out of the whole number who would have acknowledged that his cause was justly given against him. There are some provisions in the criminal law of Denmark, for the personal liberty of the subject, which cannot be of much importance, so long as the dispensing power is vested in the Crown: however, though they are not much, they are better than nothing; and have probably some effect in offences merely criminal, where the passions and interests of the governors do not interfere. Mr Catteau considers

siders the law which admits the accused to bail, upon finding proper security, to be unjust, because the poor cannot avail themselves of it. But this is bad reasoning; for every country has a right to impose such restrictions and liens upon the accused, that they shall be forthcoming for trial; at the same time, those restrictions are not to be more severe than the necessity of the case requires. The primary and most obvious method of security is imprisonment. Whoever can point out any other mode of effecting the same object, less oppressive to himself, and as satisfactory to the justice of the country, has a right to require that it be adopted; whoever cannot, must remain in prison. It is a principle that should never be lost sight of, that an accused person is presumed to be innocent; and that no other vexation should be imposed upon him, than what is absolutely necessary for the purposes of future investigation. The imprisonment of a poor man, because he cannot find bail, is not a gratuitous vexation, but a necessary severity; justified only, because no other, nor milder mode of security can, in that particular instance, be produced.

Inquisitorial and penal torture is, in some instances, allowed by the laws of Denmark: The former, after having been abolished, was re-established in 1771. The corporations have been gradually and covertly attacked in Denmark, as they have been in Great Britain. The peasants, who had before been attached to the soil, were gradually enfranchised between 1788 and 1800; so that, on the first day of the latter year, there did not remain a single slave in the Danish dominions; or, to speak more correctly, slavery was equalized among all ranks of people. We need not descant on the immense importance of this revolution; and if Mr Catteau had been of the same opinion, we should have been spared two pages of very bad declamation; beginning, in the true French style, with 'oh toi,' and going on with what might be expected to follow such a beginning. The great mass of territorial proprietors in Denmark, are the signiors, possessing fiefs with very extensive privileges, and valuable exemptions from taxes. Many persons hold lands under these proprietors, with interests in the land of very different descriptions. There are some cultivators who possess freeholds; but the number of these is very inconsiderable. The greater number of farmers are what the French call Metayers, put in by the landlord, furnished with stock at his expence, and repaying him in product, labour, or any other manner agreed on in the contract. This is the first, or lowest stage of tenantry, and is the surest sign of a poor country. The feudal system never took root very deeply

deeply in Norway: the greater part of the lands are freehold, and cultivated by their owners. Those which are held under the few privileged fiefs, which still exist in Norway, are subjected to less galling conditions than farms of a similar tenure in Denmark.—Marriage is a mere civil contract among the privileged orders: The presence of a priest is necessary for its celebration among the lower orders. In every large town, there are two public tutors appointed, who, in conjunction with the Magistrates, watch over the interests of wards, at the same time that they occupy themselves with the care of the education of children within the limits of their jurisdiction.—Natural children are perhaps more favoured in Denmark, than in any other kingdom of Europe: They have half the portion which the law allots to legitimate children, and the whole, if there are no legitimate.—A very curious circumstance took place in the kingdom of Denmark, in the middle of the last century, relative to the infliction of capital punishments upon malefactors. They were attended from the prison to the place of execution, by priests, accompanied by a very numerous procession, singing psalms, &c. &c.: which ended, a long discourse was addressed by the priest to the culprit, who was hung as soon as he had heard it. This spectacle, and all the pious cares bestowed upon the criminals, so far seduced the imaginations of the common people, that many of them committed murder purposely to enjoy such inestimable advantages; and the government was positively obliged to make hanging dull, as well as deadly, before it ceased to be an object of popular ambition.

In 1796, the Danish land forces amounted to 74,654, of which 50,880 * were militia. Amongst the troops on the Norway establishment, is a regiment of skaters. The pay of a Colonel in the Danish service is about 1740 rixdollars *per annum*, with some perquisites; that of a private, 6 schellings a day. The entry into the Danish states from the German side, is naturally strong. The passage between Lubeck and Hamburgh, is only eight miles; and the country intersected by marshes, rivers, and lakes. The straits of the Baltic afford considerable security to the Danish isles; and there are very few points in which an army could penetrate through the Norway mountains to overrun that country. The principal fortresses of Denmark, are Copenhagen, Rendsbourg, Gluchstadt, and Frederickshall. In 1801, the Danish

* The militia is not embodied in regiments by itself, but divided among the various regiments of the line.

nish navy consisted of 3 ships of 80 guns, 12 of 74, 2 of 70, 3 of 64, and 2 of 60; 4 frigates of 40, 3 of 36, 3 of 24, and a number of small vessels; in all, 22 of the line, and 10 frigates. *

The revenues of Denmark are derived from the interest of a capital formed by the sale of Crown lands; from a share in the tithes; from the rights of fishing and hunting let to farm; from licences granted to the farmers to distil their own spirits; from the mint, post, turnpikes, lotteries, and the passage of the Sound. About the year 1750, the number of vessels which passed the Sound both ways, was annually from 4 to 5000: in 1752, the number of 6000 was considered as very extraordinary. They have increased since, in the following ratio:

1770	—	7,736
1777	—	9,047
1783	—	11,166
1790	—	9,734
1796	—	12,113
1800	—	9,048

In 1770, the Sound duties amounted to 459,890 rixdollars; and they have probably been increased since that period to about half a million. To these sources of revenue are to be added, a capitation-tax, a land-tax, a tax on rank, a tax on places, pensions, and the clergy. The stamps, customs, and excise, constituting a revenue of 7,270,172 rixdollars. † The following is a table of the expences of the Danish government:

The

* In 1791, the Swedish army amounted to 47,000 men, regulars and militia; their navy to not more than 16 ships of the line: Before the war, it was about equal to the Danish navy. The author of *Voyage de deux Français*, places the regular troops of Russia at 250,000 men, exclusive of guards and garrisons; and her navy, as it existed in 1791, at 30 frigates, and 50 sail of the line, of which 8 were of 110 guns. This is a brief picture of the forces of the Baltic powers.

† Upon the subject of the Danish revenues, see Toze's Introduction to Statistics, edited and improved by Heinze, 1799, tom. 11. From this work Mr Catteau has taken his information concerning the Danish revenues.—See also the 19th cap. vol. ii. of *Voyage de deux Français*, which is admirable for extent, and precision of information. In general, indeed, this work cannot be too much attended to by those who wish to become acquainted with the statistics of the north of Europe.

The court - -	R. 250,000
The minor branches of the Royal family	180,000
Civil servants - -	707,500
Secret-service money and pensions	231,000
Army - -	2,080,000
Navy - - -	1,200,000
East Indian colonies - -	180,000
Bounties to commerce and manufactures	300,000
Annuities - -	27,000
Buildings and repairs - -	120,000
Interest of the public debt -	1,100,000
Sinking fund - -	150,000
Total	R. 6,525,500

The state of the Danish debt does not appear to be well ascertained. *Voyage des deux Français* makes it amount to R. 13,654,046. Catteau seems to think it must have been above R. 20,000,000 at that period. The Danish government has had recourse to the usual expedient of issuing paper money. So easy a method of getting rich, has of course been abused; and the paper was, in the year 1790, at a discount of eight, nine, and ten *per cent.* There is, in general, a great want of specie in Denmark; for, though all the Sound duties are paid in gold and silver, the government is forced to export a considerable quantity of the precious metals, for the payment of its foreign debts and agents; and, in spite of the rigid prohibitions to the contrary, the Jews, who swarm at Copenhagen, export Danish ducats to a large value. The court of Denmark has no great credit out of its own dominions, and has always experienced a considerable difficulty in raising its loans in Switzerland, Genoa, and Holland, the usual markets it has resorted to for that purpose.

In the census taken in 1769, the return was as follows:

In Denmark - - -	785,690
Norway - -	723,141
Iceland - - -	46,201
Ferro Isles - -	4,754
Sleswig - - -	248,605
Holstein - -	134,665
Oldenbourg and Delmenhurst -	79,071
	2,017,127

This census was taken during the summer, a season in which great numbers of sailors are absent from their families; and as it

it does not include the army, the total ought, perhaps, to be raised to 2,225,000. The present population of the Danish states, calculating from the tables of life and death, should be about two millions and a half; the census lately taken, has not yet been published. From registers kept for a number of years, it appears, that the number of marriages, were to the whole population, as 1 to 125; and the number of births to the whole population, were as 1 to 32 or 33; of deaths, as 1 to 38. In 1797, in the diocese of Vibourg, out of 8600 children, 80 were bastards: In the diocese of Fionia, 280 out of 1146. Out of 1356 dead in the first of these dioceses, 100 had attained the age of 80, and one of 100. In 1769, the population of the towns was 144,105; in 1787, it was 142,880: In the first of these years, the population of the country was 641,485; and in the latter, 667,165. The population of Copenhagen consisted, in the year 1799, of 42,142 males, and 41,476 females. The deaths exceed the births, says Mr Catteau; and, to prove it, he exhibits a table of deaths and births for six years. Upon calculating this table, however, it appears, that the sum of the births at Copenhagen, during that period, exceeds the sum of the deaths, by 491, or nearly 82 *per annum*; about $\frac{1}{1000}$ of the whole population of the city. The whole kingdom increases $\frac{6}{1000}$, or nearly $\frac{1}{167}$ in a year*. There is no city in Denmark Proper, except Copenhagen, which has a population of more than 5000 souls. The density of population, in Denmark Proper, is about 1300 to the square mile†. The proportion of births and deaths in the dutchies, is the same as in Denmark; that of marriages as 1 to 115. Altona, the second city in the Danish Dominions, has a population of 20,000. The density of population in Marschland is 6000 per square mile. The paucity of inhabitants in Norway, is not merely referable to the difficulties of subsistence, but to the administrative system established there, and to the bad state of its civil and economical laws. It has been more than once exposed to the horrors of famine, by the monopoly of the commerce of grain established there, from which, however, it has at length been delivered. The proportion of births to the living, is as 1 to 35; that of deaths to the living as 1 to 49‡. So that

* The average time in which old countries double their population, is stated by Adam Smith to be about 500 years.

† The same rule is used here as in p. 290.

‡ This proportion is a very remarkable proof of the longevity of the Norwegians.

that the whole Danish dominions increase, every year, by about $\frac{1}{101}$; and Norway, which has the worst climate and soil, by about $\frac{1}{111}$; exceeding the common increase, by nearly $\frac{1}{100}$ of the whole population. Out of 26,197 persons who died in Denmark in 1799, there were 165 between 80 and 100; and out of 18,354 who died in Norway the same year, there were 208 individuals of the same advanced age. The country population is to the town population in the ratio of 13 to 137. In some parts of Nordland and Finmark, the population is as low as 15 to the square mile.

Within the last twenty, or thirty years, the Danes have done a great deal for the improvement of their country. The peasants, as we have before mentioned, are freed from the soil. The greater part of the clerical, and much of the lay tithes are redeemed, and the corvées and other servile tenures begin to be commuted for money. A bank of credit is established at Copenhagen, for the loan of money to persons engaged in speculations of agriculture, and mining. The interest is 4 *per cent.*, and the money is repaid by instalments in the course of from 21 to 28 years. In the course of 12 years, the bank has lent about three millions of rixdollars. The external, and domestic commerce of grain, is now placed upon the most liberal footing. The culture of potatoes (*ce fruit modeste*) has at length found its way into Denmark, after meeting with the same objections which it experienced, at its first introduction, from every nation in Europe. Hops are a good deal attended to in Funen, though enough are not yet grown for the supply of the country. Tobacco is cultivated in the environs of Fredericia in Jutland, by the industrious descendants of a French colony planted there by Frederic IV. Very little hemp and flax is grown in the Danish dominions. They had veterinary schools, previous to the present establishment of them in Great Britain. Indeed, there was a greater necessity for them in Denmark; as no country in Europe has suffered so severely from diseases among its animals. The decay of the woods begins to be very perceptible; and great quantities, both for fuel and construction, are annually imported from the other countries bordering the Baltic. They have pit-coal; but, either from its inferior quality, or their little skill in working it, they are forced to purchase to a considerable amount from England. The Danes have been almost driven out of the herring market by the Swedes. Their principal export of this kind, is dried fish; though, at Altona, their fisheries are carried on with more appearance of enterprize than elsewhere. The districts of Hedemarken, Hodeland, Toten, and Romerige, are the parts of Norway most celebrated for the cultivation of grain, which

principally consists of oats. The distress in Norway is sometimes so great, that the inhabitants are compelled to make bread of various sorts of lichens, mingled with their grain. It has lately been discovered, that the *lichen rangiferus*, or rein-deer's moss, is extremely well calculated for that purpose. The Norway fisheries bring to the amount of a million and a half of rix-dollars annually into the country. The most remarkable mines in Norway are, the gold mines of Edsvold, the silver mines of Konigsberg, the copper mines of Ræraas, and the iron mines of Arendal and Krageræ, the cobalt mines of Fossum, and the black-lead mines of Englidal. The Court of Denmark is not yet cured of the folly of entering into commercial speculations on its own account. From the year 1769 to 1792, 78,000 rixdollars *per annum* have been lost on the Royal mines alone. Norway produces marble of different colours, very beautiful granites, mill, and whet-stones, and alum.

The principal manufactures of Denmark, are those of cloth, cotton printing, sugar-refining, and porcelain; of which latter manufactures, carried on by the Crown, the patient proprietors hope that the profits may at some future period equal the expences. The manufactories for large and small arms are at Frederickwaerk and Elsineur; and, at the gates of Copenhagen, there has lately been erected a cotton spinning mill, upon the construction so well known in England. At Tendern, in Sleswig, there is a manufacture of lace; and very considerable glass manufactories in several parts of Norway. All the manufacturing arts have evidently travelled from Lubeck and Hamburgh: the greater part of the manufacturers are of German parentage; and vast numbers of manufacturing Germans are to be met with, not only in Denmark, but throughout Sweden and Russia.

The Holstein Canal, uniting the Baltic and the North Sea, is extremely favourable to the interior commerce of Denmark, by rendering unnecessary the long and dangerous voyage round the peninsula of Jutland. In the year 1785, there passed through this canal, 409 Danish, and 44 foreign ships. In the year 1798, 1086 Danish, and 1164 foreign. This canal is so advantageous, and the passage round Jutland so very bad, that goods, before the creation of the canal, were very often sent by land from Lubeck to Hamburgh. The amount of cargoes despatched from Copenhagen for Iceland, between the years 1[illegible] and 1784, was 2,560,000 R.; that of the returns, [illegible] R. The commerce with the isles of Foeroe is quite [illegible]erable. The exports from Greenland, in the year 1787, amo[illegible]ed to 168,475 R. its imports to 74,427. None of these possessions are suffered to trade with foreign nations, but through the intervention of the mother

mother country. The cargoes despatched to the Danish West Indies, consist of all sorts of provisions, of iron, of copper, of various Danish manufactures, and of some East India goods. The returns are made in sugar, rum, cotton, indigo, tobacco, and coffee. There are about 75 vessels employed in this commerce, from the burthen of 40 to 200 tons.

If the slave trade, in pursuance of the laws to that effect, ceases in the Danish colonies, the establishments on the coast of Africa will become rather a burthen than a profit. What measures have been taken to ensure the abolition, and whether or not the philanthropy of the mother country is likely to be defeated by the interested views of the colonists, are delicate points, which Mr Catteau, who often seems to think more of himself than of his reader, passes over with his usual timidity, and caution. The present year is the period at which all farther importation of negroes ought to cease; and, if this wise and noble law be really carried into execution, the Danes will enjoy the glory of having been the first to erase this foulest blot in the morality of Europe, and to abolish a wicked and absurd traffic, which purchases its luxuries at the price of impending massacre, and present oppression. Deferred revenge is always put out to compound interest, and exacts its dues with more than judaical rigour. The Africans have begun with the French:

——*Jam proximus ardet*
Ucalegon.

Tea, rhubarb, and porcelain, are the principal articles brought from China. The factories in the East Indies, send home cotton cloths, silk, sugar, rice, pepper, ginger, indigo, opium, and arrack. Their most important East Indian settlement is Fredericksnager*. Denmark, after having been long overshadowed by the active industry of the Hanseatic Towns, and embarrassed by its ignorance of the true principles of commerce, has at length established important commercial connexions with all the nations of Europe, and has regulated those connexions by very liberal and enlightened principles. The regulations for the Customs, published in 1791, are a very remarkable proof of this assertion. Every thing is there arranged upon the most just and simple principles;

* We should very willingly have gone through every branch of the Danish commerce, if we had not been apprehensive of extending this article too far. Mr Catteau gives no general tables of the Danish exports and imports. A German work places them, for the year 1768, as follows: Exports, 3,067,051 rixdollars; imports, 3,215,085. *Ur. Kunden, par Gatspari.*

principles; and the whole code evinces the striking progress of mercantile knowledge in that country. In looking over the particulars of the Danish commerce, we were struck with the immense increase of their freightage during the wars of this country; a circumstance, which should certainly have rendered them rather less disposed to complain of the vexations imposed upon the neutral powers during such periods *. In the first six months of the year 1796, 5032 lasts of Danish shipping were taken up by strangers, for American voyages only. The commercial tonnage of Denmark is put at about 85,000 lasts.

There appears to exist in the kingdom of Denmark, according to the account of Mr Catteau, a laudable spirit of religious toleration; such as, in some instances, we might copy, with great advantage, in this island. It is not, for instance, necessary in Denmark, that a man should be a Lutheran, before he can be the Mayor of a town; and, incredible as it may seem to some people, there are many officers and magistrates, who are found capable of civil trusts, though they do not take the Sacraments exactly in the forms prescribed by the established Church. There is no doubt, however, of the existence of this very extraordinary fact; and, if Mr Catteau's authority is called in question, we are ready to corroborate it by the testimony of more than one dozen German statists. The Danish Church consists of 13 bishops, 227 archpriests, and 2462 priests. The principal part of the benefices are, in Norway, in the gift of the Crown. In some parts of Denmark, the proprietors of the privileged lands are the patrons; in other parts, the parishes. The revenues of the clergy, are from the same sources as our own clergy. The sum of the Church revenues is computed to be 1,391,895 rixdollars; which is little more than 500 for each clergyman †. The Court of Denmark is so liberal upon the subject of sectaries, that the whole Royal Family and the Bishop of Seland assisted at the worship of the Calvinists in 1789, when they celebrated, in the most public manner, the centenary of the foundation of their church. In spite of this tolerant spirit, it is computed that there are not more than 1800 Calvinists in the whole Danish dominions. At Christianfeld, on the frontiers of Sleswig and Jutland, there is a colony of northern Quakers, or Hernhutters, of which Mr Catteau has given a very agreeable account. They appear to be chatacterised by the same neatness, order, industry, and absurdity, as their brethren in this country; taking

* To say nothing of the increased sale of Norway timber, out of 86,000 lasts exported from Norway, 1799, 76,000 came to Great Britain.

† The Jews, however, are still prohibited from entering the kingdom of Norway.

taking the utmost care of the sick and destitute, and thoroughly persuaded, that, by these good deeds, aided by long pockets, and slouched hats, they are acting up to the true spirit of the Gospel. The Greenlanders were converted to Christianity by a Norwegian priest, named John Egede. He was so eminently successful in the object of his mission, and contrived to make himself so very much beloved, that his memory is still held among them in the highest veneration; and they actually date their chronology from the year of his arrival, as we do ours from the birth of our Saviour.

There are, in the university of Copenhagen, seven professors of Theology, two of Civil Law, two of Mathematics, one of Latin and Rhetoric, one of Greek, one of Oriental languages, one of History, five of Medicine, one of Agriculture, and one of Statistics. They enjoy a salary of from 1000 to 1500 rixdollars, and are well lodged in the University. The University of Copenhagen is extremely rich, and enjoys an income of 3,000,000 rixdollars. Even Mr Catteau admits that it has need of reform. In fact, the reputation of universities is almost always short-lived, or else it survives their merit. If they are endowed, professors become fat-witted, and never imagine that the arts and sciences are any thing else but incomes. If universities, slenderly endowed, are rendered famous, by the accidental concurrence of a few great teachers, the number of scholars attracted there by the reputation of the place, makes the situation of a professor worth intriguing for. The learned pate is not fond of ducking to the golden fool. He who has the best talents for getting the office, has most commonly the least for filling it; and men are made moral and mathematical teachers, by the same trick and filthiness, that they are made tidewaiters, and clerks of the kitchen.

The number of students in the University of Copenhagen is about 700: They come not only from Denmark, but from Norway and Iceland: The latter are distinguished as well for the regularity of their manners, as for the intensity of their application; the instruments of which application are furnished to them by a library, containing 60,000 volumes. The Danes have primary schools established in the towns; but which have need of much reform, before they can answer all the beneficial ends of such an institution. We should have been happy to have learned from Mr Catteau, the degree of information diffused among the lower orders in the Danish dominions; but upon this subject he is silent. In the University of Keil there is an institution for the instruction of shoolmasters; and, in the list of students in the same University, we were a good deal amused to find only one student dedicating himself to Belles Lettres.

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The people of Holstein and Sleswick, are Dutch, in their manners, character, and appearance. Their language is in general the Low German; though the better sort of people in the towns begin to speak High German *. In Jutland, and the Isles, the Danish language is spoken: within half a century this language has been cultivated with some attention: before that period, the Danish writers preferred to make use of the Latin or the German language. It is in the island of Fionia, that it is spoken with the greatest purity. The Danish character is not agreeable. It is marked by silence, phlegm, and reserve. A Dane is the excess and extravagance of a Dutchman; more breech'd, more ponderous, and more saturnine. He is not often a bad member of society, in the great points of morals; and seldom a good one, in the lighter requisites of manners. His understanding is alive only to the useful and the profitable: he never lives for what is merely gracious, courteous, and ornamental. His faculties seem to be drenched and slackened by the eternal fogs in which he resides; he is never alert, elastic, nor serene. His state of animal spirits is so low, that what in other countries would be deemed dejection, proceeding from casual misfortune, is the habitual tenor, and complexion of his mind. In all the operations of his understanding, he must have time. He is capable of undertaking great journies; but he travels only a foot pace, and never leaps nor runs. He loves arithmetic, better than lyric poetry; and affects Cocker, rather than Pindar. He is slow to speak of fountains, and amorous maidens; but can take a spell at porisms, as well as another; and will make profound and extensive combinations of thought, if you pay him for it, and do not insist that he shall either be brisk or brief. There is something, on the contrary, extremely pleasing in the Norwegian style of character. The Norwegian expresses firmness and elevation, in all that he says and does. In comparison with the Danes, he has always been a free man; and you read his history in his looks. He is not apt, to be sure, to forgive his enemies; but he does not deserve any; for he is hospitable in the extreme, and prevents the needy in their wants. It is not possible for a writer of this country to speak ill of the Norwegians; for, of all strangers, the people of Norway love and admire the British the most. In reading Mr Catteau's account of the congealed and blighted Laplanders, we were struck with the infinite delight they must have in dying; the only circumstance in which they can enjoy any superiority over the rest of mankind; or

* Mr Catteau's description of Helgoland is entertaining. In an island, containing a population of 2000, there is neither horse, cart, nor plough. We could not have imagined the possibility of such a fact, in any part of Europe.

or which tends, in their instance, to verify the theory of the equality of human condition.

If we pass over Tycho Brahe, and the well known history of the Scaldes, of the chronicles of Isleif, Sæmunder, Hiinfrode, Snorro Sturleson, and other Icelandic worthies, the list of Danish literati will best prove that they have no literati at all. Are there twenty persons in Great Britain who have ever heard of Longomontanus, Nicholas Stenonis, Sperling, Laurenberg, Huitfeild, Gramn, Holberg, Langebeck, Carstens, Suhm, Kofod Anger? or of the living Wad, Fabricius, Hanch, Tode, and Zæga? We do not deny merit to these various personages: many of them may be much admired by those who are more conversant in Danish literature than we can pretend to be: but they are certainly not names on which the learned fame of any country can be built very high. They have no classical celebrity and diffusion: they are not an universal language: they have not enlarged their original dominion, and become the authors of Europe, instead of the authors of Denmark. It would be loss of time to speak of the fine arts in Denmark: They hardly exist.

We have been compelled to pass over many parts of Mr Catteau's book, more precipitately than we could have wished; but we hope we have said, and exhibited enough of it, to satisfy the public that it is, upon the whole, a very valuable publication. The two great requisites for his undertaking, moderation and industry, we are convinced this gentleman possesses in an eminent degree. He represents every thing without prejudice; and he represents every thing authentically. The same cool and judicious disposition, which clears him from the spirit of party, makes him perhaps cautious in excess. We are convinced that every thing he says is true; but we have been sometimes induced to suspect, that we do not see the whole truth. After all, perhaps, he has told as much truth as he could do, compatibly with the opportunity of telling any. A person more disposed to touch upon critical and offensive subjects, might not have submitted as diligently to the investigation of truth, with which passion was not concerned. How few writers are, at the same time, laborious, impartial, and intrepid!

We cannot conclude this article, without expressing the high sense we entertain of the importance of such researches as those in which Mr Catteau has been engaged. They must form the basis of all interior regulations; and ought principally to influence the conduct of every country, in its relations towards foreign powers. As they contain the best estimate of the wealth and happiness of a people, they bring theory to the strictest test; and measure, better than all reasoning, the wisdom with which laws are made, and the mildness

mildness with which they are administered. If such judicious, and elaborate surveys of the state of this, and other countries in Europe, had been made from time to time for the last two centuries, they would have quickened and matured the progress of knowledge in the art of governing, by throwing light on the spirit and tendency of laws; they would have checked the spirit of officious interference in legislation; have softened persecution, and expanded narrow conceptions of national policy. The happiness of a nation would have been proclaimed by the fulness of its garners, and the multitudes of its sheep and oxen; and rulers might sometimes have sacrificed their schemes of ambition, or their unfeeling splendour, at the detail of silent fields, empty harbours, and famished peasants.

ART. III. HOMERI CARMINA, cum brevi annotatione, accedunt variæ Lectiones et Observationes veterum Grammaticorum, cum nostræ ætatis Critica, curante C. G. HEYNE. Lipsiæ, in Libraria Weidmannia: Londini, apud J. Payne et Mackinlay. 1802. Eight volumes in octavo. pp. 5900.

THE Iliad of Homer, one of the longest poems in existence, is here presented to the world with so ponderous a mass of commentary and criticism, that if the verses of the poet were uniformly distributed through the whole work, the quantity which each page would contain, would not greatly exceed two lines and a half *. Considering how much the industry of verbal critics and grammarians is impaired in this age of frivolity, we were almost disposed to believe, that the intestines of Professor Heyné are not composed of ordinary materials, but of the same solid and weighty substance which was supposed to constitute those of his illustrious predecessor, Didymus of Alexandria, surnamed Χαλκέντερος. The labour in which he has been employed for near twenty years, although extremely useful to the literary world, and honourable to himself in its completion, is attended by so much fatigue in its progress, that we are inclined to censure Joseph Scaliger, who ought to have been better instructed, for considering lexicography as the lowest abyss of literary misery. We rejoiced, therefore, at being informed, that much of the drudgery of collating and compiling was removed from a man of real talents and learning, and sustained by persons whom nature had sent into the world with the qualities which are requisite for exploring the charnel-houses

* The number of verses in the Iliad is 15,683; but a considerable deduction must be made on account of the frequent repetitions.

houses of Grecian literature; for wading through the muddy deposit of Alexandrian grammarians; and for perusing, with patience and attention, the numberless absurdities of the ancient philosophers and sophists, who, in compliance with fashion and vulgar prejudice, endeavour to fortify the doctrines of their respective schools, by the authority of the father of poetry, ethics, and theology.

Before we proceed to give an account of the work, we must deprecate the indignation of such of our readers as are not completely initiated into the mysteries of philology, and are not prepared to bestow the appellations of *most famous* and *most wise* on men whose names they have never heard, and who do not appear to have possessed any of the faculties of the mind, except memory, in an extraordinary degree of perfection. We request them to consider, that the individuals of a species derive their claims to excellence from a comparison with each other, and not with beings of a higher order. It is not our intention to compare the *immortal* Ruhnkenius with Bacon, or with Newton. We readily acknowledge him to have been an animal of an inferior class to that in which those eminent men were placed. But we must be permitted to maintain, that there exist human beings more despicable than even Ruhnkenius. When he is compared with Barnes and Vauvilliers, he becomes a hero; and we doubt whether ten professors can be found in the thirty-eight universities of Germany, who possess a larger share of good sense, a better taste in general literature, a deeper insight into the secrets of the moral and physical world, and a more profound and varied erudition. For these reasons, we hope that we shall be allowed to persist in conferring immortality on uncouth names with Latin terminations, with as little resistance as if they appertained to tragic poets or major-generals.

If we were at present disposed to support the expiring cause of classical erudition, we might probably be led to examine, whether there be not some very curious and entertaining branches of science, which have been much cultivated and improved within our own memory, and are greatly admired by fine gentlemen and ladies, as well as by grave professors, but which appear to depend as little on the exercise of our reasoning faculties, as disquisitions on the *form of Thericlean cups*, or the *value of Sicilian talents*. But our present business is with Homer and Professor Heyné.

After a very concise dedication to the tutelary genius of the university of Gœttingen, whom we suppose to be the first Lord of the Hanoverian Treasury, the Professor relates the history, and explains the nature of his undertaking, in a preface of fifty pages, an abstract of which we shall present to our readers.

Besides the usual ingredients which compose, or ought to compose, every good edition of a classic author, the principal object of Professor Heyné was to collect, digest, and exhibit, the substance of every thing valuable which has been written respecting Homer, from the remotest antiquity, until our own age. Those persons only are capable of estimating the quantity of labour necessary for the collection of the materials, and the judgement requisite to the proper selection and discrimination of them, who are aware how intimately the poetry of Homer is interwoven with every branch of Greek literature, and how small a portion of the criticism of the ancients deserves to be remembered and recorded. The Professor was perfectly sensible, that his own unassisted powers were inadequate to so great an undertaking, and that it was absolutely necessary to devolve a part of the labour on proper assistants. Before the year 1781, he had been invited by Reich, a bookseller of Leipzig, whom he styles *vir honestus* (for the etiquette of criticism never bestows a superlative on a bookseller), to superintend the republication of Clarke's edition improved by Ernesti, which had originally appeared twenty years before, and was then become rare. Sensible of the defects of that edition, and of his own want of leisure to remedy them in a manner suitable to the improvements which had been made in Greek literature since the first publication of it, he declined the proposal which was made to him. However, the bookseller did not desist; and at length, by dint of arguments, promises, and entreaties, prevailed on him to submit to his will. In consequence of this arrangement, which took place in the year 1781, he engaged, in the capacity of an assistant, Samuel Frederick Nathan el Morus, who was then Professor of the Greek and Latin languages in the University of Leipzig, and is probably known to some of our readers as the publisher of an edition of Xenophon's Hellenics. Professor Heyné had hardly settled the terms of the compact, and agreed on a division of the labour, when his coadjutor was removed to the Professorship of Divinity. In consequence of this event, the scheme was relinquished entirely, until the year 1783, when the indefatigable midwife of the Muses engaged Beck, the editor of Euripides, to supply the place of Morus as the Professor's assistant.

After labouring nine years in the agreeable employment of collecting various readings, transcribing scholia, and hunting for quotations, Beck found that he could exert his industry to greater advantage in other pursuits; and, in the year 1792, Professor Heyné was left to carry on the work by himself.

In this distressing situation, he was fully sensible of the justice of Virgil's complaint. *The descent into a printing-house*, says the poet

poet *, *is easy and inviting. The abode of sable fiends stands wide open, both day and night. But to return to the ordinary occupations of life*, after finishing eight thick volumes in octavo, *that is the labour and the difficulty.* Professor Heyné would gladly have resigned the Elysian prospects of fame and profit which were before his eyes, if he could have released himself from the solemn treaty which he had formed with the inexorable bookseller. However, although this was forbidden by the Fates, some circumstances had occurred, which preserved him from despair. Reich, the aforesaid bookseller, had procured from Breslaw the collation of six manuscripts, and had purchased some other *subsidia* from Matthæi, who had resided long at Moscow. In the year 1788, Villoison acquired *immortal glory* by publishing the Venetian manuscript of Homer, which is illustrated with ample and important scholia, the cream of Alexandrian erudition, and is adorned with all the diacritical marks of asterisks and obelisks, and *doubles nodding inwards and nodding outwards.* At the sight of these comfortable characters, the drooping spirits of the Professor were revived. He returned to his labour with new ardour, and began to look round him for ways and means of bringing the work to a conclusion.

By the interposition of Mr Burgess, and the authority of the Bishop of Durham, he had obtained the use of Bentley's copy of Homer, in which that sagacious critic had restored with his pen the long lost digamma. He received this invaluable treasure from Cambridge, in the month of February 1790. To this instance of munificence, '*most worthy of the generous souls of Britons*,' he ascribes the principal merit of his edition; and he declares, that as long as Homer is read and valued, so long will the '*singular generosity*' of the University of Cambridge, in permitting him to inspect the aforesaid printed copy of Homer, scribbled in the margin, be held up to the admiration of mankind.

One of the most ancient and valuable manuscripts of Homer which exist, is in the possession of our countryman Mr Townley. The Professor, aware of the usual spirit of collectors in this and most other countries, modestly applied for some information respecting it, and was agreeably surprised at receiving from the liberal proprietor the loan of the precious original.

We will not fatigue our readers by enumerating the other *subsidia* of this kind which the gratitude of Professor Heyné induces him to commemorate; nor will we endeavour to rescue from oblivion the names of those unhappy persons by whom the most laborious part of the work was executed. We regret that one of these

* Æneid. VI. 126.

these subaltern artists was not employed at the conclusion of the work, in preparing an Index. The utility of the edition is very much diminished by the want of it. The professor excuses himself, on account of impatience which he felt to appear before the tribunal of the public.

The quotations from Homer which are found in the ancient writers, afforded much fewer various readings of consequence, than some persons would suspect. From the time when Homer was garbled by the Alexandrian critics, the readings do not differ materially from those of our present copies. The most important varieties are preserved traditionally by the grammarians and scholiasts, and were unknown to the generality of readers. It is probable, that, in many instances, where the citations differed from the common readings, the transcribers have carefully obliterated the distinction.

At the time when the Professor first applied himself to the study of Homer, little attention was paid to that poet in Germany; and a writer of the highest importance to a man of taste and a philosopher, was regarded chiefly as a repository for obsolete words, and inexplicable anomalies of dialect. The edition of Clarke, with the improvements of Ernesti, was supposed to have attained the summit of perfection. It is not our intention to speak with disrespect of one of the most eminent of our countrymen; but we must be permitted to say, that Clarke wanted some of the requisites for the task, which he undertook (like his edition of Cæsar) as a piece of courtly servility; and that Barnes, although absurd and injudicious, has deserved much more of Homer than any editor, except him whose labours are now before us. The edition of Clarke, however, had the merit of appearing in an agreeable form; and the study of Homer was much promoted by it, both in England and in Germany. In the latter country, editions were gradually multiplied. The keen and scrutinizing spirit of inquiry, which had invaded the slumbers of sacred criticism with so much temerity and success, found an additional object in the most ancient of profane writers; and, from the comparison of these venerable sources of Christian and Heathen theology, the knowledge of each was cultivated and improved.

Among the circumstances which contributed to render Homer an object of attention to the learned men of Germany, the Professor enumerates the publication of Wood's Essay on Homer, which appeared in the year 1770, and of the histories of Greece by Gillies and Mitford. The business of exploring the manners of the uncivilized nations of the world, in which our own country has laboured with such eminent success, had also a considerable effect in turning the eyes of the philosopher towards the most circumstantial

cumstantial and genuine picture of savage manners which antiquity has transmitted to us.

The materials for the edition being thus collected, by the industry of inferior artists, it remains to examine what part of the labour was devolved on the master workman. The object of the Professor was, as we have already mentioned, to explain every passage which required, and was capable of receiving explanation, and to present to the reader, at one view, an account of all that former critics, both antient and modern, had delivered worthy of being recorded, together with his own observations on their opinions. Much information, which had appeared new and curious twenty years before, was now become trite and vulgar. Nevertheless, he did not conceive himself justified, in omitting observations which could be of use to any reader; and although conciseness was his object, he was unwilling to refer to other books for instruction, on points more immediately connected with the object of his labours. For this reason, whatever he found in the former editions, worthy of notice, he transferred, in as few words as possible, into his own edition.

On the other hand, he conceived it to be unnecessary to adduce a cumbrous load of authorities, in support of truths, which no one doubts; to enumerate with scrupulous accuracy, the authors and supporters of every petty correction or explanation, or to produce a laborious refutation of every improbable cavil or objection. He was not desirous of displaying an accumulation of superfluous erudition; nor is Homer, like Charito, a writer of such little importance, as to be made the sunk foundation of a heavy pile, which is intended to exhibit the whole of the editor's acquired knowledge, in the form of a verbose and tedious commentary.

The experience of the Professor, as a public teacher, had convinced him that learners are in general satisfied with understanding the general sense of a passage, in a language which they are not desirous of speaking or writing, and that they have seldom sufficient activity of mind to investigate thoroughly the order and connexion of the numbers of a sentence, and the meaning of each word separately. We will give the first example which occurs. In the second line of the Iliad, the epithet ὀλοήν is applied to the anger of Achilles, which forms the subject of the poem. Ὀλομένη is a participle of the verb ὄλλυμι, which means, *to destroy*; and as the distinction of active and passive verbs is not quite so clearly marked in Greek, as in Latin, both teachers and learners are in general satisfied to translate this word *pernicious*, or *destroying*, which is a very proper epithet for the substantive to which it is joined. It requires, however, no extraordinary skill in Greek to know that ὀλέσθαι never means, *to destroy*, but always

ways, *to be destroyed.* Consequently, ὀλομένη cannot possibly mean, *that which destroys.* A little acquaintance with the practice of authors would show, that it means, *that which ought to be destroyed,* or, in one word, *cursed;* and that it is frequently applied to objects of displeasure of every kind. Attentive to these considerations, the Professor has entered very minutely into the grammatical construction of all the difficult passages. He observes, with great truth, that the use of Latin versions is, of all causes, that which most favours the imperfect mode of understanding Greek, which generally prevails. The labour which he has bestowed on this point, forms a very prominent feature of his edition. Yet, on turning over Professor Heyne's Latin version, we were surprised at finding that it agrees very faithfully with that of Clarke and Ernesti; and even in his notes, we think that he sometimes receives the interpretations of Eustathius, and the other commentators, with more deference than they are entitled to. In the second book, Ulysses is despatched by Agamemnon, in order to induce the Greeks to relinquish the intention which they had lately formed of abandoning the siege, and returning to their own country. Homer, ever attentive to the discrimination of manners, describes the mode in which Ulysses accosted the different orders of men whom he met. When he found a man of rank and eminence, he addressed him civilly, with a compliment:

Δαιμόνι, οὐ σὶ ἔοικε, κακὸν ὣς δειδίσσεσθαι. v. 190.

Which line the Professor translates, *Vir optime, non te decet, timidum uti trepidare.* Now, we apprehend, that δειδίσσομαι (in common Greek, δείδιττομαι) means exactly the contrary to *trepidare.* It signifies, *to frighten, to cause fear in others.* Those who recollect the style of argument which Ulysses uses, a few lines afterwards, to the lower orders, will perhaps agree with us, in rendering this verse, *It does not become me to threaten a man of your rank, like a fellow of no consequence.*

In settling the text of his author, the Professor has followed the mode which is dictated by common sense, as well as by the '*immortal*' Ernesti, and has estimated the authority of readings, not by the number, but by the value of the copies which support them. The library of the University of Gœttingen is rich in editions, and the public and private character of the Professor opened to him the door of every other collection. Modern manuscripts he properly rejected, unless, on examination, he found them to be transcribed from ancient and valuable copies. We shall not enlarge on this part of his work, as his plan does not differ materially from that which is adopted by the generality of enlightened editors. The various readings which are found in he margin, or at the conclusion of the editions previous to that

of Barnes, are all taken from printed copies. Three manuscripts were collated by Barnes; and nothing of much consequence has been done since, until the present edition. For the labours of Aristarchus and Aristophanes, Professor Heyné appears to entertain a proper contempt; but, as it is probable that the writings of Homer were never critically edited in the flourishing days of Greece, all to which a modern editor can aspire, is to restore them to the same state in which they were exhibited in the School of Alexandria. Whatever alterations he has made in the text, which in general is copied from the first of Wolf's editions, are conspicuously noted in the margin.

The introduction of the Digamma was a matter of considerable uncertainty. To have replaced it in the text, would have been too bold an innovation, and would have demanded the restoration of the ancient orthography in all its parts. Moreover, it is far from certain to what words it ought to be annexed; and there are many verses where it is required, which cannot be induced to admit it by any means which modest and prudent critics think themselves justified in employing. The conjunction ἰδὲ, *and*, although it is omitted in the Professor's catalogue, and sometimes obliterated in his text *, is a digammated word; and the remark is of some importance to an etymologist, as it proves that ἰδὲ is connected with the verb εἶδον, originally written ΕΡΙΔΟΝ, and not with the synonymous conjunction ἠδέ. Yet, if we are to write ΓΙΔΕ, how are we to correct verses like the following?

Μεσσηγὺς Σιμόεντος ἰδὲ Ξάνθοιο ῥοάων. Z. 4 †.

If we are to read ΓΟΙ ΕΝΙ ΓΟΙΚΟΙ, what becomes of Hesiod's

Ἐτρέφετ' ἀττάλλων μέγα νήπιος ᾧ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ? v. 131.

These instances (and some hundreds of similar passages may be found) do not subvert the general doctrine of the use of the Digamma; but they sufficiently prove, that the text of these ancient poets is too much corrupted and interpolated, to admit of an edition much more perfect than that which is now before us. We approve of the Professor's plan in this respect: he inserts the digammated words in their proper dress, in the space between the text and the short notes. In the execution of this design he is not quite so diligent and consistent as we should have expected. In v. 1. of the first book, he very properly writes ΠΗΛΗΓΙΑΔΕΩ. The same principle should have induced him to write ΑΤΡΕΓΙΔΗΣ,

* K. 573. κνήμας τε ἰδὲ λόφον. Prof. Heyné reads κνήμας τ' ἠδὲ λόφον.

† Professor Heyné's note offers two or three substitutes for this verse, one of which seems to have very good authority in its favour:

Μεσσηγὺς ποτάμοιο Σκαμάνδρου (i. e. Καμάνδρου) καὶ Σιμόεντος.

ΔΗΣ, vv. 7. 12. 15. ΒΑΣΙΛΗΓΙ, v. 9. ΝΗΓΑΣ, v. 12. etc. He writes οἰνοχόει, v. 598. instead of the Attic ᾠνοχόει, and in the margin gives ΓΟΙΝΟΧΟΕΙ: yet he has suffered ἤνδανε, v. 24. to remain unaltered; and instead of ΓΑΝΔΑΝΕ, writes ΓΗΝΔΑΝΕ in the margin, as if the augment could affect a vowel intrenched behind the Digamma.

Under the text are inserted short notes, which appear to form a kind of paraphrase, or very diffuse argument. Two volumes are occupied by this part of the work. The third contains a Latin version, preceded by a catalogue of manuscripts and editions; and the remaining five comprehend the honey which the Professor and his working bees have extracted from the flowers of all the libraries in Europe. Notes of inordinate length are taken out of their places, and inserted at the end of the commentary on each book, under the appellation of *Excursus*.

The Professor concludes his preface by apologizing for errors and imperfections, which his constant employment, and the distance at which he lives from the place where the book was printed, rendered him unable to avoid. He is sensible that the edition can be valuable to those only who are desirous of studying Homer with more than usual attention; for which reason he meditates a smaller edition, with a selection of those notes which are best adapted to the use of ordinary readers. The title-page, as our readers have probably perceived, promises the whole works of Homer: but we have not observed any mention of the Professor's intentions respecting the Odyssey.

Our readers will possibly feel some curiosity respecting the Professor's opinions of the history and nature of the work which he has elucidated with so much labour and success. The five last *excursus*, which occupy eight pages, and which may be entitled, not improperly, *the conclusion, in which nothing is concluded*, exhibit the substance of his investigation of this interesting and difficult subject.

Of the author or authors of the Iliad and Odyssey, nothing has been transmitted to us from high antiquity, although copious and circumstantial lives of Homer have been manufactured, in later times, by the ingenuity of sophists and grammarians. The authentic history of Homer contains nothing, except a very imperfect account of the fate of his writings. If we penetrate as far as we are able into the clouds of Grecian antiquity, we find them in the possession of the rhapsodists, a class of men which exists in every semi-barbarous nation, and whose profession consisted in reciting them for hire in public or private assemblies; from which circumstance they derived the name of Ὁμηρίδαι. The rhapsodists were nearly superseded by the establishment of a regular drama,

drama, an inſtitution much better calculated for the amuſement of the populace. But, while they exiſted, it was obviouſly their intereſt to prevent the circulation of written copies of poems, the recital of which conſtituted the means of their ſupport. The firſt mention of Homer which the Profeſſor finds, is in Pindar; but he has neglected to obſerve two fragments of Simonides, the contemporary and rival of Pindar, one of which is quoted in the Anthology of Stobæus, (p. 407. *ed. Grotii*), and the other by Athenæus, (p. 172. E). In the former of theſe paſſages, Homer is called Χίος ἀνὴρ, probably on the authority of the Hymn to Apollo, which is aſcribed to him. It is in the ſame paſſage that his blindneſs is originally mentioned, (v. 172.) Homer is adduced as hiſtorical evidence by Herodotus and Thucydides; and at the æra of the Peloponneſian war, we find his writings as familiar to the Athenians, as Shakeſpeare is to ourſelves. Before the birth of criticiſm, it appears that almoſt every ancient poem in which the fabulous hiſtory of Greece was commemorated, circulated with the ſtamp of Homer impreſſed upon it. The Iliad and Odyſſey, probably more from their intrinſic merit than from any other evidence, either internal or external, at length overcame all oppoſition. The apocryphal books were rejected from the orthodox canon; and, after ſlumbering for ſome time on the ſhelves of antiquaries, were quietly conſigned to oblivion. Yet the Margites, a work to which our Hudibras may be compared, maintained its reputation longer than moſt of its ſpurious brethren, and is quoted as genuine by Ariſtotle.

As we have not undertaken to write an eſſay on Homer, we ſhall content ourſelves with preſenting to our readers the opinions of Profeſſor Heyné, ſome of which do not appear to us to be incontrovertible. He cannot perſuade himſelf, that in an age in which writing was probably confined to inciſion on wooden planks, or blocks of ſtone, it was poſſible for one man to produce, from the ſtores of his own imagination, a poem ſo long and ſo perfectly well arranged as the Iliad. At whatever period the rhapſodies or ſeparate members of the poem were compoſed, he is perſuaded, and his opinion is by no means unſupported by traditional evidence, that the union and arrangement of them is the work of a later age. As the Iliad and Odyſſey are diſtinctly mentioned by Herodotus, that event muſt have taken place before the time of the Perſian invaſion. A vary faint and obſcure tradition aſcribes to Lycurgus, whoſe hiſtory is almoſt as much involved in darkneſs as the ſubject of our preſent inquiries, the introduction of ſome of Homer's writings into Greece from Ionia, which is commonly ſuppoſed to have been their native country. Time, which always renders falſehood more circum-

ſtantial, improved this ſtory ſo far, that Plutarch informs us, in the life of that lawgiver, that 'happening to find a complete copy of the poet's works at Samos, in the poſſeſſion of the deſcendants of a man who had been his intimate friend, he tranſcribed it with great avidity, and ſent it to Sparta, where, it ſeems, Homer was very little known; and imperfect copies of his writings were confined to a ſmall number of poſſeſſors.'

Some centuries after Lycurgus, a practice was inſtituted at Athens by the tyrant Piſiſtratus, or by one of his ſons, which tended to render the writings of Homer more familiar to the inhabitants of that city. At the feſtival called Panathenæa, at which the whole body of the Athenians was aſſembled, rhapſodiſts were appointed to recite them to the people, with the uſual accompaniment of geſture and vociferation. As the lungs of a ſingle perſon would have been inadequate to the taſk, a plurality of declaimers ſucceeded each other by turns, and poſſibly went through the whole. It is extremely probable that this inſtitution was imitated from the practice of ſome neighbouring ſtate. Be that as it may, Profeſſor Heyné is of opinion, that this ſtory is the only foundation for the confident aſſertions of later writers, who aſcribe the collection and arrangement of the *disjecta membra* of the Iliad to the tyrant Piſiſtratus. The Profeſſor juſtly remarks, that a paucity of certain information, reſpecting any fact, is extremely favourable to the conjectural ſpirit of ingenious men. In whatever age or country Homer may have exiſted, he has bequeathed to poſterity a collection of thirty thouſand verſes; and it does not require all the fancy of a Blackwell to extract from a maſs ſo ample, as full and accurate an account of the author, as if his executors had prefixed his life to the ſubſcription edition of his works. From this taſk the Profeſſor withdraws himſelf with becoming diffidence; and as it is our duty to follow him, after a few obſervations we ſhall take leave of this part of the ſubject.

If we reſtrain ourſelves from an unlimited uſe of conjecture, Profeſſor Heyné contends (in our opinion, with ſucceſs), that there is no circumſtance which can enable us to form any probable opinion reſpecting the age and country of Homer. Homer may have been a Bœotian, like Heſiod; or a Carian, like Herodotus. Nothing can be inferred from the uſe of a particular dialect by writers who are compelled, by cuſtom or caprice, to lay aſide the uſe of their native language, and compoſe in a foreign idiom. Homer has no claim to the title of an inventor. The ſongs of his ἀοιδοί, of Phemius and Demodocus, exactly reſemble his own epic; and the numberleſs alluſions to almoſt every part of the heroic hiſtory of Greece, which his writings exhibit, ſufficiently ſhow that the Theban war, the achievements of Hercules,

cules, and the domeſtic hiſtory of the Pelopidæ, were the ſubjects of poems which were popular at the time when he wrote. This circumſtance may perhaps incline us to diminiſh his antiquity as much as we can, without bringing him too near to the later literature of Greece. In one of the fragments of Simonides, which we have already mentioned, he is joined to the lyric poet Steſichorus, * in a manner from which the champions of his high antiquity muſt receive as much offence, as is afforded to the vehement ſupporters of the papal ſupremacy, by the firſt law of Juſtinian's code, in which the haughty Damaſus is exhibited arm in arm with Peter Biſhop of Alexandria, '*a man of apoſtolical ſanctity.*' Profeſſor Heyné is almoſt diſpoſed to agree with Theopompus and Dodwell, in making Homer contemporary with Archilochus, who lived in the reign of Gyges, King of Lydia, between the twentieth and thirtieth Olympiads. On this point, we can ſay nothing. The Ionic of Archilochus, as far as we can judge from a few fragments, is very different in its texture from that of Homer, and contains no veſtiges of the digamma. It is true, that the digamma was uſed about the time of Archilochus, by all the Dorian Greeks; certainly by Alcman, the oldeſt of their poets; and was retained long afterwards by the Æolians of Leſbos. If the diſcovery were poſſible, it would be proper to inquire, at what period it was laid aſide by the more poliſhed Ionians. The natives of this part of Great Britain pronounce the *w* of *write*, and the *gh* of *right*, which, in London, have probably been confounded with *rite* for ſeveral centuries. The digamma is not uſed, as far as we know, by any Ionic writers, except Homer and Heſiod, and the impoſtors who aſſume their names. The uſe of the digamma proves the antiquity of thoſe impoſitions. The authenticity of the more ancient Delphian oracles may be tried by this teſt.

We cannot forbear expreſſing a wiſh, that Profeſſor Heyné had preſented us, in ſome part of his work, with an abſtract of the authentic knowledge, which may be procured from the ancients reſpecting the hiſtory of Epic poetry in general. The Νόστοι, the Ἐπίγονοι, the Κύπρια ἔπη, the little Iliad of Leſches, are all the remote offspring of Homer; and an account of them would not be miſplaced in ſo bulky an edition of his works. We are, however, perſuaded, that he has abſtained from this inveſtigation, and from ſeveral others more immediately connected with Homer, on account of the ample diſcuſſions which have been produced reſpecting them, by that ſpirit of inquiſitive ſcepticiſm, which is

* The age of Steſichorus is very uncertain; but, by every computation, he was conſiderably younger than Archilochus.

almoſt excluſively confined to the laſt hundred years, and prevails in Germany to an extent which it has not yet reached in this country.

The remaining *excurſus* are for the moſt part employed in diſcuſſing queſtions of Homeric grammar, and do not appear to us to contain any thing particularly new or curious. We obſerve that Profeſſor Heyne is a member of that ſchool, which ſuppoſes the variety of tenſes which are exhibited in the grammar, and only in the grammar, to be the remains of different forms of the ſame verb. * On this point, we differ from him in the moſt decided manner. We are perſuaded, that forms which cannot be found, except in the works of etymologiſts, never exiſted. If we were diſpoſed to indulge in conjecture reſpecting the primitive language of Greece, we might perhaps adduce the example of Hebrew and Arabic, in confirmation of an opinion which we have ſometimes been tempted to entertain—that the modern ſecond aoriſt is the original foundation on which the ſuperſtructure of many verbs has been erected. Whoever has examined this ſubject with any degree of attention, muſt have been ſtruck by the great number of aoriſts, which have no correſponding preſent, and conſequently are connected in common uſe with preſents of a different form. Such are, ἧδικον (βάλλω), ἔπορον (δίδωμι), ἔτετμον (τυγχάνω), ἔφαγον (ἐσθίω), εἷλον (αἱρῶ), εἶπον (λέγω, for ἐνέπω is of a family perfectly different), ἐκρίαμεν (ὠνοῦμαι), ἔπιφνον (κτείνω), with its paſſive ἐπιφάμην, which is commonly miſtaken for a perfect, † and many others. In thoſe verbs in which this primitive

* This ſpirit has proceeded to ſo great a length, that Profeſſor Heyné, in his note on ἴκμενον οὖρον (A. 479.) finds it neceſſary to ſuppoſe, that there originally exiſted ſuch a form as ἴκμι. We recollect that Mr Abraham Adams expreſſes great contempt for ſuch perſons as are unable to conjugate verbs in μι. We doubt whether that profound Grecian, even with the aſſiſtance of his eldeſt ſon, would be able to decline ἴκμι.

† The reader muſt not ſuppoſe that this aſſertion is made without due conſideration, becauſe he finds πίφαται and πίφανται in our preſent copies of Homer. As the aoriſt is frequently uſed inſtead of the perfect, not only by Homer, but alſo by the Attic poets, who lived in an age when the difference of the tenſes was more accurately defined, the grammarians were induced to convert the το of theſe words into ται, by which alteration they not only improved the ſenſe, as they imagined, but frequently avoided the neceſſity of lengthening a ſhort ſyllable by poetic licenſe. Accordingly, we find that other editors have followed their example. In the Perſians of Æſchylus (v. 930.), the preſent reading is ἐξέφθιται; which we will venture to change into ἐξέφθιτο. If there really exiſted ſuch a perfect as ἔφθιμαι, the augment would be retained

primitive form of aoriſt appears to reſemble the preſent, as λαμβάνω, ἔλαβον; πείθω, ἔπιθον; βαίνω, ἔβην; it is generally more eaſy and natural to deduce the preſent from the aoriſt, than the aoriſt from the preſent. The common rules of etymology, which teach us to deduce complex forms from ſimple, ſhould lead us to derive μανθάνω from ἔμαθον, rather than ἔμαθον from μανθάνω, or both from an imaginary form μάθω. It would greatly facilitate the ſtudy of the Greek language, if theſe imaginary (the grammatical expreſſion is *obſolete*) themes of verbs, and imaginary tenſes of verbs which really exiſt, were entirely laid aſide. Why is not the Greek verb, like the Latin, preſented to ſchool-boys in the form which the ancients uſed, freed from the needleſs perplexities of the Alexandrian grammarians?

The moſt curious, as well as the longeſt of the Profeſſor's excurſions, is that reſpecting the uſe of the digamma (Vol. VII. 708-772), in which he gives a liſt of the words in which he thinks that the fugitive F ought to be replaced. We have already ſaid, that there is a much ſmaller portion of philoſophical, hiſtorical, and antiquarian reſearch in theſe volumes, than we ſhould have expected from Profeſſor Heyné. He ſeems to avoid the queſtion reſpecting the exiſtence of Troy, which has lately been debated with more acrimony than we think the ſubject deſerves; and we ſuſpect that he regards the claſſical remains which are ſaid to exiſt in the Troad, with the ſame degree of conviction which an incredulous Engliſh traveller would extend to the fabulous topography of our Saviour's life and ſufferings, which is ſo accurately delineated on the ſpot, by the Greek, Latin, and Armenian monks of Paleſtine.

We ſhall devote the remainder of this article to an abſtract of Profeſſor Heyné's Commentary on the Firſt Book of the Iliad. We are afraid that many of our readers peruſe our quarterly effuſions 'principally for their amuſement,' as Mr Sneer obſerves in the Critic. If we were diſpoſed to encourage ſuch unworthy practices,

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tained in the oblique modes, and the participle; of which there occurs no inſtance. We obſerve that Profeſſor Heyné is not exempt from this error. In v. 448. of the ſecond book, he has preferred the reading of Ariſtarchus, ἠείδοντο, to ἠείδοντο, which is the common, and we have no doubt, the correct reading. An examination of the above paſſage, and of many others which reſemble it, will tend to convince the reader that the aoriſt may be uſed for almoſt any tenſe, and that the grammarians of Alexandria were extremely unwilling to ſuppoſe that the Greek language had ever differed conſiderably from the dialect which was familiar to themſelves. Our limits will not allow us to explain the criteria by which we think theſe obſolete aoriſts may be diſtinguiſhed.

practices, perhaps we could cull entertainment for them out of a work which promiſes as little as that which we are now conſidering. Daniel Whitby, the antagoniſt of Mill, collected a very laughable miſcellany, to which he gave the name '*De Interpretatione SS. Scripturæ ſecundum Patres.*' The labours of Profeſſor Heyné would enable us to compile a ſimilar work, '*De interpretatione Homeri ſecundum Grammaticos Alexandrinos.*' But as it is by no means our object to amuſe our readers, but rather, in imitation of Socrates, to make them wiſer and better, we ſhall confine ourſelves, as much as poſſible, to the conſideration of adverbs and particles, beginning, as Ariſtotle ſays, from the beginning.

A. 1. ἄειδε. Protagoras the philoſopher was very angry with Homer for unpolitely addreſſing a deity, particularly a female one, in the imperative mode. Such of our readers as have occaſion to converſe with the muſes in Greek, will be careful to uſe the optative.

Ib. Ἀχιλῆος. Profeſſor Heyné is of opinion (we think juſtly), that the original orthography of this word, and others of the ſame kind (as Ὀδυσεύς), was with one Λ, and that the double letter was originally a poetical licenſe. The poetical form of words has frequently, although not always, ſuperſeded the other, even in proſe. If the pariſh regiſter of Troy had not been deſtroyed, it would probably appear that the ſon of Anchiſes was baptized by the name of Αἰνίας; but as a ſhort ſyllable cannot enter into an hexameter verſe between two long ones, the poets changed his name to Αἰνείας, which the Romans have imitated in Aenēas. In Greek, however, the original form is retained where it can be employed. Clergymen who are curious in pronunciation ought to read Ænēas in the Acts of the Apoſtles.

2. ἄλγεα θῆκε. So the Profeſſor wiſhes to read, and ſo he has altered the common text in a great many places. See vv. 5. 15. 57. 162. 199. 251. 446. 464. 487. He prefers the omiſſion of the augment to the eliſion of the laſt letter of the preceding word. We prefer the eliſion in general, and we have no doubt that anciently both words were written entire, as in Latin.

4. He writes δὲ ἰλιάδας, i. e. ΓΕΛΩΡΙΑ; and he remarks, that ἴλας is not derived from ἑλεῖν, *to take*, which is not digammated, but from εἱλεῖν, anciently ΓΕΙΛΕΕΝ, *to roll*.

6. διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε. Some read διὰ στάτην ἐρίσαντε, *quarrelled about a woman*, στάτα being, it ſeems, a Doric word for γυνή.

8. ξυνέηκε. We wonder that Profeſſor Heyné has not expelled ξὺν from Homer. It is ſo perfectly lawful to produce the laſt ſyllable of ἔριδι before a ſimple Σ, that we think it needleſs to reſort to ſuch expedients as multiplying forms without neceſſity.

11. τὸν Χρύσην. Profeſſor Heyné would be happy to correct all paſſages in which ὁ, ἡ, τὸ occur in Homer, in any other ſenſe than that of the demonſtrative οὗτος, or the relative ὅς.

14. στέμματ' ἔχων. The Profeſſor reads στέμμα τ' ἔχων.

15. We obſerve a curious miſtake, οἱ Δᾶρες, inſtead of Δαρεῖης or Δαρεῖεις.

20. The Profeſſor writes λῦσαί τε and δίχεσθαι in the infinitive, which is frequently uſed for the imperative by Homer, as well as by other writers. Τὰς διακρίσεως, &c. Δ. 53.

26. καιλῆσιν. The Ionic dative plural ought to be written without the ſubſcribed I. The probable foundation for the common orthography, is the opinion of the grammarians who ſuppoſe it to be deflected from the common form, whereas the common form, which is much more modern, is manifeſtly derived from it. The dative of this form appears to have been retained in Attic proſe longer than is generally ſuppoſed. Τοῖς ταμίαισι is twice found in an imperfect Attic inſcription, engraved in Stuart's Antiquities of Athens, (vol. ii. p. 15.) which is older than the Archonſhip of Euclides, Ol. XCIV. 2., as the double letters and long vowels are not uſed in it. This form was alſo uſed by the later Attics as a local adverb, as, Ἀθήνησι, Πλαταιᾶσιν, Ὀλυμπίασιν, Ἀλαπεκῆσι. Theſe words, which occur often in inſcriptions, are never written with the diphthong. Profeſſor Heyné has not paid much attention to theſe *minutiæ*, as we obſerve that he writes κρήνηον, ἔκπα, &c. We muſt, however, obſerve, in juſtice to the practice of the moderns, that ſome inſcriptions are to be found, which demonſtrate, if they are authentic, and correctly delineated, that in the pureſt ages of Greek literature, the ſame confuſion prevailed on this point of orthography, which appears in the manuſcripts of the tenth century. Our readers will recollect the famous inſcription which commemorates the names of thoſe who fell in the Cyprian war, which concluded the life of Cimon, the ſon of Miltiades, and in ſome other engagements which took place the ſame year. The hiſtory is ſuccinctly related by Thucydides, (b. i. c. 104.). A ſpecimen of the inſcription, which is now preſerved at Paris, may be ſeen in the Palæography of Montfaucon (p. 134.), and the names are copied at length by Maffei, in his *Galliæ Antiquitates Selectæ*, p. 84.). The beginning is as follows: ΗΟΙΔΕ ΕΝ ΤΟΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΙ ΑΠΕΘΑΝΟΝ. ΕΝ ΚΥΠΡΟΙ. ΕΝ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΙ. ΕΝ ΦΟΙΝΙΚΕΙ. ΕΝ ΑΛΙΕΥΣΙΝ. ΕΝ ΑΙΓΙΝΕΙ. ΜΕΓΑΡΟΣ. (Probably ΜΕΓΑΡΟΙ, the adverb, *at Megara*). ΕΝ ΤΟ ΑΥΤΟ ΕΝΙΑΥΤΟ. If theſe laſt words be correctly repreſented, it is ſufficiently clear, that the I of the dative ſingular was ſometimes omitted, even before the æra of the Peloponneſian war. Could we, by any art, evade the ΕΝ, we might conceive the other words to be in the genitive caſe, τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἰνιαυτοῦ. With reſpect to the dative plural, we will lay before our readers another inſcription, which may be found, in a very illegible ſtate, in the collection of Chandler, (p. 54.) The inſcription conſiſts of forty-four lines. Each line contains eleven letters. For the convenience of ſuch of our readers as are not converſant in theſe matters, we ſhall exhibit it in common characters, with ſpaces between the words. Each of our lines contains four lines of the original. The firſt ſixty-ſeven letters we ſhall leave to the ſagacity of abler antiquaries; and in the remainder, we have indulged ſome licenſe of conjectural emendation.

::: τοῖς ακολ:::::::ν καὶ :::: ασιν το ::::: τον καὶ : :::τοῖσιν ::ας απαρχ ::: τὸν χρόνον τῶν σποιδῶν. Τῶ Μεταγειτνιῶνος μηνὸς απὸ διχομηνίας, καὶ τὸν Βοηδρομιῶνα, καὶ τῶ Πυανοψιῶνος μέχρι δεκάτης ἱσταμένο. Τὰς δὲ σποιδὰς εἶναι ἐν τεῖσι πόλεσιν, καὶ ἀν χρῆνται τοῖ ἡιρεῖ, καὶ Αθηναίοισιν ἐκεῖ ἐν τεῖσιν αυτῖσι πόλεσιν. Τοῖσι δὲ ελάττοσι μυστηρίοισιν τὰς σποιδὰς εἶναι τῶ Γαμηλιῶνος μηνὸς απὸ διχομηνίας, καὶ τὸν Ανθεστηριῶνα, καὶ τῶ Ελαφηβολιῶνος μέχρι δεκάτης ἱσταμένο. Τὰ μὲν πανόσια, πανπλεῖ· τὰ δὲ ηικόσια, διπλεῖ· Σποιδὰς εἶναι τοῖσι Μυστῖσιν, καὶ τοῖς Επόπτεῦσιν, καὶ τοῖς ακολε-

Our readers will obſerve, that, in this inſcription, the dative plural has the I thrice, and wants it twice. The middle part of Μυστῖσιν is defaced; and it is from computing the number of the letters that we exhibit it without the I. As we are very deſirous of proving, that, before the age of Alexander the Great, the Greeks had a regular ſyſtem of orthography and pronunciation, we ſhould be happy at being convinced, that this monument, like the columns of Herodes Atticus, and many other ſimilar pieces, is the production of an ingenious ſophiſt. We muſt remark, that the order in which the month Pyanepſion (or Pyanopſion) is placed, does not agree with the hypotheſis of Petavius and Dodwell, who ſuppoſe, that until after the time of Ariſtotle, Boedromion was followed by Maimacterion.

66. αἴ κεν---βούλεται. The Profeſſor remarks, that αἴ κεν (i. e. ἐὰν) requires the ſubjunctive; but he does not ſeem diſpoſed to allow that βούλεται is both indicative and ſubjunctive. The poets retained the power of ſhortening the penult of the ſubjunctive, long after the invention of the long H and Ω. In ver. 363. ἵνα εἴδομεν ἄμφω, he ſuppoſes εἴδομεν to be an indicative. We wiſh to know to what verb it belongs. Εἴδω, *to know*, is a verb confined to the grammar. According to the doctrine which we have already laid down, the parent of all this family is the aoriſt ἰδεῖν, *to ſee*, which neither has, nor ever had, a preſent, except ὁράω. From ἰδεῖν comes οἶδα, *to know*, which, in the future, εἴσομαι (ſometimes εἰδήσω), and in the oblique modes, εἰδῶ, εἰδείην, εἰδέναι, εἰδώς, changes the O into E, and ſometimes loſes both the prepoſitive vowels. The forms which we frequently find, ἴσομεν, ἴστε, ἴσασι, ἴσθι, &c. are only contractions and corruptions of οἴδαμεν, &c. from which the Dorians have invented their ἴσαμι. From ἰδεῖν is alſo derived εἴδομαι, *to ſeem, to reſemble*, which commonly appears in the perfect form ἔοικα, ſometimes εἴκα, of which the future is εἴξω, as from the perfects ἕστηκα and τέθηκα are derived ἑστήξω and τεθήξω.

77. ἔπεσι. Profeſſor Heyné's ſyſtem reſpecting the N ἐφελκυστικὸν is as follows. He retains it before a vowel, and in every ſituation in which he thinks a word which does not admit of it could not ſtand. He writes φώνησέν τε (ver. 333.), as he ſuppoſes that φώνησέ τε could not, by the moſt violent exertion of poetical authority, be induced to terminate a verſe. In other places, he commonly omits it. We ſhall offer no remark on his ſyſtem, except that we agree with him in thinking that the

the collation of manuſcripts, and the opinion of ancient grammarians, can have no weight in deciding the diſpute. He reads ἔπεσι, 150, 211; ἄλλοισι, 295; ἠπείλησεν, 388; πρῆσε, 481; ἔθεε, 483; εὗρεν, 498; ὀφέλλωσι, 510.

85. A ſcholiaſt remarks, "οἶσθα χωρὶς τοῦ Σ," which the Profeſſor does not ſeem to underſtand. The ſcholiaſt alludes to οἶσθας, which is not an unfrequent barbariſm.

91. ἄριστος ἐνὶ στρατῷ. For ἐνὶ στρατῷ Profeſſor Heiné ſubſtitutes Ἀχαιῶν in the text, which has the authority of Ariſtarchus, Ariſtophanes, Soſigenes, and Zenodotus.

103. φρὴν is the diaphragm, and θυμὸς the liver. It is curious to obſerve how perfectly material an uncultivated language is.

ib. ἀμφιμέλαιναι. Profeſſor Heyné reads ἀμφὶ μέλαιναι.

117. Although an example occurs five lines before, of the ſuppreſſion of πᾶλλον before or after βούλομαι, none of the ancient critics were able to divine the meaning of this line; and Zenodotus boldly rejects it as ſpurious. Agamemnon declares, in a ſtyle very proper for a commander in chief, that '*he would rather the army ſhould be ſaved than periſh.*' This patriotic ſentiment is not unfrequently tranſlated, '*I do not care whether the army be preſerved or deſtroyed.*'

129. Δῷσι or δῶσι? We prefer δῷσι, from the analogy of the ſecond perſon: τίθης, τίθησι; λέγῃς, λέγῃσι.

133. ἢ ἐθέλεις. Moſt of the ancient editions read ἠὲ θέλεις, which laſt is not an Homeric word. See ver. 273.

149. ἀναιδείην. This word, and all others which reſemble it in form, we believe to be barbarous, and that the proper orthography is ἀναιδίην, ἀληθίην, in which the penult is made long from neceſſity, as is frequently done in ἀεργίην, and many ſimilar words, which have no pretenſion to be written with the diphthong. (See ver. 205.) We do not believe that the Attic mode of forming ſubſtantives in -εια from adjectives in -ης, was known to Homer; and if it were, he would have written, as they did, ἀναιδειαν, with the laſt ſyllable ſhort. Neither poetic licenſe, nor the Ionic dialect, converts a ſhort α in the end of a word into η. Μίη, which is frequently found in our preſent editions of Herodotus, ought to be altered to μία. It is exactly ſuch an Ioniſm as χειρᾶν and γυναικᾶν are Doriſms. Profeſſor Heyné has not attended to this conſideration.

153. Αἴτιος in Homer is ὑπὸ αἰτίαν κείμενος.

159. Τιμὴν ἀρνύμενοι is τιμωρίαν εἰσπραττόμενοι.

164. Profeſſor Heyné prefers εὖ ναιόμενον to εὐναιόμενον, on which ſubject he has an *Excurſus*. We differ from him, although not confidently, and we think that the participle has a tendency to combinations of this kind, even where the verb rejects them, as, εὐκτίμενος, δακρυχέων, καρηκομόωντες, νουνεχόντως.

168. ἐπὴν κεκάμω and ἐπεί κε κάμω are both Greek; but we are ſurpriſed that Profeſſor Heyné does not ſtigmatize ἐπήν κε κάμω as a groſs barbariſm.

170, 171. οὐδὲ σ' ὀΐω, &c. This deſperate paſſage does not receive much new light from the Profeſſor's animadverſions. Whether we ſuppoſe

ἀφύξειν to relate to Agamemnon or to Achilles, it is impossible to force the words into order, without violating the common laws of construction. The most probable solution of the difficulty is to read τ' for σ'. Compare οἴομαι ἀνδρὰ χολώσεμεν. ver. 78. which the Professor persists in translating *puto virum iratum fore*, instead of *I think that I shall exasperate*, &c. We cannot allow σ' to stand for σοι.

171. ἄφενος. Is the Professor serious, when he records the etymology of this word, ἀφ' ἑνὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ, *the fruit of one year?*

187. ἴσον ἐμοὶ φάσθαι. The Professor's interpretation is φάσθαι ἑαυτὸν εἶναι ἴσον ἐμοί. If he, or any one else, supposes that φάσθαι is more capable of bearing this sense than φᾶναι, they are mistaken, as the two forms are perfectly synonymous.

191. For ἐνωρίζοι the Professor substitutes ἐνωρίζοι, for good reasons, and on good authority.

193. On occasion of the interposition of Minerva to prevent Achilles from laying violent hands on Agamemnon, Professor Heyné remarks: 'Semel monendum est: quod nunc inter vulgo nota habetur, ante xx annos non æque: quicquid homines cogitant, suscipiunt, peragunt, ita ut concilii suscepti caussa aut obvia non sit, aut ratio quomodo res gesta sit, vulgo non occurrat; id ad numen referri, quod id aut clam moneat, aut homines ad id impellat aut eos afflet, aut clam adjuvet rebusque agendis ipsum intersit.' We entreat the reader to observe the wonderful progress of philosophy within the last twenty years.

203. ἢ ἵνα ὕβριν ἴδῃς. The Professor reads ἴδῃ, but the reading of Eustathius, ἴδη (for ἴδηαι), is certainly the best; and, as a general rule, we would always restore the uncontracted forms in Homer when it is possible. We would read μετατρέπε' 160. ἀφαιρέεται 182. Πατρόκλεις 336. ἔπε' 504.

204. The Professor reads τελέεσθαι instead of τετελέσθαι; and observes, that the *readings* of Aristarchus, Zenodotus, and the other grammarians, are in general nothing more than conjectural emendations, and consequently have no more authority than those of Bentley or himself. We acquiesce most perfectly in this opinion.

216. Professor Heyné observes, that Apollonius Rhodius uses σφωΐτερος, which is properly a dual, for σφέτερος. We consider the Ionisms (*rectius* Iasms) of Apollonius, and the Atticisms of Lucian, as far inferior in authority to the Latinity of Bembo or Erasmus.

244. This verse is considered as spurious by Bentley and Professor Heyné. One great part of the criticism of the ancients on Homer consisted in rejecting passages which they did not understand, or which did not suit their ideas of the poet or the poem. The boldest of these men seems to have been Zenodotus. In our account of the Professor's notes, we have taken no notice of their opinions, because we do not think that in general they deserve the smallest regard. One critic conceives it to be unsuitable to the gravity of Agamemnon to tell Chryses that he loves his daughter better than Clytæmnestra, his κουριδίη ἄλοχος. Another wishes to reject the scolding scene between the two heroes. A third does not approve of Minerva pulling Achilles by the hair. Professor

fessor Heyné has in general exhibited the sentiments of these ingenious critics very faithfully.

230. οἴποι. Professor Heyné reads οἴπῃ.

258. περὶ—βουλήν. The Professor has judiciously restored the accusative for the dative, on the authority of the Venetian manuscript. He compares N, 621. Od. Λ, 66. Σ, 247.

265. Θησέα τ' Αἰγείδην. This verse is wanting in some of the best manuscripts, and was probably interpolated by the vanity of the Athenians. As to the quantity of the last syllable, which Clarke suspects to be long, we must observe, that there is a perfect analogy between the genitive and accusative. Homer does not use βασιλέως, consequently he did not use βασιλεᾶ. In Attic prose, the long form only ought to be used: in verse, both are employed.

273. ξύνιον. The Professor reads ξύνιον for ξυνίεσαν, which is the common form.

277. μηδὲ σὺ, Πηλείδη, θέλ'. As θέλω does not occur in Homer except in this line, wonderful pains have been taken to get rid of it. Professor Heyné cuts the knot, and reads 'θέλ' with the apostrophus.

278. The Professor suspects ἔμμορε to be an aorist: we believe it to be a perfect, for a very simple reason, which is, that ε or οι does not become ο in the aorist. If it were an aorist, it would probably be written ἔμμαρε.

283. λίσσομ' Ἀχιλλεῖ, &c. None of the ancients have commented on this verse, except Eustathius, whose explanation is received by Professor Heyné: λιτανεύει τὸν βασιλέα παύσασθαι τοῦ χόλου τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ.

291. προθέουσι. We know not what to make of this word, but we cannot allow it to stand for προτιθέασι.

294. εἰ δή σοι πᾶν ἔργον ὑπεύξομαι ὅττι κεν εἴποις. 'In the first place,' says Bentley, 'Homer never says ἔργον εἰποῖν, but always ἔπος εἰποῖν. Secondly, οἴκω requires the digamma. Correct, therefore, τι ἔπος ὑποείξομαι.' Professor Heyné properly substitutes οἴπῃς for οἴποις, but declines giving an opinion on the other points.

296. Σήμαιν', οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἔτι σοι πείσεσθαι οἴω. This verse is rejected by Longinus, Bentley, and Professor Heyné in his notes, who all put a stop after μὴ γὰρ ἔμοιγε in the preceding line.

298. οὔτι. Professor reads οὔτοι.

301. ἀνελών. The Professor reads ἂν ἑλών.

344. μαχέοιντο Ἀχαιοι. In order to avoid this ugly *hiatus*, Barnes and Bentley both read μαχεοίατ', with the approbation of Professor Heyné. We have no doubt that the real reading is μαχέονται in the future. There is hardly any ancient form of speech which the transcribers have so diligently laboured to extirpate, as ὅπως followed by a future.

361. ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἐκ τ' ὀνόμαζε. One of the ancients translates this phrase, which occurs so often, *Spoke verbs and nouns.* ἔπος is the same as ῥῆμα, *a verb.*

423. ἐπ' Ὠκεανόν. The Professor reads ἐς Ὠκεανόν.

424. μετὰ δαῖτα. The Professor inserts κατὰ δαῖτα in his text, on what appears to us to be insufficient authority.

428. ἀπίβησατο. We prefer the other form ἀπέβησατο, and also ἔβησατο.

444. ὄφρ' ἱλασόμεσθα ἄνακτα. This reading, which admits the digamma, is at last received into the text, not only on the authority of Dawes and Bentley, but also on that of most of the manuscripts.

483. κίλνυθα. The Professor reads κίλνυθον.

489. Πηλίος υἱός. We are surprised that Professor Heyné chooses to make a crasis of the two last syllables of Πηλίος, not having the fear of the digamma before his eyes, rather than to adopt Barnes's reading Πηλῆος, which requires the first syllable of υἱὸς to be shortened: a license, for which it is unnecessary to produce other authority than Δρύαντος υἱός. Z. 130.

491. The Professor observes that φθινύθω is synonymous both with φθίω and φθίομαι. Φθινύθω is the same as φθίνω, which, in an active sense, has the future φθίσω, and the aorist ἔφθισα. The passive future and aorist are φθίσομαι and ἐφθίμην. We mention this circumstance, because learners who find a verb used indiscriminately in one of its tenses, sometimes suppose that it may be confounded in all of them. The verb καθίζω is used in the same manner by Attic writers.

513. Instead of ἧστο, which is an Attic form, the Professor restores ἵστο.

522. μή σε νοήσῃ. The Professor reads μή τι νοήσῃ.

533. Ζεὺς δὲ ἰὸν πρὸς δῶμα. The digammated form of ἰὸς was, as Professor Heyné remarks, ΕΓΟΣ rather than ΓΕΟΣ. Many words which appear to have had a digamma after the initial Ε, sometimes lose the Ε, in the same manner as ΕΓΟΣ becomes ΓΟΣ. Such are ΕΓΕΙΚΟΣΙ, ΕΓΕΡΓΩ, ΕΓΕΔΑΝΟΝ, ΕΓΕΛΑΩΡ, ΕΓΙΣΟΣ. In the present verse, he thinks that ΖΕΥΣ ΔΕ ΓΟΝ is allowable. Perhaps, on the same principle, we may venture to correct ver. 18. Ἐκπέρσαι Πριάμου πόλιν, εὖ δὲ ΓΟΙΚΑΔ' ἱκέσθαι. Bentley reads καὶ for εὖ δ', which is too violent an alteration. Professor Heyné wishes to substitute Ἄργος for οἶκαδ'.

543. νοήσεις. The Professor reads νοήσῃς.

549. Professor Heyné justly suspects ἐγὼν to be, in every part of Homer, an invention of the grammarians.

555. μή σε παρείπῃ. As παρείπῃ requires the digamma, Bentley boldly substitutes παρείληθ. Professor Heyné is of opinion, *nobis reclamantibus*, that, in compound words, the digamma may be dropped at pleasure.

566. μή νύ τοι οὐ χραίσμωσιν ὅτοι θεοὶ οἵ σ' ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ
ἔσσον ἰόντ', ὅτι κέν τοι ἀάπτους χεῖρας ἰφθίμω.

Professor Heyné remarks, that ἔσσον ἴεναι means *to attack*, and that consequently ἰόντ' must be the accusative applied to Jupiter, and governed by χραίσμωσιν, which form he illustrates by Υ, 296. οὐκ αὐτῷ χραίσμωσιν ἄλεθρον.

585. ἐν χειρί. The Professor reads ἐν χερί.

608. πούσιν ἰδυίησι. Professor Heyné has restored the true reading for πούσ' ἰδυίησι, which does not admit the digamma. He also reads ταῦτα ἰδυίῃ, v. 366.

We

We ſhall not continue our reſearches any farther, as we preſume our readers are ſufficiently convinced how little advantage is to be derived, in an edition of Homer, from the moſt accurate and attentive examination of all the documents which at preſent exiſt. The great obſtacle which ſtands in the way of the critic, in his attempts to reſtore theſe venerable remains to their original purity, is the abſolute impoſſibility of diſtinguiſhing the parts which are interpolated from thoſe which are genuine. We have already mentioned, that the criticiſms of the Alexandrian grammarians, are much better calculated to miſlead thoſe who confide in them, or to amuſe thoſe who deſpiſe them, than to elucidate obſcurities, or to detect impoſitions. In a lower and more humble ſtyle of criticiſm, much may be done, and much of what was poſſible has been executed by Profeſſor Heyné. His work will, in a great meaſure, preclude the neceſſity of farther collations, from which nothing of conſequence can be expected; and when the Greek language is better underſtood than it is at preſent, it will be reſorted to as a rich repoſitory of philological information.

We had almoſt forgotten to mention, that this book is printed on three different papers. The two beſt have the recommendation of being extremely dear, and of containing a great number of head and tail pieces, ſimilar to thoſe which adorn the Profeſſor's edition of Virgil.

We ſhall now take our leave of this uſeful and valuable publication. Profeſſor Heyné is, we believe, *ſeptuagenario major;* but we do not deſpair of being called upon, in a ſhort time, to give our opinion of his edition of the Odyſſey. So much of the labour which is common to both poems, is anticipated in the Iliad, that the publication of the Odyſſey will be attended by very little trouble. We regret that the ſituation in which Profeſſor Hayné is placed, does not permit him to devote the whole of his time to purſuits for which he poſſeſſes ſo many qualifications. Literature, in Germany, is a trade, and a liberal education is conſidered as unneceſſary to youths whoſe circumſtances enable them to ſubſiſt without the exerciſe of a profeſſion. For this reaſon, inſtances of men of learning, whoſe time is not occupied by the duty of public inſtruction, are much rarer in Germany than in England. In England, we have not derived from the labours of ſuch perſons, the advantages which we might have expected. Mental indolence is the faithful companion of wealth; and, in our own country, as well as in every other, the moſt meritorious exertions in literature have been made by thoſe who were unable to devote to their favourite purſuits more than a few irregular hours ſtolen from the performance of duties on which their ſubſiſtence depended.

ART.

ART. IV. *Travels in Turkey, Asia Minor, and Syria, &c. and into Egypt.* By William Wittman, M. D. 1803. London. Phillips.

DR WITTMAN was sent abroad with the military mission to Turkey, towards the spring of 1799, and remained attached to it during its residence in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, its march through the desert, and its short operations in Egypt. The military mission, consisting of General Koehler, and some officers and privates of the artillery and engineers, amounting in the whole to seventy, were assembled at Constantinople, June 1799, which they left in the same month of the following year, joined the Grand Vizier at Jaffa in July, and entered Egypt with the Turks in April 1801. After the military operations were concluded there, Dr Wittman returned home by Constantinople, Vienna, &c.

The travels are written in the shape of a journal, which begins, and concludes, with the events which we have just mentioned. It is obvious, that the route described by Dr Wittman is not new: He could make no cursory and superficial observations, upon the people whom he saw, or the countries through which he passed, with which the public are not already familiar. If his travels were to possess any merit at all, they were to derive that merit from accurate physical researches, from copious information on the state of medicine, surgery, and disease in Turkey; and, above all, perhaps from gratifying the rational curiosity which all inquiring minds must feel, upon the nature of the plague, and the indication of cure. Dr Wittman, too, was passing over the same ground trodden by Bonaparte in his Syrian expedition, and had an ample opportunity of inquiring its probable object, and the probable success which (but for the heroic defence of Acre) might have attended it: he was on the theatre of Bonaparte's imputed crimes, as well as his notorious defeat; and might have brought us back, not amile conjecture, but sound evidence, of events which must determine his character, who may determine our fate. We should have been happy also to have found in the travels of Dr Wittman, a full account of the tactics and manœuvres of the Turkish army; and this, it would not have been difficult to have obtained through the medium of his military companions. Such appear to us to be the subjects, from an able discussion of which, Dr Wittman might have derived considerable reputation, by gratifying the ardour of temporary curiosity, and adding to the stock of permanent knowledge.

Upon opening Dr Wittman's book, we turned, with a considerable degree of interest, to the subject of Jaffa: and, to do justice

juſtice to the Doctor, we ſhall quote all that he has ſaid upon the ſubject of Bonaparte's conduct at this place.

'After a breach had been effected, the French troops ſtormed, and carried the place. It was probably owing to the obſtinate defence made by the Turks, that the French Commander in Chief was induced to give orders for the horrid maſſacre which ſucceeded. Four thouſand of the wretched inhabitants, who had ſurrendered, and who had, in vain, implored the mercy of their conquerors, were, together with a part of the late Turkiſh garriſon of El-Ariſh (amounting, it has been ſaid, to five or ſix hundred) dragged out in cold blood, *four days after the French had obtained poſſeſſion of Jaffa*, to the ſand hills, about a league diſtant, in the way to Gaza, and there moſt inhumanly put to death. I have ſeen the ſkeletons of theſe unfortunate victims, which lye ſcattered over the hills; a modern Golgotha, which remains a laſting diſgrace to a nation calling itſelf civilized. It would give pleaſure to the author of this work, as well as to every liberal mind, to hear theſe facts contradicted on ſubſtantial evidence. Indeed, I am ſorry to add, that the charge of cruelty againſt the French general does not reſt here; it having been reported that, previouſly to the retreat of the French army from Syria, their Commander in Chief had ordered all the French ſick at Jaffa to be poiſoned. I was led to make the inquiry to which every one who ſhould have viſited the ſpot would naturally have been directed, reſpecting an act of ſuch ſingular, and, it ſhould ſeem, wanton inhumanity. It concerns me to have to ſtate, not only that ſuch a circumſtance was poſitively aſſerted to have happened; but that, while in Egypt, an individual was pointed out to us, as having been the executioner of theſe diabolical commands.' p. 128.

Now, in this paſſage, Dr Wittman offers no other evidence whatever of the maſſacre, than that he had ſeen the ſkeletons ſcattered over the hills, and that the fact was univerſally believed. But how does Dr Wittman know what ſkeletons thoſe were which he ſaw? An oriental camp, affected by the plague, leaves as many ſkeletons behind it as a maſſacre. And though the Turks bury their dead, the Doctor complains of the very little depth at which they are interred: ſo that jackals, high winds, and a ſandy ſoil, might, with great facility, undo the work of Turkiſh ſextons. Let any one read Dr Wittman's account of the camp near Jaffa, where the Turks remained ſo long in company with the military miſſion, and he will immediately perceive that a year after their departure, it might have been miſtaken, with great eaſe, for the ſcene of a maſſacre. The ſpot which Dr Wittman ſaw, might have been the ſpot where a battle had been fought. In the turbulent ſtate of Syria, and amidſt the variety of its barbarous inhabitants, can it be imagined that every bloody battle, with its preciſe limits and circumſcription, is accu-

rately

rately committed to tradition, and faithfully reported to inquirers? Beſides, why ſcattered among hills? If 5000 men were marched out to a convenient ſpot and maſſacred, their remains would be heaped up in a ſmall ſpace, a mountain of the murdered, a vaſt ridge of bones and rottenneſs. As the Doctor has deſcribed the bone ſcenery, it has much more the appearance of a battle and purſuit, than of a maſſacre. After all, this gentleman lay eight months under the walls of Jaffa; whence comes it he has given us no better evidence? Were 5000 men murdered in cold blood, by a diviſion of the French army, a year before, and did no man remain in Jaffa, who ſaid, I ſaw it done—I was preſent when they were marched out—I went the next day, and ſaw the ſcarcely dead bodies of the victims? If Dr Wittman received any ſuch evidence, why did he not bring it forward? If he never inquired for ſuch evidence, how is he qualified to write upon the ſubject? If he inquired for it, and could not find it, how is the fact credible?

This author cannot make the ſame excuſe as Sir Robert Wilſon, for the ſuppreſſion of his evidence; as there could be no probability that Bonaparte would wreak his vengeance upon Soliman Aga, Muſtapha Cawn, Sidi Mahomet, or any given Turks, upon whoſe poſitive evidence Dr Wittman might have reſted his accuſation. Two ſuch wicked acts, as the poiſoning and the maſſacre, have not been committed within the memory of man;—within the ſame memory, no ſuch extraordinary perſon has appeared, as he who is ſaid to have committed them; and yet, though their commiſſion muſt have been public, no one has yet ſaid, *Vidi ego.* The accuſation ſtill reſts upon hearſay.

At the ſame time, widely diſſeminated as this accuſation has been over Europe, it is extraordinary that it has not been contradicted in print; and, though Sir Robert Wilſon's book muſt have been read in France, that no officer of the diviſion of Bon, has come forward in vindication of a criminal who could repay ſedulity ſo well. General Andreoſſi, who was with the Firſt Conſul in Syria, treats the accuſations as contemptible falſehoods. But though we are convinced he is a man of character, his evidence has certainly leſs weight, as he may have been ſpeaking in the maſk of diplomacy. As to the general circulation of the report, he muſt think much higher of the ſagacity of multitudes than we do, who would convert this into a reaſon of belief. Whoever thinks it ſo eaſy to get at truth in the midſt of paſſion, ſhould read the various hiſtories of the recent rebellion in Ireland; or he may, if he chooſes, believe, with thouſands of worthy Frenchmen, that the *infernale* was planned by Mr Pitt and

and Lord Melville. As for us, we will state what appears to us to be the truth, should it even chance to justify a man, in whose lifetime Europe can know neither happiness nor peace.

The story of the poisoning is given by Dr Wittman precisely in the same desultory manner as that of the massacre. 'An individual was pointed out to us as the executioner of these diabolical commands.' By how many persons was he pointed out as the executioner? by persons of what authority? and of what credibility? Was it asserted from personal knowledge, or merely from rumour? Whence comes it that such an agent, after the flight of his employer, was not driven away by the general indignation of the army? If Dr Wittman had combined this species of information with his stories, his conduct would have been more just, and his accusations would have carried greater weight. At present, when he who had the opportunity of telling us so much, has told us so little, we are rather less inclined to believe, than we were before. We do not say, these accusations are not true, but that Dr Wittman has not proved them to be true.

Dr Wittman did not see more than two cases of plague: he has given both of them at full length. The symptoms were, thirst, headache, vertigo, pains in the limbs, bilious vomitings, and painful tumors in the groins. The means of cure adopted were, to evacuate the primæ viæ; to give diluting and refreshing drinks; to expel the redundant bile by emetics; and to assuage the pain in the groin by fomentations and anodynes: Both cases proved fatal. In one of the cases, the friction with warm oil was tried in vain; but it was thought useful in the prevention of plague: The immediate effect produced was, to throw the person rubbed into a very copious perspiration. A patient in typhus, who was given over, recovered after this discipline was administered.

The boldness and enterprize of medical men, is quite as striking as the courage displayed in battle; and evinces how much the power of encountering danger depends upon habit. Many a military veteran would tremble to feed upon *pus*; to sleep in sheets running with water; or to draw up the breath of feverish patients. Dr White might not, perhaps, have marched up to a battery with great alacrity; but Dr White, in the year 1801, inoculated himself in the arms, with recent matter taken from the bubo of a pestiferous patient, and rubbed the same matter upon different parts of his body. With somewhat less of courage, and more of injustice, he wrapt his Arab servant in the bed of a person just dead of the plague. The Doctor died; and the Doctor's man (perhaps to prove his master's theory, that the plague was not contagious) ran away.—The bravery of our naval officers never produced any thing superior to this therapeutic heroism of the Doctor's.

Dr Wittman has a chapter, which he calls '*An Historical Journal of the Plague;*' but the information which it contains amounts to nothing at all. He confesses, that he has had no experience in the complaint; that he has no remedy to offer for its cure, and no theory for its cause *. The treatment of the minor plague of Egypt, Opthalmia, was precisely the method common in this country; and was generally attended with success, where the remedies were applied in time.

Nothing can be conceived more dreadful, than was the situation of the military mission in the Turkish camp; exposed to a mutinous Turkish soldiery, to infection, famine, and a scene of the most abominable filth and putrefaction; and this they endured, for a year and a half, with the patience of apostles of peace, rather than war. Their occupation was to teach diseased barbarians, who despised them; and thought it no small favour that they should be permitted to exist in their neighbourhood. They had to witness the cruelties of despotism, and the passions of armed and ignorant multitudes; and all this embellished with the fair probability of being swept off, in some grand engagement, by the superior tactics and activity of the enemy to whom the Turks were opposed. To the filth, irregularity, and tumult of a Turkish camp, as it appeared to the British officers in 1800, it is curious to oppose the picture of one drawn by Busbequius in the middle of the sixteenth century: 'Turcæ in proximis campis tentebant; cum vero in eo loco tribus mensibus vixerim, fuit mihi facultas videndorum ipsorum castrorum, et cognocendæ aliqua ex parte disciplinæ: qua de re nisi pauca attingam, habeas fortasse quod me accuses. Sumpto habitu Christianis hominibus in illis locis usitato, cum uno aut altero comite quacunque vagabar ignotus: primum videbam summo ordine cujusque corporis milites suis locis distributos, et, quod vix credat, qui nostratis militiæ consuetudinem novit, summam erat ubique silentium, summa quies, rixa nulla, nullum cujusquam insolens factum: sed ne vox quidem aut vitulatio per lasciviam aut ebrietatem emissa. *Ad hæc summa mundities, nulla sterquilinia, nulla purgamenta,* nihil quod oculos aut nares offenderet. Quicquid est hujusmodi, aut defodiunt Turcæ, aut procul à conspectu submovent. Sed nec ullas compotationes aut convivia, nullum aleæ genus, magnum nostratis militiæ flagitium, videre erat: nulla lusoriarum chartarum, neque tesserarum damna norunt Turcæ.' *Augeri Busbequii, Epist.* 3. *p.* 187. *Hanoviæ* 1622. There is at present, in the Turkish army, a curious mixture of the severest despotism in the commander, and the most rebellious

* One fact, mentioned by Dr Wittman, appears to be curious;—that Constantinople was nearly free from plague during the interruption of its communication with Egypt.

rebellious insolence in the soldier. When the soldier misbehaves, the Vizier cuts his head off, and places it under his arm. When the soldier is dissatisfied with the Vizier, he fires ball through his tent, and admonishes him, by these messengers, to a more pleasant exercise of his authority. That such severe punishments should not confer a more powerful authority, and give birth to a better discipline, is less extraordinary, if we reflect, that we hear only that the punishments are severe, not that they are steady, and that they are just; for, if the Turkish soldiers were always punished with the same severity when they were in fault, and never but then, it is not in human nature to suppose, that the Turkish army would long remain in as contemptible a state as it now is. But the governed soon learn to distinguish between systematic energy, and the excesses of casual and capricious cruelty: the one awes them into submission, the other rouses them to revenge.

Dr Wittman, in his chapter on the Turkish army, attributes much of its degradation to the altered state of the corps of Janissaries; the original constitution of which corps was certainly both curious, and wise. The children of Christians, made prisoners in the predatory incursions of the Turks, or procured in any other manner, were exposed in the public markets of Constantinople. Any farmer or artificer was at liberty to take one into his service, contracting with government to produce him again when he should be wanted; and, in the mean time, to feed and clothe him, and to educate him to such works of labour as are calculated to strengthen the body. As the Janissaries were killed off, the government drew upon this stock of hardy orphans for its levies; who, instead of hanging upon weeping parents at their departure, came eagerly to the camp, as the situation which they had always been taught to look upon as the theatre of their future glory, and towards which, all their passions and affections had been bent, from their earliest years. Arrived at the camp, they received, at first, low pay, and performed menial offices for the little division of Janissaries to which they were attached: 'Ad Gianizaros rescriptus, primo meret menstruo stipendio, paulo plus minus, unius ducati cum dimidio. Id enim militi novitio, et rudi satis esse censent. Sed tamen ne quid victus necessitati desit, cum ea decuria, in cujus contubernium adscitus est, gratis cibum capit, ea conditione, ut in culina reliquoque ministerio ei decuriæ serviat: usum armorum adeptus tyro, necdum tamen suis contubernalibus honore neque stipendio par, unam in sola virtute, se illis æquandi, spem habet: utpote si militiæ quæ prima se obtulerit, tale specimen sui dederit, ut dignus judicetur, qui tyrocinio exemptus, honoris gradu et stipendii magnitudine, reliquis Gianizaris par habeatur. Qua quidem

dem spe plerique tyrones impulsi, multa præclare audent et fortitudine cum veteranis certant.' *Busbequius De Re Mil. cont. Turc. Instit. Consilium* *. The same author observes, that there was no rank or dignity in the Turkish army, to which a common Janissary might not arrive, by his courage or his capacity. This last is a most powerful motive to exertion, and is, perhaps, one leading cause of the superiority of the French arms. Antient governments promote, from numberless causes, which ought to have no concern with promotion: Revolutionary governments, and military despotisms, can make generals of persons who are fit for generals: to enable them to be unjust in all other instances, they are forced to be just in this. What, in fact, are the Sultan and Pachas of Paris, but Janissaries raised from the ranks? At present, the Janissaries are procured from the lowest of the people, and the spirit of the corps is evaporated. The low state of their armies is in some degree imputable to this; but the principal reason why the Turks are no longer as powerful as they were, is, that they are no longer enthusiasts, and that war is now become more a business of science, than of personal courage.

The person of the greatest abilities in the Turkish empire, is the Captain Pacha; he has disciplined some ships and regiments in the European fashion, and would, if he were well seconded, bring about some important reforms in the Turkish empire. But what is become of all the reforms of the famous Gazi Hassan? The blaze of partial talents is soon extinguished. Never was there so great a prospect of improvement as that afforded by the exertions of this celebrated man, who, in spite of the ridicule thrown upon him by Baron de Tott, was such a man as the Turks cannot expect to see again, once in a century. He had the whole power of the Turkish empire at his disposal for fifteen years; and after repeated efforts to improve the army, abandoned the scheme, as totally impracticable. The celebrated Bonneval, in his time, and De Tott since, made the same attempt with the same success. They are not to be taught; and six months after his death, every thing the present Captain Pacha has done, will be immediately pulled to pieces. The present Grand Vizir is a man of no ability. There are some very entertaining instances of his gross ignorance cited in the 133d page of the travels. Upon the news being communicated to him, that the earth was round, he observed, that this could not be the case; for the people and the objects on the other side would, in that case, fall off: and

* This is a very spirited appeal to his countrymen on the tremendous power of the Turks; and, with the substitution of France for Turkey, is so applicable to the present times, that it might be spoken as a speech in Parliament with great effect.

and that the earth could not move round the sun; for, if so, a ship bound from Jaffa to Constantinople, instead of proceeding to the capital, would be carried to London, or elsewhere. We cannot end this article, without confessing, with great pleasure, the entertainment we have received from the work which occasions it. It is an excellent lounging book, full of pleasant details, never wearying by prolixity, or offending by presumption, and is apparently the production of a respectable, worthy man: So far we can conscientiously recommend it to the public; for any thing else,

Non cuivis homini contingit adire, &c. &c. &c.

ART. V. *A Comparative View of the Huttonian and Neptunian Systems of Geology.* In Answer to the Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory of the Earth, by Professor Playfair. Edinburgh & London. 1802.

PROFESSOR PLAYFAIR'S book naturally called for an answer from some of the disciples of Werner. 'A comparative view' of the two theories, however, is by no means a proper title for this publication: it contains a violent attack upon the doctrines of Dr Hutton, and a very partial and zealous defence of the aqueous solution of minerals. As we have not yet had the good fortune of being converted to either system, we may boast at least of perfect impartiality in considering this controversy, though we are afraid that neither of the belligerent parties will be very ready to acknowledge the merit of our neutrality.

After a slight sketch of the leading characters of the two rival theories, the author proposes to compare them to each other: *First*, As to the probability of the general principles upon which they depend: And, *secondly*, As to the support which they derive respectively from the visible structure of the globe, and from the appearances which minerals actually exhibit. We do not propose to give a complete analysis of this investigation: and having, on a former occasion, delivered our sentiments at considerable length as to the theory of Dr Hutton, we shall here confine ourselves, in a good measure, to the positions of his antagonists—to the detection of those false reasonings in the work before us, that are made the basis either of unjust objections to that theory, or of unjust encomiums on the other.

We may begin, therefore, with remarking, that, in contrasting the Huttonian and Neptunian theories, it appears to us not to be quite fair to urge any objection against the former, that does not apply strictly to the hypothesis of the igneous fusion and consolidation of minerals. The advocates of that theory have, indeed, taken a much wider range; and have advanced many very questionable

stionable positions, as to the constant agency of their internal heat, and the great and eternal circle of destruction and renovation in which they have supposed the materials of the universe to revolve. But with the errors or defects that may be found in this part of the system, the Neptunist, we conceive, is not entitled to reproach them, since his own theory gives no explanation whatever of those difficulties, which they have at least attempted to resolve. The Neptunist professes to explain the present condition of the world, by the supposition of a previous dissolution in water; but he neither tells us what was its state before this great dissolution was accomplished, nor ventures to provide for the reparation of its apparent decay: his theory reaches neither to the past, nor the future; it accounts for present appearances only; and therefore cannot enter at all into competition, or comparison, with any system that carries its conjectures beyond the beginning and the end of the world. The Neptunian theory alleges, merely, that all the solid materials of the world have been formerly dissolved in water. The Huttonian alleges, that they have been melted, or softened by heat. This is their proper point of contrast, and of comparison: for, as the one goes no farther, it cannot be compared with what is beyond it in the other. The Huttonian may be wrong in all his ideas of the reproduction of continents, and the succession of strata; and he may yet be right in his hypothesis of the igneous origin of all existing minerals. It is upon that hypothesis alone, however, that the Neptunist has any right to contend with him; and, in estimating the comparative merits of this theory, we would lay every thing out of view, to which no counterpart could be found in the other. A good deal of the argument in this volume might have been spared, by attending to this distinction.

The author's first great attack, however, is directed against the supposition of a constant internal heat, of such intensity as to effect all the wonders we behold. This supposition, he contends, is not only extremely improbable and extravagant, but actually involves such contradictions and absurdities, as 'to afford a direct demonstration of the falsity of the Huttonian hypothesis.' In support of this very decided language, we have a formidable enumeration of the common objections, as to the possibility of maintaining a constant heat in such a situation; and some terrifying calculations, as to the enormous intensity of it, that would be required to concoct such a world as we inhabit. The demonstrative part of the argument, however, comes afterwards; it is but fair to the author, to lay it before our readers in his own words.

'It is an invariable and essential property of heat, to diffuse itself over space till an equilibrium of temperature is established; and where there is

is any solid matter, as the medium of diffusion, its distribution is more rapid. If an intense heat has always existed at the central parts of the globe, this heat must diffuse itself towards the circumference, and the diffusion of it must continue till the whole arrive at a common temperature. The arrangement, therefore, contrived in the Huttonian system for the successive renewal of the habitable part of the globe, and repairing the waste to which it is subjected, is inherently defective. It is always becoming less fit to produce its effects, as the heat at the centre must always be diminishing; and it must come at length to be subverted, by the temperature being rendered uniform over the whole.' pp. 50, 51.

And afterwards—

'Heat, it is sufficiently known, is propagated through dense bodies with considerable celerity. If a central fire, therefore, of the greatest intensity, exist, the heat must be propagated through the substance of the earth towards its surface; and this propagation ought to be such, that, even in that period of time of which we have authentic records, its effects ought to have been apparent. Yet we have no reason to believe, that there is any change in the medium temperature of the globe. The climate of particular countries may be altered, from cultivation, or other local circumstances; but no important general alteration appears to have taken place: if it had, its effects must have been conspicuous, by symptoms, too well marked, not to indicate their cause. Nay, no change of this kind appears to have happened for a much longer period than that which man has ascertained. It may be affirmed, that the temperature which at present prevails, is that necessary for vegetation, animal life, and, in general, for all the operations of nature; nor could a habitable world like ours, have existed with a medium temperature many degrees inferior to that which now prevails. The heat at the surface, therefore, must have always been nearly the same; and, though a central heat has been existing, according to the Huttonian theory, for that immense succession of time, during which our world, and others preceding it, have existed, there has been no propagation of it through the substance of the earth. If we can rely on any deduction whatever from the knowledge we possess, we may rest assured, that a system involving such a supposition is false; nor would it be easy even to imagine any process of reasoning, by which its falsity could be more clearly demonstrated.' pp. 53. 54.

From these views, the author of the Comparative View is led to conclude, that

—'there is an accumulation of proof, which prejudice itself, we should be tempted to believe, could not resist; and which is more than sufficient to establish the conclusion, that whatever praise may be due to the Huttonian system as a splendid hypothesis, it has no claim to the more exalted rank of a just theory.' p. 57.

Now,

Now, the whole force of this argument depends, as it appears to us, upon assuming that as a part of the Huttonian hypothesis, which the Huttonians will never admit, viz. that there is, in the subterranean region, only a limited quantity of heat, which is cut off from the possibility of receiving any increment or supply. Upon this supposition, indeed, the intensity of the heat must be in a state of perpetual diminution; and it must necessarily come in time to be diffused pretty equally throughout the whole surrounding mass. But the Huttonians, we conceive, have never limited themselves to such a certain hoard or deposit of heat. They have proceeded upon the supposition of a perpetual fountain or source of it; and have invented a variety of hypotheses, which, though not very probable, are not 'demonstrably false,' to account for the phænomenon of its constant production in that particular situation. Now, we apprehend, that the demonstrative argument derived from the tendency of caloric to diffuse itself, loses much of its cogency when applied to this view of the case.

If quantities of heat be generated successively at a great depth under the surface, all the conditions of the Huttonian hypothesis will be fulfilled, without any of the absurd consequences that the author of the Comparative View has declared to be inseparable from it. If the heat, so generated, be inclosed among bodies through which heat is but slowly transmitted, it may plainly preserve its expansive activity for a very long time, without increasing the temperature of the surface of the earth. The heat of a pretty large furnace, raised to 140° of Wedgewood, is scarcely perceptible through two or three feet of ordinary masonry; and the surface of lava may often be walked upon with impunity, while the fluid matter is only covered with a crust a few inches in thickness. Still, however, it is no doubt true, that the inclosed heat will transpire, however slowly, and that the process will end by reducing the whole mass to the same temperature. But then it ought to be recollected, that the mass, here, is not the globe of the earth only, but the whole material universe; and the equalization of temperature is retarded indefinitely, partly by the immense extent of the sphere itself, and partly by the fact, that it contains within it various springs and sources of heat, in the neighbourhood of which the temperature must always be incomparably higher than in a more remote situation. From a central fountain, which is always full and overflowing, heat penetrates slowly, and in small quantities, towards the surface of the earth. In its diffusion over this increasing circumference, it must be gradually diminished in intensity; and what reaches the surface, is partly taken off by the atmosphere, and partly radiated towards the other

ther planetary bodies around it. There are two errors, then, in the argument of the author before us; since there is, according to the Huttonians, not a store or magazine only, but a spring and source of heat at the centre; and since the diffusion of this heat is not limited or stopped by the solid surface of the earth, but continues onwards, and is propagated to the air, and the remoter bodies in the heavens.

These considerations, however, one of which is assumed as a necessary condition of the theory, and the other is irresistibly suggested by fact and observation, seem to leave but little weight in the 'direct demonstration' which our author has announced in terms of such unlimited confidence. Heat, slowly permeating the substance of the earth, and oozing with difficulty through a mass of substances extremely ill adapted for its transmission, may be kept at an equable temperature at the surface, by a very moderate allowance for its dispersion into the space around it; and if this slow waste be supplied at the centre, from the same fountains that originally produced what has thus been expended, it is evident that the heat there will retain all its original intensity and activity, and be adequate to the accomplishment of all that such a principle can perform. Although the Huttonian hypothesis of heat, therefore, be liable to very weighty objections, we are not of opinion that this author has given 'a complete demonstration of its falsity, from the known laws of caloric.'

In such a science as geology, however, confidence is more excuseable in the opponents, than in the advocates of a system; and in stating the evidence of the Neptunian theory, the author of the Comparative View has laid himself still more open to censure, than in attacking the principle of the Huttonians. It is the sum of the former theory, that all the mineral substances which this earth presents to us, have been formerly held in solution by water. To the great and obvious objection, that many of these substances are soluble so sparingly in that fluid, that it would require much more water than the whole globe could contain, to dissolve but a little part of them, the author of this volume has attempted to answer, first, by borrowing a large quantity of heat from his opponents, by the help of which, he says, the chaotic fluid *might* acquire qualities, 'the effects of which it is impossible to calculate;' and then by observing, that as all the substances with which we are now acquainted, and probably many more, were present in this imaginary fluid,

—'each substance would exert an attraction more or less efficacious to every other present, or, at least, according to the old chemical notion, it would exert attractions to many of them; and the effect which would result from these complicated attractions, it is impossible to estimate.

The number of simple substances found in nature, and which must of course have been all present in this fluid, exceeds forty. Suppose the half of these to be in such small quantities as to be imperceptible in their action, still, from the numerous attractions of the others, *any imaginable effect might arise.*' p. 78.

Of a theory that is founded upon such vague and extravagant assumptions, it seems unnecessary to propose any formal confutation: Yet nothing certainly was ever more remote from a scientific analogy, than that which is made the basis of the preceding argument. Though the solvent powers of water may, no doubt, be increased, by holding one or two particular substances in solution, yet it is certain that the addition of a foreign body to such a compound mixture, will, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, occasion the *precipitation* of some of the substances that were previously held in solution. By the addition of an acid, for instance, water may become capable of dissolving the metals; but if we add an alkali to the solution, the metal will be immediately deposited. To suppose that all the mineral substances in the world will mutually act as solvents to each other, and exert their respective affinities, with such a nicely adjusted proportion of force, as to retain the whole in a state of complete solution, without the precipitation of a single particle, must be allowed to involve as much apparent absurdity and improbability, as ever exposed philosophy to the derision of the ignorant. In this primary operation of the liquefaction of mineral substances, we cannot help thinking, therefore, that the Huttonian theorists have somewhat the advantage of their antagonists. Give them heat enough, and they will undoubtedly be able to melt all the bodies in question: but the Neptunists, with a whole globe full of water, will never be able to dissolve the same substances, without the aid of the most gratuitous and improbable suppositions. Admitting, therefore, that the heat and the water were equally difficult to be met with, it is plain, that the one accomplishes its work much more easily and simply than the other. It may fairly be demanded of the Neptunist, also, in what way he accounts for the ultimate deposition and chrystallization of the substances thus harmoniously dissolved in the water. As their affinities were so exactly balanced, they ought clearly to continue in solution for ever; and if he is obliged to recur to Divine interference on the occasion, it is just as allowable to suppose that the Creator formed the world originally, as we find it at this day, with all those equivocal and delusive marks of aqueous or igneous agency, by which our theorists have since been confounded. The Huttonian, however, has no occasion to extricate himself in this manner. From the first moment of creation, his two great processes would be set agoing: the winds

winds and the waters would crumble down the lofty places of the globe from without; and the central fire would consolidate and elevate the strata from within.

Upon the subject of *stratified* bodies, it might have been expected that the two theories would have agreed, since even the Huttonian admits, that they have received this peculiar arrangement by deposition from water. The Neptunians, however, will not accept of these terms of accommodation; for all the primary and highly inclined *strata*, they allege, have been separated from the water, not by deposition, but by crystallization; and the materials of all the rest have been consolidated, without the interposition of heat. Both these assertions, it appears to us, are attended with a good deal of difficulty. Regular stratification seems much more clearly to indicate a mechanical deposit, than any species of crystallization; and the vertical, or inclined position of the strata, to which the origin is ascribed, is by no means sufficiently explained by the latter supposition. The great extent and continuity of the strata of primary *schistus*, for instance, the simple curvature which they affect, and that parallelism of their layers, which, in all their bendings, is so accurately preserved, are phænomena that do not belong to any species of crystallization that we happen to have heard of; and certainly favour the idea of a mechanical deposit from water, originally horizontal in all its extent, and inflected afterwards by the application of some external force. The vertical position of those strata, too, is but ill explained by the theory of crystallization. Crystals will attach themselves indiscriminately to all the sides of the solid containing the fluid of solution; and if these were among the first substances that were separated from the chaotic fluid, they should have been arranged along the bottom of the primæval bason, rather than piled up in fantastic pyramids in the middle of it; at any rate, their position ought to have been more varied and irregular.

The explanation of the Neptunist, however, is still more unsatisfactory with regard to those secondary strata that indicate but little of a crystalline structure in their interior, and yet are frequently found in a position very highly inclined to the horizon. This position has been assumed by them, according to the author of the Comparative View, from the combination of a certain tendency to crystallization, with the power of gravitation, which would have deposited them horizontally. Now, this appears, to us, to be in every point of view a most unscientific explanation. In the first place, there is no room for presuming, that a perfect crystallization could assume a laminated structure, and vertical position, rather than any other; and, in the second place,

place, it seems evident, that where the crystallization was in any degree incomplete, the position of the whole mass could never be affected in such a manner, as to produce a kind of compromise between that which would have been assumed by the perfect crystal, and that which gravitation would have given to any other piece of matter. The one or the other of these principles must predominate, and dispose absolutely of the whole mass. The crystals will either attach themselves to the sides of the containing solid, according to the laws of their formation, in which case the uncrystallized part will be separated from them entirely; or the whole mass will assume the position imposed upon it by the laws of gravity, while its tendency to crystallize will be indicated by its internal structure alone. No diagonal will ever be formed between the horizontal line of gravitation, and the imaginary perpendicular, which seems to be made the characteristic of crystallization in this theory. The author himself, indeed, does not appear very well satisfied with this explanation; for, immediately afterwards, he supposes that some of the inclined strata may have sunk unequally, or even may have been lifted up, in some few instances, by the expansive force of a subterranean heat. A few more concessions, of this magnitude, would bring the rival theories pretty near to each other. The *consolidation* of the secondary *strata*, by the mere apposition of their particles, does also appear to us to be a very improbable supposition; while the preservation of the stratified form in these substances, which, according to the Huttonian hypothesis, have been subjected to the action of a violent heat, may be accounted for, in a great degree, by the great and equable pressure to which they were subjected, and the tenacity and viscidity which most of them may be supposed to have retained.

Upon the subject of *unstratified* bodies, our author is not a little embarrassed with those granitic veins which the Huttonians have quoted in support of their hypothesis. Granite, according to the Neptunists, is the oldest of all mineral bodies; and veins, they acknowledge, are always posterior in formation to the strata in which they are included. From the dilemma which veins of this substance occasion, our author endeavours to escape, by supposing the granite in the veins to be of a different formation from that in the mass, and to have been deposited by infiltration and crystallization from water. It seems almost impossible, however, to receive this explanation: when it is considered, 1*st*, that these veins are most frequently connected with vast masses of original granite, and evidently appear to be a continuation of the same substance; and, 2*d*, that they frequently proceed from the main body of the granite, *upwards*, from the adjoining strata, so that the

the process of infiltration could not possibly have taken place. In this division of the work, upon unstratified bodies, we have met with many strong and ingenious objections to the Huttonian theory, founded principally upon the *alternations* of the strata, and their absolute *graduation* into each other; which we have no longer room to consider.

Upon the subject of *metallic veins*, the author of the Comparative View adopts the Neptunian theory in its fullest extent, and holds, that their contents have been undoubtedly consolidated from the water that continued to cover the original rocks in which the fissures had been made. That they are not stratified horizontally, he thinks, is occasioned by the crystalline form of the substances they contain, which would preferably attach themselves to the sides. If this were the case, however, we should certainly expect to find the superior surface of the rocks, in which these veins are found, covered with crystallizations of the same nature, and forming a continuous mass, of which the veins would appear like elongations. There are many of the metals, however, that are scarcely ever found, except in veins; and the veins, we believe, are never observed to proceed from any large or continuous mass of the same materials. The fragments of foreign substances, that are frequently found in veins, afford also some presumption against the Neptunian hypothesis.

In the concluding chapter, the author proposes to estimate the comparative merit of the two theories, by their correspondence with the appearances of particular minerals. The instances of *agates*, and of *metallic* bodies, are those in which he is reduced to the greatest straits, in supporting the Neptunian doctrines. Agates, he says, (p. 188.) are formed by water, holding jasper, chalcedony, &c. in solution, infiltrating slowly into cavities which have been left by the extrication of air from the mass of whin, or trap, &c. before it was perfectly consolidated. Now, there are many obvious objections to this account of their formation. In the first place, whin, and the other substances in which agates are usually imbedded, are, for the most part, unstratified bodies, and have consequently been formed, according to the Neptunian theory, by crystallization chiefly. If this was the case, however, they could at no time be soft enough to admit of the extrication of air, or the subsequent formation of cavities. In the second place, it may be demanded, how it happened that the water of solution, percolating through a great thickness of rock, should have deposited none of the substances with which it was charged in the conduits through which it passed. Thirdly, it may be asked, how this water contrived to deposit an encrustation of equal thickness on the upper and the under sides of this cavity; how,

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after this was accomplished, it found means to escape through the impenetrable crust in which it had enclosed itself; and how a succeeding portion was enabled to pass through it a second time, so as to fill up, with a new deposit, the cavity that had been left by the former. We believe the fact to be indisputable, that many agates are altogether impermeable by water. Finally, it may be asked, how the Neptunist sets this extraordinary current in motion, by which the water of solution is carried so industriously to and from the nidus of the agate. The operation is supposed to take place under the level of the ocean, and among bodies that must be completely saturated with moisture, as they were formed in the midst of it.

With regard to the *metals*, again, our author admits, that

—'the state in which they are found, appears to afford a strong argument in favour of the Huttonian hypothesis; for the fluidity, from which they have consolidated, may have been produced by fusion; but we scarcely can point out by what solvent it could have been effected.'

From the specimens, however, that have been found, where the precious metals appear shooting in minute ramifications through masses of quartz and other refractory substances, he concludes, that their consolidation could not have taken place from a state of simple fusion, since the metal must have remained fluid long after the quartz had concreted. This argument, however, which is urged with great confidence, appears to us to apply only to those cases, (hitherto, we believe, unobserved), in which the metal shall be found impressing the quartz with its own particular form of crystallization; for, if a quantity of gold and silver was involved in a mass of fluid quartz, it appears to us by no means impossible, that the quartz upon concreting, should intersect and retain the *fluid* gold in all those capricious entanglements, and ramifications, which it is afterwards found to occupy, when both substances are completely cooled. At all events, it seems to be admitted, that the Neptunist cannot point out, even by conjecture, any way in which these substances should have been consolidated, in their metallic state, from a solution in water.

Among a great number of strong and formidable objections, which the author brings forward in this chapter against the Huttonian hypothesis, the most striking and original is founded upon the presence of pyrites in specimens of coal almost entirely deprived of its bitumen.

'Mr Kirwan relates, that the Kilkenny coal, which is of all others the most completely destitute of bituminous matter, contains pyrites; and Dr Hutton himself mentions a specimen being in his possession of plumbago, (which he considers as the last of the series, or as coal completely deprived

deprived of bitumen) studded with pyrites. The explanation of these appearances, according to the Huttonian system, involves a direct contradiction in terms. To account for the formation of this species of coal, it is said to have been fused with an entire absence of pressure, so that all its bituminous matter has escaped. Pyrites, again, is a substance said to be formed by fusion, but under a strong pressure, by which its sulphur, a substance at least as volatile as bitumen, is kept in combination with the iron. It would therefore, according to this theory, be impossible that coal of this kind and pyrites should exist together; the circumstance supposed necessary for the formation of the one, being that which must inevitably have destroyed the other.' pp. 217. 18.

An argument of great apparent force is also founded on the appearance of some granites, where crystals of felspar and quartz are found mutually to impress each other. As these substances are fusible at very different temperatures, our author concludes, that it could not be from a state of simple fusion that they were thus simultaneously consolidated; because, the quartz must have assumed its own form long before the felspar had lost its fluidity. The difficulty, however, is scarcely less upon the Neptunian hypothesis of crystallization from an aqueous solution, as there are no two substances, we believe, in nature, that can be supposed to crystallize at the same moment, from the same solvent. Nay, the Huttonians have proposed an explanation of the phænomenon, that goes far to remove the objection which it affords to their theory. It has been found by experiment, that felspar and quartz, reduced to powder, and put into the furnace together, in the proportions that usually occur in granite, run into fusion at a temperature very little higher than is necessary for the fusion of felspar alone. Felspar, therefore, is proved to act as a flux to quartz; or, in other words, melted felspar at a certain temperature, becomes capable of dissolving quartz, just as water dissolves any of the ordinary salts. The quartz so dissolved, however, may probably be kept in a state of fluidity as long as the solvent itself continues fluid; and as it will necessarily be separated at that moment, there seems to be no great difficulty in explaining the phænomenon of their simultaneous consolidation. This explanation, which is certainly extremely ingenious, was suggested by Sir James Hall, in a paper in the Edinburgh Transactions.

The author does not controvert the fact, of the remarkable analogy that is found to subsist between whinstone and lava; but he accounts for it by supposing that whinstone rocks have been common in the neighbourhood of volcanoes, and that lava is whinstone that has been fused by their heat. Though this unquestionably *may* have been the case, the presumption is certainly the other way. A substance compacted from solution in water,

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can scarcely be supposed to have that very grain, structure, and appearance, which is found to result from the actual fusion of the same materials. There is proof that it may be formed in one way; there is nothing but conjecture for its being formed in the other.

Upon the whole, we have perused this volume without any abatement of our scepticism, and are inclined to think that it will not even shake the faith of any well-grounded Huttonian. The book is very respectably written; and though the style is not uncommonly elegant, the composition is always very laudably perspicuous and concise. Logical inaccuracies, however, are always most glaring and offensive in a writer who expresses himself distinctly, and seems to think clearly. The strange reasonings that are introduced in support of the first principles of the Neptunian theory, excite a species of surprise by no means akin to admiration; and, among all the wonders that Geology presents to our view, we think the most unaccountable is, the zeal and the confidence of the theorists.

ART. VI. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, held at Philadelphia, for promoting useful Knowledge.* Vol. V. Philadelphia. Dobson. 1802.

THIS volume, one of the very few that ever issue from the American press, will not, we apprehend, repay the labour of him who may be induced to wade through it. It contains a few insulated facts of little importance, and some very unsuccessful attempts at theory. The six first papers are communicated by Dr Priestley, and are distinguished, if possible, by a more eminent want of scientific precision, than even his periodical volumes of chemical experiments. They are apparently the scourings of his old diaries, eked out with some desultory and inconsistent remarks; a few notices of the present state of his ever-varying opinions; and several attacks, very temperate indeed, but proportionably feeble, upon those discoveries, which his want of genius for philosophizing has obliged him to leave to men who did little more, in the way of practice, than repeat his experiments. Upon these six articles we shall content ourselves with offering a few very general criticisms.

In the first place, the experiments, where they are at all uncommon, have evidently been made with impure substances. We should exceed all bounds, were we to quote examples of results, which are obviously owing to the presence of extraneous matters, although they are ascribed by Dr Priestley to the exhibition

bition of certain simple and homogeneous substances. All his assertions, in those cases, should evidently have been made with respect to the impurities, not the bodies, which he pretended to use. Secondly, The language of these tracts is full of discordant theory. It is indeed a most uncouth and motley assemblage of terms, taken both from the old and new nomenclature. Lastly, We must be excused for suspecting very great inaccuracy in some of the facts; or, at least, in the conduct of the experiments which are related. This may, in some of these instances, be accounted for, partly by the first, and partly by the second remark, which we have just made. But the statement in p. 3. that caustic fixed alkali was sent in a state of vapour through a tube containing iron, and gave an *acidulous* liquor in the receiver, is to us utterly incredible, and inexplicable, upon any supposition, but that of the grossest inaccuracy, either in making or describing the experiment. It is scarcely necessary to add, that these papers defy all attempts to analyse them, even if there was any inducement to undertake the task. The same remark may be applied to the greater number of the articles contained in this volume. We shall therefore only notice the few exceptions to this observation, which we have been fortunate enough to meet with; and at present we shall begin with what we consider as the most interesting communication that the present publication has to boast of—the short and distinct statement, given by Mr Strickland, of the uses to which the thermometer may be applied in Navigation.

This very valuable communication consists of two well kept and concise journals, with a letter, sketching the inferences that may be drawn from the observations, and a chart of the Atlantic, on which the voyages that gave rise to the observations, and the greater part of the observations themselves, are clearly traced. Mr Strickland performed these two voyages across the Atlantic, in the years 1794 and 1795. The first object of his experiments was, to ascertain the existence of a current, which he suspected to flow as a branch of the gulf-stream, in a northerly or north-easterly direction. The observations recorded in the outward-bound journal appear fully to verify this conjecture, and they prove also the regularity with which the temperature of the sea varies, according to the proximities of soundings. We shall enable our readers to judge for themselves upon these points, by giving a summary of the most important and conclusive trials.

The temperature of the water near the Lewes islands was about 56° of Fahrenheit. From thence to the longitude of 11° 15′ west, it gradually increased; and for eleven days, during which the vessel passed through nineteen degrees of longi-

tude, the temperature remained at 58°, which is supposed by our author to be the ordinary heat of the Atlantic, above the latitude of 50° in autumn. In longitude 30° 43′ west, the temperature suddenly rose 30°, and continued to rise while the vessel passed through eight degrees of longitude, when the temperature had increased no less than 10°. Again, the temperature fell in longitude 41° west, and continued fluctuating between 64 and 62 of Fahrenheit. But when the vessel had made a little farther progress, the temperature rose to a still higher degree than before; and after remaining for some time at 72°, it again fell, and continued falling, until, in longitude 48°, the thermometer stood at 52°, and the vessel was found to be on the great bank east of Newfoundland.

The subsequent observations, both in the outward and homeward bound voyages, concur to shew, that at the longitudes above mentioned, the temperature of the sea rises and falls in the manner now described; and that on the approach of the vessel to soundings, it uniformly falls. There is a difference of no less than 20° of Fahrenheit, between the temperature near the great bank, and the temperature on the edge of the gulf-stream.

It appears, farther, that in that part of the vessel's course where the great rise was experienced, vast quantities of gulf-weed were observed floating, and great shoals of flying fish. This circumstance greatly strengthens the first conclusion which the thermometrical observations so plainly suggest, viz. that so high as latitude 50° north, a branch of the gulf-stream is to be found, sent off in a northerly direction from the main body, which moves in an easterly course. But in the middle of this stream it would appear that there is some interruption; for the temperature suddenly falls, continues low for a considerable breadth, and then rises to its former height. The journal, too, makes no mention of any gulf-weed or flying fishes in this part of the course. Our author accounts for this very singular intermission of the northern branch, by supposing some colder current to flow in from the north west. But we cannot easily conceive such a phænomenon; and are inclined to suspect Mr Strickland of considerable inaccuracy in his ideas upon this matter. How can a stream of water be interrupted by a cross stream, or cut by such a stream at any angle? If two currents meet in an oblique angle, part of the water will be thrown back, and part will move off in a diagonal path. But surely the continuity of one stream, can never be interrupted by a new stream, and then resume its former course. We can imagine the gulf-stream to be divided by one flowing from the same quarter, in the very same

same direction: But why should this middle stream be colder than the other?—It is, on the other hand, scarcely possible to figure two streams meeting in the same line, without forming an indissoluble union. Yet some phænomenon of this nature appears to be indicated by the observations, if the thermometrical experiments of our author can be relied on. Or, perhaps, a large bank, or island, divides the gulf-stream into two, protecting a large portion of the ocean in the middle of those currents. Such a supposition, indeed, appears to us the most probable of any which can be made, to account for the observations.

Before leaving Mr Strickland's very interesting paper, we must gratify our readers with relating a fact equally honourable to both the parties concerned in it. Mr Strickland conceived, that the thermometer might be applied to the important purposes of indicating the approach of land, and settling the courses of the great currents. For accomplishing the latter object, he proposes the equipment of a vessel, which may be devoted to the employment of making various runs across the Atlantic, at different latitudes, with persons qualified to conduct thermometrical experiments, in the manner pointed out by the present paper. But he communicated the other part of his plan to the captain of the vessel in which he sailed; and although this gentleman very naturally entertained, at first, the strongest prepossession against all such ideas, he was soon prevailed upon, by examining the result of Mr Strickland's observations, to give them no small degree of confidence.

'He was at last,' says our author, 'so much pleased with the accuracy of the thermometer, and with the security in which he had sailed in consequence of it, and so clearly perceived the advantage to be derived from it in many instances, that he declared, he would never more go to sea without one.' pp. 92. 93.

This circumstance reflects great honour upon Captain Allyn, a member of that profession, which of all others, tends most to form habits of bigotry and indiscriminate prejudice against every innovation. But, at least equal praise is due to Mr Strickland, who could succeed in convincing an old seaman, that the chart and the compass are in some cases less faithful guides than the thermometer.

The nineteenth article appears, to us, deserving of some attention. It contains a very brief statement of a most singular fact, a fact which, if well authenticated, opens a new and curious analogy between the habitudes of the animal and vegetable kingdoms. Colonel Bull, of Virginia, a gentleman, we are told, of information and veracity, relates, that in digging through a rich bottom of low ground, well covered with oak

oak and other trees, his workmen discovered, at the depth of between five and six feet, a blossom, not in full bloom, of a lilac colour, growing from a root. This proved, upon examination, to be the same kind of blue flower that grew on the surface. But the Colonel thinks, that it must have been all along under ground, as the soil was a loamy, solid clay, in which large trees flourished, and must have taken some centuries to form. If this unexpected phænomenon should prove to have been accurately observed, we shall possess a case of vegetable torpor, similar to the case of animals supporting their existence in the heart of blocks and trees. Mr Bull's account is, however, extremely meagre and unsatisfactory.

The want of refinement in the arts and in *belles lettres*, is by no means the only circumstance that distinguishes our kinsmen in North America, from the inhabitants of the eastern hemisphere. They appear to be proportionally deficient in scientific attainments. The volume now before us, contains the whole accumulation of American discovery and observation, during a course of peaceful years. It extends to 328 pages; of which 89 (including the valuable paper of our countryman Mr Strickland) are contributed by foreigners; 150 consist of journals kept by a person sent to make meteorological and astronomical observations, that is, notes of the weather, and of the geographical position of certain places in the territory of the United States; the remaining 89 pages, upon more general subjects, are, we believe, the work of Americans; and we will venture to say, that of all the academical trifles, which have ever been given to the world, these 89 pages are the most trivial and dull. Our readers will judge with what difficulty this mite has been collected, when we mention the subjects of several communications.

One article, is a demonstration of the figure of the earth, in answer to the hypothesis of St Pierre. Our readers will doubtless feel some indignation, at finding that a public scientific Body admits into its Transactions, any communication which can, for a moment, rescue the ridiculous effusions of the sentimentalist, now alluded to, from the contempt with which they were universally received all over Europe, by every man of the slightest pretensions to science.

Another paper, contains the descriptions of some person's patent for improved fire-places. It is exactly an ill-written newspaper advertisement. Two papers are inserted upon the culture and cure of peach trees; and, in order to eke out the natural deficiency of matter, an essay on Vegetables, Polypi, and Insects, by M. de Nemours, is admitted to occupy thirteen pages. After looking at the following extracts from this nauseous thing,

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our readers will probably agree with us in thinking, that no daily print, on this side of the Atlantic, would have inserted it, in the vacant space of a column, during the greatest scarcity of news. The following is the introduction:

'Il est très facile, et peut-être assez naturel, à un animal aussi ravageux que l'homme, de traiter avec peu de considération les plantes qui se laissent dévorer se paisiblement.

'Cependant je ne voudrais pas avoir offensé les Roses.

'Personne n'est plus disposé que moi à croire, avec les anciens, que tout arbre est l'azyle, ou la prison, d'une nymphe.' p. 104.

The following is the conclusion of this paper:

'Cet oxigène dont les fleurs sont si avides, et dont elles se pénétrent si rapidement, en si énorme quantité pour leur petit volume, est *l'air vital* par excellence. Il les embrase, elles aiment, elles jouissent—sont ce les amours de la plante qu'elles font! sont-ce les leurs? ce sont tous les deux. La mère ne peut être entierement insensible au bonheur de ses enfans, d'enfans qui font partie de son propre corps.—La plante est devenue papillon; ou pour mieux dire elle s'est couverte d'une foule de *papillons-plantes* de l'un et de l'autre sexe, qu'elle a tirés de son sein, et qui semblables presqu'en tout aux autres papillons, ont une vie très courte, la dépensent en voluptés sans songe à l'entretenir, exhalent leur tendresse en parfume, s'occupent avec délices et sans relache de la génération; et se fanent des qu'elle est consommée laissant .... au fonds d'un *ovaire* .... des *œufs* .... fécondés et féconds.

'Trouvez vous la parité suffisamment exacte? jugez vous encore que la distance soit incommensurable entre la nymphe, ou les nymphes d'une *mimeuse* et l'ame d'une ciron.

'Je ne décide rien. Je ne suis qu'un enfant curieux. Je vous apporte les fleurs que j'ai cueillies, et les papillons que j'ai pu attrapper. Savans professeurs, dites moi ce que c'est?' pp. 115. 116.

Some of the American philosophers themselves seem to have adopted the language of the ludicrously sentimental class to which the author of this singular paper belongs, and to have thought it a good substitute for the eloquence and power of fine writing, which Providence has denied to their race. In p. 55, a naturalist discussing the causes of the poisonous qualities observed in some honeys, alludes to a species of *erica* (we believe the *erica vulgaris*), by the name of '*blooming heather*;' and quotes *Burns*, in a foot note, as his authority. He afterwards talks of the bees 'quaffing of the nectar of the flowers:' p. 57. He describes certain savannas, as 'finely painted with the flowers of the *kalmia angustifolia*:' p. 59. Instead of '*tame bees*,' he is pleased to say '*cultivated bees*:' p. 65. This author (Dr Smith Barton) is a great quoter; and, by the manner in which he cites, but

but more especially by his remarks upon classical learning, we are inclined to suspect, that a man who reads the easier Latin poets may not be met with every day in North America.

'The ancients, who, in some respects at least, were equal to the moderns, appear to have paid much attention to this subject. Virgil and Columella have both told us what plants ought to grow about apiaries. It is unnecessary to repeat, in this place, what the two Roman writers have said on the subject. The *Georgics* of the Mantuan poet are in the hands of every man of taste; and the work of Columella *should* be read, wherever agriculture engages the attention of gentlemen.' p. 69.

We cannot resist the temptation of transcribing the following passage from the same paper. The moralizing part of it is truly American; and the epithet applied to Virgil's description of Galatea, is one of the most amusing that we have ever heard beyond the sound of Bow-Bell. It is only necessary to add, for the information of the American academics, that the quotation is nothing at all to the purpose, as there is no allusion to *honey* from the beginning to the end of it.

'To assist, and to direct the labours of these little insects, the knowledge and the hand of man are required. Let, then, this interested being be at least attentive to his own benefits and pleasures. Let him carefully remove from about the habitations of his bees every fetid or poisonous vegetable, however comely its colour or its form. In particular, let him be careful to remove those vegetables which are noxious to himself. In place of these, let him spread the 'marjoram and thyme,' and other plants, 'the love of bees,' and his labours will be rewarded. He may, then, furnish his table with a honey not inferior to that of Mount Hermettus, or Athens; nor to that of Sicily, to which Virgil has so *handsomely* alluded in the seventh Eclogue:

Nerine Galatea, thymo mihi dulcior Hyblæ,
Candidior cygnis, hederâ formosior alba.

L. 37. 38.' p. 69. 70.

Meanly as our readers may be disposed to think of the American scientific circles, they appear to be highly prized by their own members. The Society, whose labours we have been describing, attaches to itself the name of 'Philosophical,' with peculiar eagerness; and the meeting-house, where the transactions of its members are scraped together, and prepared for being inaccurately printed, is, in the genuine dialect of tradesmen, denominated '*Philosophical Hall.*'

We have dwelt longer upon this article than its merits justify; not so much for the sake of the work, as for the purpose of stating

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and exemplifying a most curious and unaccountable fact—the scarcity of all but mercantile and agricultural talents in the New World.

ART. VII. *A Vindication of the Celts, from Ancient Authorities; with Observations on Mr Pinkerton's Hypothesis, concerning the Origin of the European Nations, in his Modern Geography and Dissertation on the Scythians or Goths.* 8vo. pp. 172. London. Williams, Strand; Longman and Rees.

ANTIQUARIAN researches are generally excessively insignificant, and form one of the most fatiguing and least amiable species of trifling, with which we are acquainted. Academies composed of grave and accomplished persons, are occupied in decyphering an useless inscription, or endeavouring to distinguish between a fabulous tyrant and his grandfather; while individual sages are quarrelling about the denomination of a defaced coin, or settling whether a rusty *fibula* has belonged to a horseman or a foot soldier. If there is any branch, however, of their study, that has pretensions to interest and dignity, it is certainly that which relates to the origin and destinies of nations, the filiation of distant races, and the affinities of remote establishments. Upon the confines, where history terminates, and theory begins, the antiquary takes his station; and, combining the indications of language, manners, and appearance, with local traditions, and the scattered and incidental notices that occur in the earlier historians, he fabricates his hazardous system with more or less of solidity or beauty. The very magnitude of these questions gives them a degree of interest; and we listen very patiently to dissertations on the connexion of the Egyptians and Hindus, or to the Celtic or Gothic genealogy of the European nations. The latter controversy, however, attracts the greatest share of attention in this quarter of the world; and as it seems to be more capable than any other of being reduced to a few distinct points, we have taken the opportunity of this little publication, to lay a statement of it before our readers.

All antiquaries, we believe, are agreed, that the Celts formed part of the original inhabitants of Europe; but they differ respecting the districts which are now occupied by their descendants. Mr Pinkerton, in his 'dissertation on the Scythians and Goths,' first advanced the opinion, that these nations were identical, and that, 500 A. C., they drove and confined the conquered and half exterminated Celts to the western extremity of Gaul; where, in the mountains of Wales and Scotland, and

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in some districts of Ireland, the small remains of their posterity are still to be found. His opponents, who were more remarkable for the ardour of their zeal, and the unwarranted boldness of their assertions, than for their acuteness and learning, were dismayed by the laborious erudition and confident originality of this performance; while the impartial were, for the most part, too indifferent to verify their contradictory allegations.

The author now before us, in whose mind the detection of a few instances of authorities unfairly translated, had produced a general suspicion of Mr Pinkerton's fidelity, has undertaken, in the present work, to examine the foundation of his hypothesis, and to point out its weakness and insufficiency. He also adopts and supports the opinion, that the present inhabitants of many countries of Europe, and particularly of England, are of Celtic descent.

From what has been already said, it is evident, that till the weight and authenticity of the disputed authorities can be accurately adjusted, the early history of Europe must remain in the utmost obscurity. If the Goths and Celts, indeed, had differed only in the nature or degree of their savageness, the inquiry would be neither curious nor important. But, according to the testimony of all ancient historians, their persons, customs, religion, and language, differed in a striking and uncommon degree. Hence, the inquiry derives additional interest, and becomes intimately connected with the researches and speculations of the philosopher. It promises, in a particular manner, to dispel that obscurity, in which the history and philosophy of language have long been involved. The author of the 'Diversions of Purley' has set an example of the ease and success with which the investigation of words in their rude and original form, may remove those difficulties, which metaphysical reasonings had at once attempted to explain, and tended to increase.

In forming our opinion as to the merits of this controversy, we have not confined our remarks to those authorities only which are cited by our author and by Mr Pinkerton; but have carefully consulted every ancient author who was likely to elucidate the subject in dispute; and flatter ourselves, that we have been enabled to produce several passages, hitherto unnoticed, even in the authors most generally quoted, which establish some important points, and remove some perplexing difficulties. Before we affixed an exact meaning to any passage, or set it down as an admissible authority, we endeavoured, by the comparison of different parts of the same author, to ascertain the sense in which he used words of the highest importance, and the general nature of his phraseology. In this way, we presume to hope, that the following observations will be found

found to contain, not merely an impartial account of the publication before us, but a succinct and accurate detail of all that is really known upon the subject. If our readers should be of the same opinion, we are persuaded that they will easily forgive our prolixity.

As Mr Pinkerton had affirmed, that, 500 A. C., the Celts were confined, by the conquests and pressure of the Scythians or Goths, to the western extremity of Gaul, it was necessary for him to ascertain the original habitation of the Scythians, and to prove that, at a very early period, their power and resources were equal to such an expedition. In support of this proposition, he refers to the authority of Justin, who says, that the Scythians conquered Asia in the time of Vexoris; and that Ninus, fifteen hundred years afterwards, freed it from their tribute [a]. Now, though little dependence can be placed on the authority of Justin, respecting an event so remote and obscure, the author before us certainly betrays great ignorance, inattention, or want of fidelity, when he would substitute *fifteen* years as the genuine reading. If this had been the fact, Justin would not have used the following expression—'Vexoris lived in times more remote than Ninus:' these words immediately precede the passage which our author translates, but these words he has omitted.

Mr Pinkerton next cites Herodotus and Diod. Siculus, to prove that the Scythians left their original settlement near the Araxes, and fixed themselves on the shores of the Euxine, about 2160 A. C.; he maintains, that this first passage of the Araxes has been uniformly confounded with another, or second, which they effected, 640 A. C.: but our author, by the production of Mr Pinkerton's own authorities, renders it evident, that they expressly refer to the latter event only; and thence concludes, 'that, as the Scythians, an inconsiderable tribe of wandering shepherds, crossed the Araxes, having left their original habitations, and are first mentioned in history only 640 A. C., the assertion of Mr Pinkerton, that they had extended their conquests to the western parts of Gaul, 500 A. C., is glaringly false, and ridiculously absurd [b].' If it necessarily followed from Mr Pinkerton's inaccuracy in this particular, that the Scythians certainly were not sufficiently powerful or numerous to accomplish the subjugation of Gaul, 500 A, C., our author's victory would have been complete, and his triumph

[a] Justin, lib. 1. c. 1.; lib. ii. c. 3.

[b] In ascertaining the chronology of Herodotus, relative to the passage of the Araxes, our author allots to Sardyattes a reign of only six years; Herodotus expressly says, he reigned twelve. Herod. Clio. p. 7. edit. Steph. 1592.

umph allowable. To convict Mr Pinkerton, however, of a single error, is not to overturn his hypothesis: and if our author had directed his researches rather towards the discovery of truth, than the detection of Mr Pinkerton's blunders, he would have found the clear and express testimony of Herodotus and Diod. Siculus, in proof of the very early movements, and extensive conquests of the Scythians.

We shall lay these passages, unaccountably overlooked by Mr Pinkerton, before our readers. 'The Scythians, few and despised, dwelt at first near the Araxes; and afterwards, increasing in numbers, conquered many countries beyond the Tanais, even as far as Thrace[c]. It is impossible to conjecture the date of these conquests; they must, however, have been effected at a very remote period, since, according to the same author and Herodotus, Sesostris found, and attacked them in their settlements beyond the Tanais, and on the borders of Thrace[d]. Sesostris lived at so very early a period, that every attempt to ascertain his æra, would be fruitless. We have endeavoured, by the careful perusal of Herodotus, where he relates the names and successive orders of the Egyptian kings, and sometimes particularizes the events and duration of their reigns, to approximate, by two modes of computation, to the æra of Sesostris; and we think ourselves justified in placing him at least 1400 A. C.: and if we reflect that the Scythians, according to the character which is given, and the actions recorded of them by all ancient historians, were restless and ambitious, inspiring terror into the neighbouring nations by their fierceness, and reducing them to subjection or flight by their successful invasions, and that their movements were almost uniformly from Asia to the west, we shall consider the opinion, independently of its direct evidence, that, 500 A. C., they had advanced to the western extremity of Gaul, as by no means absurd or improbable.

Both Mr Pinkerton and his opponent, however, have totally misunderstood Herodotus respecting the Scythian invasion, 640 A. C. This author is very particular and minute in his description of it; from which it appears, that upon that occasion, they went *from Europe into Asia*, in pursuit of the Cimmerians; entered by a long circuitous route near the foot of Mount Caucasus, into Media, which they conquered; and having received some provocation from Psammeticus, King of Egypt, directed their march towards that country, when they were induced, by the presents he sent them, to terminate this expedition in Syria[e]. This account entirely contradicts

[c] Diod. Siculus, lib. ii. p. 89. edit. Steph.
[d] Diod. Siculus, lib. i. p. 35. Herod. Euterpe, pp. 142. 148.
[e] Herod. Clio. p. 49.

tradicts our author's opinion, that the Scythians passed the Araxes for the first time, 340 A, C., in their progress towards the west, and were then only a tribe of wandering shepherds.

We are convinced with our author, that the Sarmatæ were descended from the Scythians, and wonder at the negligence or effrontery of Mr Pinkerton, when he maintains that Herodotus carefully distinguishes between them: the words of Herodotus are, 'The Sarmatæ are the offspring of the Amazons and the Scythians[f].' Mr Pinkerton next endeavours to prove, that *Getæ* and *Gothi* were names applied to the same people, in order that he may form a link to connect the Scythians and Goths. Although our author points out the futility of some of his arguments, and justly objects to the validity of some of his authorities, we are inclined to think that Mr Pinkerton has produced evidence sufficiently strong to justify his assertion. Here our author again discovers his negligence; and, with many, will create a suspicion of his fidelity. He says, (p. 31.) 'We have in vain consulted Strabo and Pliny, to prove that the Getæ and Scythians were the same people.' Now Strabo, in the context of that passage which our author afterwards quotes, evidently considers the Getæ as a Scythian tribe[g]; and Pliny says, 'From the Borysthenes, over the whole adjoining country, *all are Scythian* nations, different tribes of whom dwell near its banks: in one part the Getæ, whom the Romans call Daci,' &c.[h]. Our author can find no mention of Tanaus King of the Getæ in the 5th book of Valer. Flaccus, to which Mr Pinkerton refers, to prove the identity of the Getæ and Scythians, as Justin calls him King of the latter. We have also searched the text of this author in vain; but imagine we have discovered, in the various readings given by N. Heinsius in his note on the following lines, the rough materials, of which Mr Pinkerton has fabricated his authority.

Inde Genetæi rupem Jovis hinc Tibarenum
Dant virides post terga lacus.

Hinc Tibarenum). HINC TYMAMUS, Carrionis liber, unde ille; INDE

[f] Herod. Melpomene, p. 294.

[g] On account of the length of this passage, we can only refer to it. Strabo, lib. 7. p. 295. edit. Casauboni. Zamolzis is mentioned by Herodotus, Melp. p. 289.; and by Strabo, in the passage cited, as worshipped by the Getæ: and the authors of the *Etymol. Mag.* and Suidas (in voc. *Zamolzis*) understand the Getæ of Herodotus, whom they quote, to be Scythians.

[h] Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. iv. c. 12. p. 72. edit. Dalecamp.

INDE TYMAVOS; nullo autore: et tamen sic exprimendum curavit. Pro INDE GENETÆI, ut optimè Politianus, in primo Vaticano legitur, INDIGENA, ETÆ[i].' The word Timavos, the absurd conjecture of Carrio, presented some resemblance to the name in Justin; but we know not from what words Mr Pinkerton formed Geta, or Rex Getarum: Genetæi, or Indigena, etæ, indeed contain the letters of the former, and these seem to have been sufficient for Mr Pinkerton. It is fortunate for him that he is not in Germany or Scandinavia, 'where, if an author were to quote falsely, he would go near to endure the character of a scoundrel and a liar[k].' His love of truth, and soundness of judgment, must have totally deserted him, when he could not resist so weak a temptation to commit a literary crime, in itself so unnecessary, and easy of detection; and which, according to his own judgment, ought to brand him with infamy[l].

The Vindicator next undertakes to show, 'that the very authorities Mr Pinkerton has adduced, to prove that the Celts were confined to the farthest west of Gaul, 500 A. C., are directly contrary to his hypothesis,' (p. 41.) Herodotus is first examined; and our author convicts Mr Pinkerton of misunderstanding one passage, and translating another from the Latin version, as more suitable to his purpose than the Greek original, (p. 44.) But, if the testimony of Herodotus be compared with that of other authors, it is, in our opinion, clearly and strongly in favour of Mr Pinkerton, who, in this instance also, has injured his own cause by his inattention, rashness, or unfairness. The most important passage is the following: 'The Ister takes its rise among the Celts, and near the city Pyrene[m].' Herodotus does not say 'the Pyrenean mountains,' as Mr Pinkerton alleges: but the following passage renders it highly probable that Herodotus meant a city in their neighbourhood; 'And from Pyrene (this is a mountain towards the west, in the country of the Celts) flow the Ister and Tartessus: the latter empties itself into the ocean beyond the pillars of Hercules[n]. If this passage of Aristotle be compared with Herodotus's account

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[i] Valer. Flacc. Argonaut. lib. v. l. 148. edit. Heins. It may be proper to mention, that this is the edition specified by Mr Pinkerton in the list of editions used by him, prefixed to his Dissertation.

[k] Pinkerton's Dissert. Pref. p. 14.

[l] 'No literary crime is equal to false quotation; for public faith attends an author, and public infamy ought always to attend his abuse of it.' Pref. to Dissert. p. 14.

[m] Herod. Euterp. p. 114.

[n] Aristot. Meteor. lib. i. p. 545. edit. Duval.

account of the Tartessus [o], it will be evident he meant a city near the Pyrenæan mountains.

There are, in different parts of Athenæus, some curious particulars relative to the customs of the Celts, which are not to be found in any other writer. He derives his descriptions principally from Possidonius, who (he says) was a Stoic philosopher, and exemplified in his history the fidelity and accuracy for which his sect were distinguished. From the account of this author, who lived at least a century before the Christian æra [p], it appears that the Celts then inhabited that part of Gaul, which lies to the west of Marseilles. It is surprising that Mr Pinkerton should have overlooked this authority; but, by a strange perversion of intellect, and misapplication of labour, he has preferred authorities which are weak, and passages which are forged, to those which are strong and genuine.

The Vindicator has forgotten to examine three of the four passages which Mr Pinkerton has quoted from Aristotle; and has examined a passage little to the purpose, and not cited by his antagonist. It is rather unfortunate for our author, that the passages which he has *not* noticed, though they are not decisive, are much more in favour of Mr Pinkerton than the one which he has noticed. 'In this sea are two very large islands, called the British, Albion and Ierne, greater than those we have already mentioned, lying beyond the Celts [q].' 'It is said that there is a path, called the path of Hercules, from Italy, as far as the Celtic country, and the Iberians [r].' Our author's assertion, that Aristotle meant a district near Colchis in Asia, called Iberia, is entirely unwarranted, and highly improbable. We have already examined what Aristotle says in his treatise *de Meteorol.* We can find no passage in Apollonius Rhodius, which even mentions the country of the Celts: our author particularises neither page nor book. Strabo proves only, that some Celtic tribes lived near the Adriatic in the time of Alexander [s]: and Arrian says, the Ister takes its rise among the Celts [t]: whence it is probable that he had the same

[o] Herod. Clio, p. 74. See also Strabo, lib. 3. p. 148. and Dionys. Perierg. v. 288.

[p] Casaubon proves, that Possidonius lived before the destruction of the Roman republic, and renders it very probable, that he is the same person who wrote a continuation of the History of Polybius. Athenæus, lib. 4. pp. 151 & 152.; et Casaub. in loc.

[q] Aristot. de Mundo, c. 3. p. 604.

[r] Aristot. de Mirab. Auscult. p. 1157.

[s] Strabo, lib. vii. p. 301.

[t] Arriani Exped. Alex. lib. i. p. 8. edit. Gronov.

same mistaken opinion respecting the source of this river, which Herodotus and Aristotle had; and that the Celts, whom he here mentions, lived near the Pyrenees. Mr Pinkerton admits, that small tribes of the Celts existed in different parts of Europe at this period: his grand position is, that the Goths had swept the main body of them as far as Gaul.

We did not expect, after the humorous and severe, but just and critical remarks of the author of 'Hermes Unmasked[u],' that Dr Vincent's hypothesis respecting the Greek verb, would have been brought forward as satisfactory and well founded. Our author, however, not only considers it as decisively proved, but is inclined to believe in the identity of the Greek and Welch languages, because the tenses of the verbs in each, are formed from the auxiliaries Εω, and Au, *to go*. We shall afterwards examine 'the few instances of twenty thousand Welch words similar to the Greek, given in the Appendix,' (p. 57.) He challenges Mr Pinkerton to adduce as many Gothic words similar to the Greek: this challenge discovers him to be ignorant that the only Gothic book extant, is a version of the Gospels, very imperfect.

In opposition to Mr Pinkerton's assertion, that war-chariots were not known among the Celts, he says, 'They were so common among the Celts in Gaul, that Pompon. Mela (art. *Britt.*) distinguishes those in use among the Britons, by the name of Covini *Gallice* armati.' We shall not at present inquire into the meaning affixed by the Latin authors, to the words *Gallia*, *Galli*, &c.; it is unnecessary. The passage in Pomponius Mela, *is not* as he cites it: in justification of this charge, we shall quote it. 'Dimicant non equitatu modò aut pedite, verum et bigis et curribus, *Gallice armati*. Covinos vocant, quorum falcatis axibus utuntur[x].' It is evident that the *men*, and not the chariots, are here said to be equipped like the Gauls. Livy mentions, indeed, that the Gauls with whom the Romans fought, A. U. 457, A. C. 295, used war-chariots[y]; but nothing decisive can be inferred from this passage, until it be determined whether these Gauls were Celtic or Belgic. Our author refers to no authority for his assertion, that the Silures employed these chariots in their battle under Caractacus against the Romans. Tacitus, who describes it very minutely, is silent respecting them; whereas, he particularly

[u] Hermes Unmask'd, Letter the 2d.

[x] Pompon. Mela, lib. 3. c. 6. p. 41. edit. Steph. published by this editor in the same volume with Dionys. Perierg. Solinus, &c.

[y] Livy, lib. x. c. 28. edit. Clerici.

larly mentions the *Covinarii* in his account of the battle between Agricola and the Caledonians, a German or Gothic tribe [z].

We agree with our author, that Thucydides and Diodorus Siculus, cited by Mr Pinkerton, to establish the identity of the Scythic and Greek languages, are so vague and general in their expressions, that a casual and partial similarity alone can be inferred. 'Mr Pinkerton either did not read, or misunderstood Xenophon,' (pp. 61, 62.) Our author should have been more scrupulous and diligent, before he brought forward this charge in so positive a manner; at least, he ought to have guarded himself against a similar imputation. Mr Pinkerton quotes two passages from Xenophon, in reality distinct; but which, from his mode of quotation, and the want of express reference, appear to be one. Our author examined Xenophon; found the first passage, which did not contain the whole of Mr Pinkerton's assertion; and is so eager to proclaim his victory, and so careless about truth, provided he defeat his antagonist, that he overlooks entirely the other passage, though it follows the former, with the intervention of a few lines. In this Xenophon certainly says, '*Kindred* was given as the military watch-word by the united armies of the Greeks and Thracians, as implying their common origin [a].'

The Vindicator convicts his opponent of a strange blunder; or, more probably, a shameful and gross misrepresentation, in his quotation from Ovid. Mr Pinkerton, who seems to have read ancient authors with a determination to fabricate authorities, where they did not present themselves, and to be very indifferent about the nature of the materials he employs, found in the 10th Elegy of the 5th Book of Ovid, a line which, by a junction with another in the 2d Elegy of the same Book, formed a couplet, unintelligible indeed, but which, to an inattentive reader, seems to imply that the Greek and Getic languages are nearly allied [b].

Our author next undertakes to prove, that the Thracians, Illyrians, Greeks, and Italians, were not Scytho-Goths. It is unnecessary, however, to examine this position, since he rather infers the truth of it from his supposed confutation of Mr Pinkerton's hypothesis, respecting the very early progress of the Scythians into Europe, than supports it by any express or appropriate authorities.

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[z] Taciti Annal. lib. xii. c. 35. Taciti vita Agric. c. 36.

[a] Xenoph. Cyr. Exped. lib. lvii. pp. 237, 238. edit. Steph. 1581.

[b] Exercent illi SOCIAE commercia linguæ
Graiaque quod Getico victa loquela sono est.
Trist. v. 10.—Dissert. p. 75.

rities. In our opinion, there is no part of Mr Pinkerton's Dissertation more weak and unsatisfactory, than that which contains his arguments for the Scythic origin of the Greeks and Italians. His quotations, indeed, are numerous, but they are vague and contradictory; and his attempts to illustrate or fix their meaning, and to reconcile their disagreement, are in general ineffectual. It is well known, that the Greeks and Romans regarded all other nations as barbarians; and their historians are, therefore, anxious to prove, either that they were aboriginals of the soil, or that they were descended from nations distinguished for their very early civilization and knowledge. This partiality in their historians, renders their testimony on these points liable to suspicion, as well as obscure and contradictory. And the argument derived from the similarity of their manners, customs, &c. cannot be applied, where there was so great a difference in the circumstances of the Scythians and Greeks.

We begin, now, to approach points of history, comparatively luminous and distinct; and Mr Pinkerton's positions are more generally interesting and important. It is also evident, that his authorities, and arguments in defence of them, are too powerful for his antagonist, although his zeal and diligence increase in proportion as the Inquiry respects more directly and essentially the Celtic population of England.

Mr Pinkerton's first position is, that the Germans are Scytho-Goths. His first argument is drawn from language; and if his illustrations and proofs be carefully examined [c], they will be found much more clear and strong, than our author is willing to admit. The resemblance between the very few remaining Scythic words and the Gothic, is close and striking [d]; and no one will deny, that the German is a dialect of the latter [e]. We have already examined all the nine authorities quoted by Mr Pinkerton, except that of Pliny. The meaning which ought to be affixed to his words is rendered clear, by comparing them with the passages already quoted, from Herodotus, Aristotle, &c. respecting the principal settlement of the Celts; and is decidedly in favour of Mr Pinkerton.

It

[c] Dissertation, pp. 107.—114.

[d] Ihre, Lex. Suio-Goth. in Præfat.

[e] The opinion of Hickes and Larozius, that the version of the Gospels, ascribed to Ulphilas, is in the Tudesque, and not the Gothic, is completely refuted by Benzelius, in his preface to Lye Evangel. Goth., and by an inscription found and published in Italy, 1731; the letters and words of which are perfectly similar to those in Ulphilas' Gospels. Lye, Evan. Goth. Præf. pp. 7.—14.; p. 35.

It certainly does not by any means follow, of necessity, that because the Celts inhabited only about one third of Gaul in the time of Cæsar; therefore, the Goths had penetrated into that country, 500 A. C. But as the original inhabitants were driven to the very shores of the ocean in the time of Cæsar, their invaders must have entered the eastern part at a period long anterior. Our author has rather weakened, than supported his interpretation of the words, 'Plerosque Belgas esse ortos a Germanis,' by quoting the entire passage in which they occur (Vind. pp. 83—86). It is absurd in him to draw any inference respecting the Belgæ, from the silence of authors prior to Cæsar; as he was the first who, from his opportunities of observation, was enabled to give an accurate description of Gaul. Our author asserts, that Mr Pinkerton has quoted Strabo in a garbled and imperfect manner: in order to prove this assertion, and, at the same time, to show that Strabo is in favour of his opinion, he lays before his readers, what he calls a translation of the genuine and entire passage. But he has translated the words of the Latin interpreter, not those of Strabo: and he has misunderstood even the former. 'Ακυιτανους μεν ουν και Κελτας ελεγον, τους προς τη Πυρηνη, διωρισμενους τω Κιμμηνω ορει. Ergo qui Pyrenæ sunt proximi, eos Aquitanos et Celtas vocunt, monte divisi Cimmeno[f].'—'Insomuch, that those who live near the Pyrenees, denominate them only Aquitani and Celtæ, they being divided by the Cimmen Mountain.' (Vind. p. 88.)

A comparison of the different parts of Cæsar, in which the words *Gallia* and *Galli* occur, and in which he describes the different inhabitants, is sufficient to establish the common opinion, that he referred exclusively to Celtic Gaul, when he is mentioning the Druids, although his words are, 'In omni Gallia.' Even if we grant that they are to be taken strictly and literally, it by no means follows, that the Belgæ were Celts, because they practised Druidism. Their intermixture will sufficiently account for the adoption of religious rites, and renders unnecessary the supposition of their identity, which is expressly contradicted by Cæsar himself.

Our author, here, and in subsequent parts of his work, maintains that the Greek historians use the terms, Γαλαται, Κελται, as synonymous; and that they always refer exclusively to the Celtic division of Gaul, and its inhabitants, by the words Κελτικη and Κελται. As it is of the highest importance to determine this point, which appears not to have been carefully examined, even by Mr Pinkerton, who seems frequently reduced to perplexity or subter-

 fuge,

[f] Strabo, lib. ii. p. 176.

fuge, by his suspicion of its truth, we shall lay before our readers the result of an impartial and strict inquiry. The Greek authors appear to use Κελτικη and Γαλατια, and the corresponding names of the inhabitants, as strictly synonymous: they apply them sometimes to Gaul in general; at other times the context proves, that they are used in their original sense. But Belgic Gaul, and its inhabitants, are most frequently denoted by the words, Κελτικη and Κελται. The Belgæ appear to have attracted most of the attention of these historians; and their description of them is so uniform and accurate, that no doubt can be entertained that they mean the Belgic Gauls, although they call them Κελται. Strabo, speaking of the inhabitants of Britain, says, 'The men are taller than the Gauls (των Κελτων); and their hair less yellow [g].' In his description of Germany, 'Immediately beyond the Rhine, to the east of the Celts, the Germans live, differing little from the Celtic race (του Κελτικου), in their savageness, tallness, and yellowness of hair: and with respect to features, customs, and modes of life, very like the Gauls (τους Κελτους), whom we have already described: wherefore, it is our opinion, that the Romans have given them very properly the name *Germani*, implying the common origin of the Gauls (Γαλατας) and them [h].' The faithfulness and exact information of this author are well known: we may, therefore, consider his description of the Gauls as accurate: but it will apply only to the German or Belgic Gauls. Yellow or red hair distinguished a German tribe. There was no resemblance between the Celts and Germans. Diodorus Siculus gives a very particular description of Gaul (Γαλατια. Κελτικη); and it is evident, that these terms are frequently employed, when he is speaking of that part, which Cæsar, from whom he has taken his description, says was inhabited by the Belgæ. He also expressly says—'The Gauls (Γαλατα) are tall, fair skinned, and naturally yellow haired [i].' Polybius, our author asserts, describes the Gauls, who pillaged Rome under Brennus, as Celts: he certainly calls them Celts (Γαλατα, Κελται); but his enumeration and description of their different tribes, puts it beyond a doubt that they were German Gauls. He particularly names and describes the Veneti, Semnones, and Boii [k]. We have the express testimony of Strabo, that the first were German Gauls [l]; and the others are

[g] Strabo, lib. iv. pp. 194. 200.
[h] Strabo, lib. vii. p. 290.
[i] Diod. Siculus, lib. v. p. 212.
[k] Polyb. lib. ii. p. 42. Edit. Bas. 1549.
[l] Strabo, lib. iv. p. 194.

are enumerated by Tacitus among the tribes of Germany [m]. It may be objected, that Polybius mentions these Gauls as coming from a country very remote from any assigned to them by Tacitus and Strabo. But, in the time of the first historian, the Romans were entirely ignorant of Germany, and knew very little even of Transalpine Gaul; and, therefore, could not mention the name or situation of the country, whence the invaders originally came. Polybius says, they proceeded into Italy from the adjoining territory on the north; this would be directly on their route from Germany: and as they had, most probably, occupied it for some time, Polybius, both from this circumstance, and his want of information, would consider it as their original or permanent residence. Longolius, in his edition of *Taciti Germania*, shows that the appellations, Semnones and Boii, are evidently derived from the Gothic, and particularly applicable to the situation and manners of those tribes [n]. Pausanias calls both the Celtic and Belgic inhabitants of Gaul, Γαλάται, and Κέλται; but as his authority is less important, and his descriptions not so full and definite, we shall only refer to him [o].

It is still more evident that the terms *Gallia* and *Galli* are frequently employed by the Latin authors, when their observations and descriptions are applicable only to Belgic Gaul and its inhabitants. We need not illustrate this point by the examination of any particular passages, as it is generally admitted, and easily proved.

Our author and Mr Pinkerton agree in the opinion, that the Cimbri, who, in junction with the Teutones, invaded Italy, and were defeated by Marius, were a Celtic tribe, and the same as those who had, some centuries before, sacked Rome. But the country whence they proceeded, their close alliance with a Gothic tribe, and the description given of them by the Greek and Latin historians, who appear to have considered them of the same race with the Teutones, clearly prove them to have been of German origin [p]. To these considerations, it may be added, that the name of their leader, Boiiorix, is evidently of Gothic structure: and that Tacitus, who, in his description of Germany, particularly and expressly marks the few tribes who appeared not to be Germans, is entirely silent respecting the Celtic origin of the Cimbri,

[m] Tacit. Germ. c. 38. 39.

[n] Tacit. Germ. Edit. Longol. c. 38. 39.

[o] Pausanias, lib. i. p. 16. 62. 66.; lib. x. p. 644. &c. Edit. Sylbur. Hanov. 1613.

[p] Plut. in Mario. Livy, Epit. l. 68. Percy's Preface to Mallet's North. Antiq. p. 38. Mallet, Vol. I. p. 32.

Cimbri, and in his account points out no difference between them and the other inhabitants [q].

Mr Pinkerton, as our author observes, has added the word *furthest* to Strabo's account of the most ancient division of the globe. In Book 1st, he says, 'The earth is divided into four parts: to the furthest east, the Indians; to the furthest south, the Æthiops; to the furthest west, the Celts; and to the furthest north, the Scythians [r].' We know not why Mr Pinkerton quoted this passage; and still less, why he interpolated it. As it is found in Strabo, it proves merely that the Celts inhabited the west of the globe, which is admitted upon all hands. If Mr Pinkerton had added the word *furthest* only to the division inhabited by the Celts, it might have served his purpose; but by applying it to all the divisions, he can derive no advantage from it. It is surprising that our author, who has detected a false reading in Mr Pinkerton's quotation from Pomponius Mela (*Belcarum*, instead of *Belgarum*), should have overlooked a *forged* passage, for which Mr Pinkerton refers to the same author, especially as it is necessary to make the substituted word of any use to him. He says, Pomponius calls the northern Scythæ, Belcæ; and refers to lib. iii. c. 5. [s]. No such passage occurs in Stephen's edition. Our author betrays gross ignorance of the Latin idiom in the following remarks:—'Mr Pinkerton introduces the authority of Pliny, to prove that Germany was included in Scythia: "Scytharum nomen usquequaque transit in Sarmatas atque Germanos. Nec aliis prisca illa duravit appellatio, quam qui, extremi Gentium harum, ignoti prope ceteris mortalibus degunt." Pliny, lib. iv. c. 12. The name of Scythians is everywhere changed to that of Sarmatæ and Germans: nor has that ancient appellation continued, save to the most distant of these TWO nations, who live almost unknown to other mortals.' (Dissert. pp. 127. 128). 'It is a most singular circumstance, and proves how far zeal in support of a favourite hypothesis will blind even a man like Mr Pinkerton, of extensive learning and profound research. He has inadvertently introduced this very passage of Pliny, which strongly militates against his system, in support of it; but has misinterpreted the last part of the sentence: and by introducing the

[q] Tacit. Germ. 37. A professed antiquarian, in 'Some Remarks on the early Population of Europe' (Exeter Essays, p. 84), endeavours to prove, that a few Celtæ, whom he imagines to be descendants of the Cimbri, still exist in Italy; because the King of Denmark, about 70 years since, conversed easily with them in the Danish language!

[r] Dissert. p. 126.

[s] Dissert. p. 127.

the word TWO, which is not in the original, applies the remark of Pliny to the Sarmatæ and Germans only, which was applied neither to the Sarmatæ nor Germans; but to those nations, who were unknown to the rest of the world.' (Vind. 99, 100). Mr Pinkerton certainly was not justified in inserting the word TWO; as Pliny, by the word *harum*, confines his remark to the latter, the Germans: but the word *harum* determines, that the nation unknown to the rest of the world, and which still retained the ancient appellation, *Scythian*, was part of one already mentioned.

'Herodotus places most of his Scythians in Germany.' (Dissert. 173.) 'This is not true; for he places some of his Scythæ on the northern shores of the Euxine, and near the mouths of the Ister; and the others beyond the Tanais, and the shores of the Caspian.' (Vind. p. 191.) Herodotus places some Scythian nations far to the north; most probably, from his description, rather to the east of Germany [t]. 'The Ister or Danube, he calls the largest river in Scythia.' (Dissert. ibid.) 'Not so: he says, it is the largest known river in Europe.' (Vind. ibid.) The words of Herodotus are: 'The Ister, being the largest of all the rivers with which we are acquainted [u].' A circumstance that Herodotus mentions, shows that Scythia was to the east of Germany: for he says, 'The Ister, turning obliquely, enters Scythia: this oblique turn is at no great distance from its mouth.' (Vind. ibid.) Herodotus, enumerating the rivers which flow into the Ister, says, 'There are five, which take their rise in Scythia; the one furthest to the west is the Ordissus [x].' By examining the map, we shall find that this river enters the Ister in long. 20. E., or near the middle of Hungary. The Porate, mentioned by Herodotus as another river rising in Scythia, has its source in nearly the same long. and in lat. 49. N. among the Riphæan mountains [y]. There is no oblique turn in the Ister, at the influx of the Ordissus, nor between that river and the one nearest to it on the west, within which space the Ister must have entered Scythia. But Herodotus makes no mention of an oblique turn; his Latin interpreter does. The words of the former are: 'The Ister, running across Europe, enters the side of Scythia [z].' Our author's assertions are here brought forward in the most

[t] Herod. Melp. 262—264.
[u] Id. ibid. 272.
[x] Id. ibid.
[y] Id. ibid.
[z] Ες τα πλαγια της Σκυθης ισβαλλει. Melp. 273.
Ex transverso ingreditur Scythiam. *Lat. Version.*

most positive and dogmatical manner: while it is evident, that he has not only failed in his attempts to support them, but exposed his own ignorance, and weakened his cause.

The next point of inquiry which presents itself, is, whether the population of England, as it is described by Cæsar and Tacitus, were Belgic. All our author's objections and arguments depend entirely on the question, Whether the terms *Gallia* and *Galli*, were applied by the Latin historians to Celtic Gaul and its inhabitants exclusively? As they were not, he has failed to prove, from them, the Celtic population of this island; and as, from our former investigations, it appeared that the Belgic Gauls were most frequently meant by the words Κελται and by the corresponding Latin term *Galli*, it is reasonable to infer, from their testimony, that the population was Belgic. The truth of this inference is strongly confirmed, by a comparison of the manners of the Belgæ, and the inhabitants [a]; and is by no means weakened by the existence of Druidism, even if we suppose it not to have been confined to a few places inhabited by the Celts. The testimony of Nennius, cited by our author (Vind. 157), contradicts Mr Pinkerton's position, that the language of England was the same with that spoken by the Saxons at the time of their invasion. The necessity of an interpreter between Vortigern and Hengist, proves their difference; but not that Celtic was spoken by the former. The languages of Belgia, and of that part of Germany whence the Saxons came, differed then, most probably, at least as much as they do now; and the original tongue of the Belgæ, who had crossed into England, would in the time of Vortigern be much corrupted, even if they were not intermixed with the Celts. As the determination of the inquiry respecting the language spoken in England at the Saxon invasion, will decide the origin of the population which then existed; and as it has not been attempted, we believe, by any writer on this subject, we shall venture to state a few of the facts and arguments which have led us to conclude that it was Belgic.

An examination of the words, phrases, and structure of the Anglo-Saxon, which was commonly used in England from the eighth to the twelfth century, will convince us that it is a mixed language. If it were the language introduced by the invaders, it must have been either the Tudesque or Icelandic; which alone were spoken in that part of Germany from which they came. We have works in the Tudesque of the eighth century, and an Icelandic history of the eleventh. If Anglo-Saxon writings, of the

[a] Cæsar, lib. v. Tacit. vit. Agric. Diod. Sic. lib. v. 209.

the same dates, be compared with them[b], it will be found that the grammatical form and structure bear a near resemblance, but that the greater number of Anglo-Saxon words differ from those of a corresponding meaning in the Icelandic and Tudesque. This will be satisfactorily explained, by the well attested facts, that the Saxons who invaded England were very few, compared with the conquered inhabitants, and that these were very generally employed as domestic slaves. We may therefore conclude, that the Anglo-Saxon is composed of the language spoken by the invaders, and that which the inhabitants retained; and, that most of its words and phrases were borrowed from the latter. As it is clearly evident that this cannot be the Celtic, there is no other to which we can direct our examination, with more probability of success, than the Belgic. We have indeed no specimens of the ancient Belgic; but both the English and the Anglo-Saxon present a very striking and general resemblance to the language now spoken in the Netherlands. Kilianus published, in the 16th century, *Etymologicon Teutonicæ Linguæ*; which contains not only the common Low-Dutch words then in use, but all the words peculiar to Friesland, Gueldres, Juliers, Brabant, and the borders of Westphalia. Among these provincialisms will be found a great number not in the present German, the Tudesque, and Icelandic, which are very similar to the Anglo-Saxon. It is well known, that the dialects of Lancashire and Cheshire, and the oldest English authors, contain many Anglo-Saxon words, which are now disused. There are even, in the former, some words which cannot be traced to the Anglo-Saxon, but which are common to the Flemish. A comparison of the English with the Anglo-Saxon version of the New Testament, and of the latter with the Icelandic, and the Paraphrases of Otofred and Tatian, preserved in Schilter, written in the Francic or Tudesque, about the ninth century, will prove, that there is a greater number of words in the Anglo-Saxon, liker the Flemish than the Icelandic and Tudesque. It may also be remarked, that many words in the Anglo-Saxon, which cannot be referred to those languages, exist in the Gothic, from which they could have been transferred only through the medium of the Belgic, although they are not now to be found in the present dialect of that tongue. If authority were needful, where the reader can examine and judge for himself, we would

[b] Alfred's translation of Bede and Orosius, written in the eighth century, may be compared with the Tudesque of the same date, collected by Schilter, *Thesaur. Eccles. Ant. Teuton.* The Saxon Chronicle, written during the tenth and eleventh centuries, may be compared with *Arii Frode Schedæ*, in Icelandic, written in the eleventh century, and first published, 4to. Hafniæ, 1733.

would produce that of Kilianus, an impartial and competent judge, who, in the Preface to his *Etymol. Teut. Ling.* says—'Vocabula quamplurima contuli cum veteribus Anglicis, sive Saxonibus, quæ cum Germanicis inferioribus, sive Teutonicis, licet dialectis nonnihil mutatis, prorsus eadem sunt [c];' and that of Verstigan, who affirms, that the English is more nearly allied to the Dutch than to the German [d].

It may be necessary to examine the argument of Mr Owen, quoted by our author, in favour of the opinion, that the English language is of Celtic origin (Vind. 157.). 'With respect to the English words derived from the Welsh, under the letter B for instance, I have rejected all the words obviously borrowed from known languages. The result has left between fifteen hundred and sixteen hundred English words, about nine hundred of which are supposed to be Saxon; and the rest stand in the Dictionaries as generally unaccounted for; but of these, I shall prove about eight hundred to be Saxon, and seven hundred and upwards to be Welsh.' It can be inferred from this circumstance only, that there are as many Celtic as Anglo-Saxon words in the English. But even this inference is not just, except Mr Owen rejected, as not radically Celtic, those words which are also to be found in the old Gothic, and its dialects, as formerly, or at present spoken on the Continent. We except the Anglo-Saxon; because, where the words in it do not occur also in the other Gothic dialects, Mr Owen might contend that they were originally Celtic. It is also reasonable to suppose, that as we are acquainted with but comparatively few Anglo-Saxon words, many in the English language are really and directly derived from it, which are, in all our dictionaries, referred to the other Gothic dialects. Whoever peruses the Gothic Gospels attentively, will discover the origin of many English words, which are generally thought to have been borrowed from the modern languages of Europe. Where the English bears a more striking resemblance to the Gothic, than its supposed modern source, little doubt can be entertained, that it has passed from the Gothic in the most direct manner.

If the validity of these arguments be admitted, it necessarily follows, that the population of England was Belgic, not only at the Saxon invasion, but also when Cæsar landed; as no intermixture of a foreign nation took place between these periods.

Our author discovers, in the 11th section, that Mr Pinkerton annihilates, in his geography, the proofs on which his grand position

[c] Kilian. Teuton. Lex. Edit. 1776.
[d] Verstigan's Restit. Decay. Intel. p. 216.

sition rests, that the Celts were driven, 500 A. C., to the western extremity of Gaul. Mr Pinkerton says, 'Herodotus had so little knowledge of Gaul, as to suppose that the Ister took its rise in the Pyrenees: and even Aristotle seems only to have learnt that they (the Celts) inhabited the region above Iberia, or Spain.' (Vol. i. p. 246.) We acknowledge, that we have not penetration sufficient to discover, that Mr Pinkerton annihilates his proofs by these remarks on Herodotus and Aristotle. He quoted them to prove, that, in their time, the principal Celtic settlement was near the Pyrenees. The testimony of Herodotus, on this point, is not invalidated, because he was mistaken respecting the source of the Ister: and it certainly does not follow, that Mr Pinkerton, by saying that Aristotle knew little of the Celts, admits that his testimony is not to be trusted in what he does relate.

It is unnecessary to examine or state the conclusions contained in the last section, which our author, from a retrospective view of his authorities, thinks himself justified in drawing. As, however, we have produced several important passages, unnoticed or misunderstood by Mr Pinkerton, and have thus been enabled both to strengthen his positions, and to bring forward some facts, which nearly decide the question; we shall collect and state our conclusions.

I. At a very early period, at least 1400 A. C., the Scythians, originally a small tribe on the Araxes, had extended their conquests into Asia and into Europe, at least as far as Thrace [e].

II. 640 years A. C. the Scythians drove the Cimmerians out of Europe; again conquered Asia; and inspired terror into the King of Egypt [f].

III. The Scythæ were afterwards known by the names *Getæ*, *Gothi*, *Germani* [g].

IV. The testimony of the earliest writers authorises us to place the principal settlement of the Celts, at least 400 A. C. in the S. W. of Gaul, in the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees; whence they appear to have been driven by the Aquitani on the S., and the Germans on the E., to that part of it which they inhabited in the time of Cæsar [h].

[e] Compare Diod. Sic. lib. ii. 89; lib. i. 35. Herod. Eut. 142. 148.
[f] Herod. Clio, 49.
[g] Strabo, lib. vii. 295. Pliny, lib. iv. c. 12.
[h] Herod. Eut. 114. Aristot. Meteor. lib. i. 145. De Mundo, c. 3. 604. de Mirab. Auscul. 1157. Athenæus, lib. iv. 151. 152. Strabo, lib. ii. 176. 178. Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. i. p. 1. &c. Pliny, lib. iv. c. 18.

V. The Greek and Latin historians most frequently describe the Belgic Gauls, even when they call them Κελται, and *Galli* [i].

VI. The population and language of England were Belgic, at the time of Cæsar's invasion [k].

The subject of the present work has confined our inquiry to Greece, Italy, Gaul, Germany, and England. In order, however, to render this article more complete and interesting, we shall briefly point out the sources of the population of the other countries of Europe. The inhabitants of Scotland, except those of the Highlands, are Gothic [l]. Iceland, Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, are also evidently peopled by a Gothic race. We have already shown, that the Belgæ inhabited part of France. Its population and language were rendered more generally Gothic, by the conquest of the Franks and Normans. Nothing can be decided respecting the original population of Greece, or the conquest of it by the Scythians. It is probable, however, that the latter did not enter into it in their first invasion of Europe. Their route evidently was from S. E. to N. W.; and we know that they did not penetrate into Spain, or even the south of Gaul. Italy was most probably peopled from Greece; and this country, in part at least, from Africa, which appears also to have supplied the peninsula of Spain with its first inhabitants. The circumstances of the second Gothic invasion, which destroyed the Roman empire, are so well known, that no doubt can be entertained, that the present population of Spain and Italy is partly Gothic.

The Slavi, who invaded the north-west of Europe after the destruction of the Roman empire, were an Asiatic tribe; and the present inhabitants and languages of Russia, Bohemia, Poland, and

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[i] Strabo, lib. iv. 194—200; lib. vii. 290 Diod. Sic. lib. v. 212. Polyb. lib. ii. 42.—Compare the different passages in Cæsar and Tacitus, &c. where the words *Galli*, *Gallia*, occur.

[k] Cæsar, lib. v. de Bell. Gall.—Tacit. Vit. Agric.—The facts and arguments already adduced, respecting the Belgic origin of the Anglo-Saxon language.—Lye's Dict. Goth. & A. Sax.—Hickes' Preface to his Gothic Grammar, and especially the Gothic Gospels, may be consulted, as containing many examples of English words evidently Gothic, which are to be found in the Anglo-Saxon.

[l] Pinkerton's Inquiry.---Innes's Crit. Essay.---The dialects of Angus and Buchan are very similar to those in Jutland; and the Scotish, in general, bears a greater resemblance to the Icelandic and German, than to the Dutch. We make the former assertion on the authority of Mr Niebuhr, son to the famous traveller, who joined an accurate and critical knowledge of the Scotish, in all its dialects, to a perfect acquaintance with those of his own country (Jutland).

and Dalmatia, are derived from them [m]. The Laplanders seem to be the aboriginal savages of that part of Europe which they now possess [n]. The present inhabitants of Hungary are not Huns, but descendants from the Fins, who conquered that country [o]. The Basques are most probably the remains of the ancient Iberi, or first African inhabitants of Spain [p].

We promised to examine our author's Appendix, which contains a few instances of the twenty thousand Greek words similar to the Welsh. They by no means prove the identity, or even the great similarity of these languages; but, like every other collection of Celtic words, discover that tongue to be much intermixed with the Gothic. We have room, however, for only a very few; and our remarks on each shall be short.

All, Welsh; αλλος, Greek, *other*. This word occurs, in the same sense, in the Gothic; *allakunga*, *alienigena*; Luke, xvii. 18. —*Aru*, Welsh; Αροω, Gr. to plough; Aryans, Goth. Luke, xvii. 7.—*Cylla*, κοιλια, the stomach; but *cylla* comes from *kely*, to hide; and properly signifies, what is hidden, (Lhuyd, Archæ. Britt. p. 104. in voc. *Occulto*); whereas the Greek word κοιλια is applied to the stomach, because it is hollow (κοιλος). See also, Jun. Etym. Ang. voc. *Cellar*.—*Drysu*, δρασσω, to entangle. *Dres*, in Irish, and *Dressen*, in S. Welsh, is a bramble, (Lhuyd, p. 272, voc. *Bramble*); whence this meaning of the verb is plainly derived. In what Greek author does δρασσω mean, to entangle?

Whoever examines the remainder of these instances, which most probably were carefully selected, will be inclined to retort on our author, what he says respecting Mr Pinkerton's comparison of the Scythic and Gothic mythology. 'This reminds us of Fluellen's comparison of Macedon and Monmouth—"There is a river in Macedon; there is also, moreover, a river at Monmouth: it is called

[m] Procopius, lib. ii. 15. iii. 33. apud Pinkert. Diss. 157.—Frisch, de Ling. Slavon. apud Diss. 70.—Tooke's Russia.

[n] Leemius de Laponibus, c. 1.

[o] De Guignes, Hist. des Huns.

[p] Compare the Basque language with the old Mauric, on which there is a dissertation at the end of Chamberlayne's Oratio Dominica (de lingua Shilhensi).—See also the dissertation prefixed to Dictionario Trilingue, del Castellano, Bascuence, y Latin, by the Jesuit Larramendi. In order that the reader may compare the languages of those nations, which we have affirmed to be Gothic, with that tongue, we shall mention the authors in which a respective comparison may be found.—Ihre, Sui-Goth. Lex. Wachter Germ. Gloss.—L. Custer, Gemeenschap tussen de Gottischespraeck en de Neyder dutsche.—Sibbald's Glossary to Chronicle of Scotish Poetry.—Aldrete, Del Origen y principio del lengua Castellana.

called Wye at Monmouth; but it is out of my prains what is the name of the other river; but it is all one; 'tis as like as my fingers to my fingers, and there is salmon in both." (Vind. p. 104.)

We shall conclude with stating, very briefly, our general opinion of the Vindication of the Celts. It certainly completely fails in its attempts to prove the grand positions with which it sets out, and to overturn Mr Pinkerton's hypothesis; but it destroys what is weak, and exposes what is false, in that gentleman's Dissertation. It may thus be of great service to him, if he be not too obstinate to give up what is untenable, and too proud, or too hardened, to confess and correct his literary delinquencies. The cause of truth must at all events be benefited; it will be freed from error: and the complete and frequent detection of mistake, and want of fidelity in Mr Pinkerton, will induce the readers of similar works, not to put implicit confidence in the most solemn asseverations, but to examine every authority, and judge for themselves.

ART. VIII. *The History of the Maroons, from their Origin to the Establishment of their Chief Tribe at Sierra Leone; including the Expedition to Cuba, for the purpose of procuring Spanish Chasseurs; and the State of the Island of Jamaica for the last ten years; with a succinct History of the Island previous to that period.* By R. C. Dallas, Esq. Two Volumes 8vo. pp. 987. London, Longman & Rees. 1803.

WHEN the title of a work extends to such a length, and embraces so minute a detail of the contents, there is reason to suspect that the author has either misnamed his performance, or that his design is defective in unity; and the most cursory perusal of the volumes now before us, must convince any one that it is liable to both these exceptions in no common degree.

The design of the book is stated by the author, in a very turgid and diffuse preface, to comprehend the history of the Maroons, a subject extremely short and simple, not necessarily connected with any other branch of West Indian politics, and capable of being handled, without reference either to the general topics of colonial affairs, or the private adventures of individuals. But the conciseness of the subject was apparently its chief drawback in the eyes of Mr Dallas; and we are indebted to his desire of eking it out, for, at least, one half of the pages which compose these volumes. Because the Maroons lived in Jamaica, a '*succinct history*' of that island is prefixed, occupying a hundred pages. Above twenty pages are added, repeating some of this history, and describing the state of affairs in St Domingo,

Domingo, because these bore some relation to the interests of Jamaica. Then, because the Maroons were negroes, and other negroes are slaves, a copy of the consolidated Slave act of Jamaica is allowed to occupy above fifty pages. Colonel Quarrell was sent to Cuba, to hire bloodhounds, during the last Maroon war; therefore, the whole adventures of this gentleman are related in a hundred and twenty pages, with a minute description of the towns through which he passed, the personages whom he happened to visit, and many of the entertainments at which he was present. After the whole subject of the Maroons has been exhausted, our author finds he has nearly two hundred of his pages yet to fill: and this he does handsomely enough with desultory remarks, anecdotes, descriptions, and statements, relative to Jamaica and the negroes. The same glaring want of taste, and obvious spirit of book-making, which united in dictating this plan, appear to have presided over its execution: The style is throughout wretched, and the composition is precisely that of a novel. We believe, few works, under the name of History, furnish so many specimens of flippancy, bombast, and dereliction of dignity, as this of Mr Dallas. It is written not only in the form of letters, but with all the pertness and levity of female epistolary correspondence. The meanest forms of expression are constantly resorted to, without the excuse of necessity, or the remuneration of humour. The most pompous images are introduced, where the subject required only plain narrative; and, as if to render the appearance of those figures more ludicrous, they are usually surrounded with the lowest allusions of which our language is susceptible. The more trivial and undignified incidents are selected for the purpose of amusing; and the whole mass appears to have been combined, with a rapidity that excluded all chance of correction or arrangement.

To justify these strictures, we shall lay before our readers a few specimens, taken almost at random, from the rich assortment which every letter presents us with. Partly from the inelegance of manners, and the vulgarity of character which prevails in most of the commercial settlements of the New World, and partly from the admixture of the gibberish used by the Negroes, the nomenclature of the West Indian islands is extremely ill adapted to the purposes of a dignified or affecting narrative. It would have been difficult, even for Robertson, to have sustained the complete propriety and decorum of his style, had he been called upon to narrate the actions of Cudjoe, Johnny, and Cuffy—at the Cockpits, Hellshire, Nanny, Darliston Trash-house, Amity Hall, One-eye, or Putty-putty bottom. But a writer of the most limited skill in composition, will perceive the necessity of introducing

introducing all such names as seldom as possible in his finer passages; and will, upon no account whatever, aggravate the natural meanness of his subject, by detailing the remarks of negroes in broken language, and adopting, unnecessarily, their low and disgusting expressions. Of this rule, our author seems lamentably ignorant. His negroes are always chattering, and his epithets are rather vulgar and ludicrous, than easy or familiar. Such of our readers as wish to see the effects of negro eloquence, in working up the eloge of a conquering general, and in elucidating the doctrines of ethics, may turn to vol. i. p. 246. and vol. ii. p. 226.

The character of Mr Dallas's nomenclature may, indeed, be estimated by the circumstance of '*fellows*' generally being preferred to '*men*' or '*soldiers*;' and by the following assortment of terms, which all occur in two pages, '*villain*'—'*villanous*'—'*rascals*'—'*tars*'—'*vagabonds*,' vol. ii. pp. 46, 47.

Our author is not more happy in his combinations of words, than in his selection of simple applications. The difficulty of confining the Maroons by a cordon, is compared to that of '*penning pigeons in a meadow*,' vol. ii. 238. A subaltern, at a certain post, had '*a ticklish game to play*,' vol. i. 82. And immediately before, we are told, that 'Senor (or, as he calls him, Signor) Pedrasso *would not sport his toe*,' although Mr Quarrell, '*dressed à la militaire*,' walked a minuet with the Marquisa, and supplied, by good humour and address, '*the place of gestic lore*,' ib. 79.

In the larger patches of composition, which are intended to strike the reader, Mr Dallas is, if possible, still less felicitous. Our unfeigned and conscientious admiration of the person bedaubed in the following passage, may lead us to excuse a digression of this sort; but it inclines us, at the same time, to lament that so little taste should be displayed on so fine a subject.

'And here, my dear friend, suffer me to pay a tribute of gratitude and admiration, however slight it may be from my pen, to the consummate statesman, whose wisdom and foresight, whose prudence and perseverance, whose talents and firmness, whose energy and virtue, have saved this realm; saved the majesty of a Sovereign, the dignity and spirit of a gentleman, the independence and happiness of a people. The brilliancy of such a character cannot be eclipsed by the turbulence of party-sophistry, and the fermenting crudities of mob-leaders. Who observes any obscurity in the transit of Mercury across the Sun? Nay, although the glorious orb of heat and light is at times darkened by an inferior interposer, the opaque body soon passes away, and leaves its splendour undiminished,' &c. vol. i. pp. 16. 17.

Our author's talents for describing the beauties of natural scenery, are somewhat of the same cast with his powers of eulogizing great characters.

'The

'The site of the New Town commands a prospect, in which the charms of the sublime and of the beautiful are united, and presents subjects that would have been worthy of the Italian pencil in the age of Leo, and are worthy of the English one under George III. Imagine that you have rode in a carriage from Montego-Bay to John's Hall, that you have mounted and walked your horse up the long ascent to Kensington, that you have trotted through majestic woods to Vaughan's field, made your way to the Old Town, and scrambled afoot through the defile to the New one; you will stand in need of rest, and I shall therefore let you sleep till the next morning. The smoke of the habitations has been condensed by the weight of the night-air, and has mingled with the thick and fleecy-looking fog rising from innumerable glades. Injure not my description, by suffering the intrusion of a misplaced idea of an insalubrious exhalation,' &c. vol. i. 84, 85.

If, to the manifold imperfections now pointed out in the style and arrangement of this work, we add the want of any correct reference to authorities upon disputed points; the excessive rapidity of the narrative in the most important parts of the subject, contrasted with extreme minuteness of detail on more trivial occasions; and the most unpardonable negligence in quoting the opinions or statements of those who are attacked for error or inaccuracy, it will perhaps be admitted, that the author has somewhat too highly estimated the importance of his work, when he ranked it with that class of writings in which the qualities of elegance, dignity, and correctness, are most peculiarly required. But if, instead of a history, we had only been led to expect in these volumes an amusing collection of anecdotes founded in truth, we must admit, that we should have risen from the perusal highly satisfied. This is, in fact, considered as a book of *entertainment*, one of the most pleasing and interesting that we have ever met with. Taking it in this point of view, the selection and arrangement displays no small portion of skill; but, then, there is too much statistical detail and protracted narrative, for a mere miscellany intended to amuse: so that although the perusal of the greater part may give pleasure to those who read without any other object than the gratification of a curiosity quickly excited, satisfied, and forgotten; in a word, to the readers of novels, magazines, and newspapers; yet, they will pass over a considerable portion, without finding any thing to arrest their attention: while the readers of history will probably discover little in the whole work which is not better told elsewhere, and will be disgusted with the manner in which that little is delivered. To a certain class of readers, indeed, this work may prove a source of more unmingled delight. They who consider the present system of West

West Indian policy as right and expedient, that is to say, they who possess West Indian estates which require new supplies of negroes, will probably receive great satisfaction from the principles maintained by Mr Dallas; and we cannot help wishing that he had ventured to act upon what must be his belief or conviction, that those persons are the least respectable of his readers.

As some of the subjects of Mr Dallas's work are in themselves highly interesting, and as, we doubt not, the qualities which, according to the foregoing estimate, it may be allowed to possess, will procure it many readers, we shall now direct our attention more particularly to the plan and substance of the book; pointing out, in the first place, the real amount of the new information which the author pretends to communicate; and then stating what appear to us the chief questions of more general discussion, that arise out of the historical detail.

The '*Succinct History of Jamaica,*' we are informed in the preface, is the work of a Mr Cutting; and Mr Dallas bestows upon it a very liberal eulogium. Now, this information happens to be as incorrect as the eulogium is unmerited; for the '*Succinct History*' is a very bad abstract from Edwards, frequently expressed in the same words, and sometimes adorned with the very quotations of that well-known author.

The first letter, which is pretty much on the same subject, Mr Dallas has derived from the same source; but this he partly acknowledges in a note. In one part of the letter, we meet with a theory, given under the form of a fact; and, we will venture to say, equally unfounded in both these capacities. The expedition to St Domingo is charged with being the cause of the negro emancipation in that ill-fated colony. He must, indeed, be grossly ignorant of West Indian affairs who can discover, in the British invasion, the slightest connexion with the internal dissensions which, both before and after the year 1793, overthrew the colonial system of the French islands. We wish Mr Dallas had studied those parts of Edwards, from which instruction was to be derived, as attentively as he has perused the parts from which he could extract and abridge. It is difficult to say, in what chapter of the '*History of St Domingo,*' the most complete refutation of this calumny may be found: And yet Edwards, like every Jamaica landholder, is loud in condemning the St Domingo expedition; he even seems willing to believe in some mysterious connexion between that measure and the proclamation of the French commissioners. But the whole of those memorable events, which preceded the invasion under general Williamson,

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concur to demonstrate, that the negro emancipation was not even accelerated by the fears of the Republican agents.

In the account which Mr Dallas gives of the Maroons, he is much more copious and amusing than Mr Edwards; but only now and then gives us more real information. Among the *desiderata* which common readers must have found in Edwards' tract, and which the present work supplies, we may mention as most important, the distinct statement of the difference between the original Maroons and the runaway negroes, who afterwards received the same appellation. The former were the slaves of the Spaniards, left behind them at their expulsion; and they settled in the eastern and northern parts of the island. The latter left their masters in the rebellion 1690, and settled on the south side. They were afterwards joined by a number of fugitives, chiefly Coromantees; by the Cottawoods, a tribe of the Maroons: and by the Madagascars, a tribe of uncertain origin. This new race of independent negroes was consolidated, under the famous chief Cudjoe, in 1730; and became so formidable, that, after various unsuccessful attempts to seduce them, Governor Trelawney was induced to give them an advantageous peace in the year 1738. It was this tribe alone that engaged in the last rebellion. Now, from Mr Edwards' account, no such information can be collected: He makes no distinction between the original Spanish Maroons, whose descendants still remain in the island, and the tribe of Cudjoe, the Trelawney Town Maroons, composed of rebels and fugitives from the English plantations, with a few Spanish Maroons. These were sent off, after the last rebellion; first, to Nova Scotia, and then to Sierra Leone.

Another obligation, under which Mr Dallas has laid the inquisitive reader, arises from the clear and accurate description of the Cockpits, and the Maroon mode of fighting. For want of this, the narrative of Edwards is extremely obscure in many parts. We are still farther indebted to our author, for correcting several misrepresentations into which Edwards has been led by his interested zeal against every thing that tends to favour the negroes. Accustomed, as we have been, to the inaccuracies of that writer upon all negro questions, we were not surprised to find abundant confirmations of our general opinions respecting his historical merits. We never believed his account of the Maroon character. Mr Dallas brings his own testimony, and that of his respectable informers, to strengthen our disbelief.

As an example of the discrepancy which often prevails among eye-witnesses of the same facts, we may observe, that both these writers ground several of their contradictory opinions upon alleged personal observation; and, as a proof of Mr Edwards' zeal

to blacken the character of the Maroons, we shall mention one singular circumstance. Mr Dallas tells us, that six weeks after Colonel Fitch's death, his skeleton was found among other bones of the slain, and that the skull was thrown within the ribs (vol. i. p. 239.). In order to render this picture more horrid, Mr Edwards has converted the six weeks into a day or two, covered the bones with flesh, and filled the abdominal cavity with bowels (sect 3. *sub. fine*). What he thus gains is indeed trifling; but the dishonesty of a trick is not much palliated by the insignificance of the gain.

A more extensive error has been committed by the same writer, if we may trust the result of a comparison which naturally forces itself on us, in reading his account of the plan for employing bloodhounds (sect. 1 & 4.), and contrasting it with the narrative given by Mr Dallas (vol. ii. p. 4. *et seqq.*).

Mr Dallas ascribes the suggestion of this very dubious measure to a conversation held by Mr Quarrell with a Spaniard, who had seen it adopted successfully against the Musquito Indians. Mr Edwards, after stating a fact, wholly omitted by Mr Dallas, that dogs had been employed for tracking the Maroons in the war 1730, describes the measure of 1795 as a recurrence to the laudable policy of former times. According to the former author, the only use of the dogs was *to find out* the retreats of the Maroons. The narrative of the latter proves, that the discovery of their haunts must be synonymous with their immediate butchery, either by the dogs or the chasseurs. Edwards describes the dogs as trained to the chace of wild cattle. Dallas uniformly distinguishes the true bloodhounds from those used in cattle hunting; the one being trained exclusively to the scent of men, the taste of human flesh, and the tearing of the victim limb from limb; the other, being only common hounds, of great strength indeed, but of very *inferior* value, in negro warfare. We shall insert, for the information of our readers, the following description, from vol. ii. pp. 56, 63, & 67.

'The dogs carried out by the Chasseurs del Rey are perfectly broken in; that is to say, they will not kill the objects they pursue, unless resisted. On coming up with a fugitive, they bark at him till he stops; they then couch near him, terrifying him with a ferocious growling if he stirs. In this position, they continue barking, to give notice to the chasseurs, who come up and secure their prisoner. Each chasseur, though he can hunt only with two dogs properly, is obliged to have three, which he maintains at his own cost, and that at no small expence. These people live with their dogs, from which they are inseparable. At home, the dogs are kept chained; and when walking with their masters, are never unmuzzled, or let out of ropes, but for attack. They are constantly

constantly accompanied with one or two small dogs, called finders, whose scent is very keen, and always sure of hitting off a track. Dogs and bitches hunt equally well; and the chasseurs rear no more than will supply the number required. This breed of dogs, indeed, is not so prolific as the common kinds, though infinitely stronger and hardier. The animal is the size of a very large hound, with ears erect, which are usually cropped at the points; the nose more pointed, but widening very much towards the after-part of the jaw. His coat, or skin, is much harder than that of most dogs, and so must be the whole structure of the body, as the severe beatings he undergoes in training, would kill any other species of dog. There are some, but not many, of a more obtuse nose, and which are rather squarer set. These, it may be presumed, have been crossed by the mastiff; but if, by this, the bulk has been a little increased, it has added nothing to the strength, height, beauty, or agility, of the native-breed.' pp. 56. 58.

'The pursuit of the game is entirely the province of the finder; the larger dogs, from their training, would pass a hog without notice. Were one of them to bark at a hog, he would be severely punished.' p. 63.

'The Besucal chasseurs had not above seventy dogs properly broke; the others, of which they had many, though of the same breed, will kill the object they pursue; they fly at the throat, or other part of a man, and never quit their hold, till they are cut in two. These dogs, however, are seldom, if ever, carried out, till perfectly trained.' p. 67.

Now, let it be remembered, that one hundred and twenty dogs and *forty* chasseurs were transported from Besucal to Jamaica; and it must be evident, that few only of the number were properly trained; and, consequently, that more of the duty of hunting Maroons was meant to be left to the bloodhounds than to the drivers.

To Mr Dallas we are also indebted for a statement entirely omitted by Mr Edwards, not only of the real cause of terror which the negroes of Jamaica had, on the landing of the hounds; a terror, which Mr Edwards ascribes to false accounts of their qualities, but also of the specimens given by these animals, of their skill in the chase of men, and their thirst of human blood. vol. ii. p. 160. & 169.

'In this bottom Zeny encamped, judging it better to give rest to the men and the dogs, now exhausted with fatigue as well as thirst, and to advance on the Maroons in the morning, with the day before him, when the enemy would be less able to avail themselves of their superior knowledge of the ground than in the night. The party had scarcely erected their huts, when the barking of a dog was heard near them. They got immediately under arms, and, proceeding in the direction of the sound, discovered a negro endeavouring to make his escape. One of the Spanish dogs was sent after him. On coming up, the negro cut him twice with

with his muschet, on which the dog seized him by the nape of the neck, and secured him.' pp. 160. 161.

'One of the dogs that had been unmuzzled to drink, where there was not the least apprehension of any mischief, went up to the woman, who was sitting attending to a pot in which she was preparing a mess. The dog smelled at it, and was troublesome; this provoked her; she took up a stick, and began to beat him, on which he seized on her throat, which he would not let go till his head was severed from his body by his master. The windpipe of the woman being much torn, she could not be saved.' p. 169.

It is only necessary to add, that Mr Dallas is as keen an advocate as Mr Edwards for the use of the bloodhounds; that he derives all his original information from the person charged with the employment of procuring them, and honoured with the praise of having suggested the plan; that he evidently softens the information, as much as is consistent with truth; and that we can obtain a fair account of the scheme of the agents employed in executing it, only by comparing the different parts of his scattered narrative. We have judged it necessary to enter into these details, because they furnish the most material branch of the new matter contained in this work, and prepare the reader for the discussion of the main question suggested by the Maroon affairs—the propriety of employing bloodhounds in a war against human beings. We now proceed to offer a few remarks upon this point, chiefly because we conceive it has been much mistated on both sides, and because the situation of West Indian affairs renders the recurrence of similar discussions a matter of high probability *. We think it necessary to premise, that, after the dogs arrived in Jamaica, they were uniformly kept in the rear of the army; that, unless in the two instances above mentioned, they never shed a drop of human blood; and that the commander, on all occasions, peremptorily rejected the earnest solicitations of the Spanish chasseurs, who were eager *to finish the war*, as they termed it, and to obtain the 960 dollars *per* head of the Maroons. We do not mean this as a compliment to the gallant officer who innocently, rather than gloriously, terminated the campaign; for, had he acted otherwise, he would have been, in our apprehension, guilty of a crime.

The question upon which we propose to offer a few remarks, is closely connected with the first principles of political science, and

* If common fame may be credited, the French are at present engaged in a campaign against the St Domingo rebels, with the aid of nds. Considering the nature of the Consular government, and ed people over whom it is stretched, we cannot avoid being at this measure having only now been adopted.

and may appear to savour a little too much of metaphysical disputation. We shall endeavour, however, to steer clear of casuistical topics, and to offer a few plain criteria for the examination of the subject.

It must be observed, in the outset, that the mere consideration of humanity is by no means the chief argument against the employment of extraordinary methods of attack. In all civilized warfare, certain common and mutual rights are recognized; and the dread of retaliation will always operate as a prudential motive upon those combatants whose feelings are the most callous. It is not, therefore, from motives of humanity, but from views of interest, that the chief arguments on both sides of this question will naturally be drawn. By overlooking this principle, however, it has happened, that all the arguments of analogy which have been used to defend the employment of bloodhounds against the Maroons, if they prove any thing, prove a vast deal too much. The party who favoured the scheme, including the Legislature of Jamaica, maintained, that animals had all along been used in war, by the most refined nations in the world; that the Asiatics had used elephants, and would have enlisted lions and tygers in their service, had these possessed sufficient docility; that every European nation adopts the use of horses, principally for the purpose of following up an attack upon discomfited and flying infantry. But, surely, if the only limits to the right of employing such auxiliaries, are the previous usage of what we thus term civilized states, and the safety with which those auxiliaries may be employed, the very same limits may be stretched, so as to comprehend all the stratagems of ancient warfare, the serpent-pots of Hannibal, the assassins of the Old Man of the Mountain, the poisoned arrows of the Indians and Orientals, nay, the compendious waste of life by poisoning the meat and drink of an enemy, and the punishment of captives by tortures, not to mention red-hot balls, and refusal of quarter. The same expedients may be justified by the other more general argument which the advocates for the use of bloodhounds resorted to, that the justice of the end justifies all the means which can be proved useful towards its attainment. To poison the water of a besieged city, or to assassinate the generals of a hostile army, are measures of obvious use towards the defeat of the enemy, and are no more liable to the charge of wantonness, or malice, or needless cruelty, than any other acts of hostility.

To the illustrations given by Edwards, in his statement of the reasoning adopted by the Assembly of Jamaica, Mr Dallas adds several other topics, which he seems to think still more decisive of the question. 'Were a man,' he demands, 'bit by a mad dog, would he scruple to cut or burn out the part which had received the contagion? Do we not amputate a limb, to save

the body? And if self-preservation,' he continues, 'dictate these personal sufferings, shall not the preservation of a large community justify the use of the readiest, perhaps the only means of averting destruction?' But, besides that this argument applies, like all the rest which we have considered, to the justification of every species of enormity whereby military operations may be facilitated, and the destruction of war rendered more extensive and unsparing, it should be remembered, that the very act of hostilities against any tribe, presupposes it not to be a part of the community which carries on the war with it. It is ludicrous to talk of a concession, or a loss, or a sacrifice, made to preserve one of the belligerent parties, at the sole expence of the other. The act of submitting to a painful and extraordinary privation, in order to prevent a still greater evil, derives its whole merit from affecting the person or the community, that at once feels the smart, and reaps the benefit: We can give but little credit to the heroism which seeks for self-preservation, not in self-denial and sufferings, but in the pains and injuries of others.

It is indeed alleged, that the Maroons were rebels, and not enemies. But although, like many other nations, they owed their origin to a successful rebellion at a former period, it is clear, that they had acquired, by the concessions of the Europeans themselves, a right to be treated, in many important particulars, exactly like an independent community. By the celebrated treaty most unfortunately concluded in the year 1738, in consequence of mutual misconceptions of the state of things on each side, lands were granted in perpetuity to the Maroons, as a separate tribe; the general plan of a system was sketched out, by which they agreed to regulate themselves towards their British neighbours; and, by their own voluntary agreement, certain limitations were imposed upon their power of arranging their own affairs. Although the seeds of a new rupture had been left to spring up gradually by the operation of this compact (as too often happens in the transactions of greater communities), it is obvious, that the immediate cause of the hostilities in 1795 was of such a nature as would, in Europe, have been held to throw the blame upon Great Britain. The letter of the treaty was observed, and its spirit completely disregarded. Two Maroons were whipt for thieving. To this their countrymen would have had no objections; but, then, the punishment was performed by the hands of a slave, while it was well known, that the most irreconcileable enmity has been successfully encouraged between the Maroons and the enslaved negroes. The rebellion would have been quelled, had not another step been adopted, equally repugnant to the spirit of the treaty—that of sending those who came to make

submission,

submission, on board of a vessel, when it was known that the thing most dreaded by the Maroons, was transportation from the country. If, to these unnecessary insults, we add, the persevering obstinacy with which the government maintained in his office a superintendant, extremely obnoxious to the tribe, and excluded from that situation the person who had gained their entire favour and confidence, we shall probably be inclined to think, that the Maroons did not resort to hostilities, without having somewhat of the same pretexts which are held to justify more civilized nations in adopting warlike measures; and, at any rate, that there was nothing so extraordinary in their conduct, as to justify the adoption of uncommon methods of annoyance on the other side.

But Mr Dallas ridicules the clamour that was raised in England, against the employment of bloodhounds; partly by enumerating instances of greater and more inexcusable violence; such as, the Spaniards hunting the naked Americans, the Romans exposing criminals to wild beasts in their public amusements, and the Spartans hunting the Helotes for their diversion; and partly by stating, what he considers as a parallel case, the practice of keeping watch-dogs. With respect to the last of these arguments, it is sufficient to remark, that the objection formerly urged, applies to it in full force: it proves a great deal too much, if we admit that it applies at all. With respect to the former cases, what do they prove, but that still greater enormities were once committed by the Spaniards, the Romans, and the Spartans, than those of which we have to accuse the government of Jamaica? It is no very great vindication of our countrymen in the colony, that the enormity of their conduct was less shocking than those outrageous violations of every human feeling and principle, by which the most warlike nations of antiquity, and one of the greatest states in modern times, have branded their names with everlasting infamy.

The circumstance of a difference in civilization, cannot, by any means, render the case of the Maroons an exception to the laws which, partly from right declared by usage, partly from clear views of mutual interest, prohibit a recurrence to extraordinary modes of annoyance. It becomes a refined people to war with savages, if circumstances render such hostilities necessary, according to the same rules of honour and good faith which regulate their attacks upon more polished states. Once admit that the line may be overstepped in consideration of the character of the enemy, and you must sanction the adoption of every enormity which is practised by savages themselves in their barbarous system of warfare. It is the proud distinction of a civilized nation, to have abandoned, at a former period of its progress, all those arts of ferocious ingenuity; and there is not a

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shade to separate the crime of recurring to the same state of barbarism, in order to oppose tribes who have not yet abandoned it, from the crime of introducing those modes of barbarity into contests with civilized nations, in order that this temporary dereliction of the civilized state may render the continuance of hostilities shorter, and their recurrence less frequent.

But the Maroons had various advantages, in their knowledge of the country—their acute senses—their perseverance under hardships and privation. These are the only advantages of savages; and to counterbalance them, we apprehend, the advantages peculiar to civilized warriors are abundantly sufficient. We conceive, that discipline, artillery, and regular supplies of provisions, will generally render acuteness of sense superfluous, patience and perseverance unnecessary, and acquaintance with the fastnesses of the country of little avail.

In the situation of the Maroons, the fortuitous circumstances of an uncommonly strong position, and nice adaptation to the rigours of the climate, were added to the common advantages of rude tribes. But vast superiority of numbers, all the facilities arising from a possession of the towns and coasts, and a decided preference in the eyes of the slaves, were no trifling matters in favour of the Europeans, to match the accidental superiority of the savages in these particulars.

The proceedings of the Maroons were indeed stained with those enormities which always attend a barbarian's conquests: but the perpetration of such enormities, is the great feature which distinguishes a savage state. And as an immediate sacrifice of the bad passions to which they owe their origin, would by no means ensure the possession of discipline and refinement: so, the sacrifice of regularity and humanity, would not secure to Europeans, all advantages of systematic cruelty. In short, the contest between foes of different degrees of civilization, is a thing, on every account, much to be deprecated. But if, by our own policy, we have filled our colonies with barbarians, let us not aggravate the original crime, by adding to it another; let us not overleap the bounds which separate the savage from the civilized state. That the bloodhounds were never used, can be no vindication of the measure in question. If the Maroons had resisted, they would have been partly tracked, that is, hunted and shot, when they could not resist; partly torn to pieces by animals who are trained to the scent and taste of human blood. It was only the effects produced upon the savages, by seeing this refinement of barbarous tactics, which prevented the apparatus from being used as it was procured. It would be no vindication of a general who should poison his swords, or the enemy's water, to say, that the fear of the poison kept the enemy from either fighting or drinking, by which

which he was subdued; nor would it much excuse a highwayman, that the fear of his pistol prevented him from committing murder in order to effect a robbery. The Legislature of Jamaica, if the idea of *right* applies to national proceedings, were guilty of a breach of public duty, by hiring bloodhounds, although this measure operated by fear and not by actual murder. They were guilty of gross impolicy, in an enlarged sense of the word, unless it can be alleged that the shortest and easiest means of attaining a justifiable object, are always the most expedient, even when they are most criminal.

It is upon the Legislature of the island, and not upon the Governor or the Commander in Chief, that the foul stain, which, we cannot help thinking, the British name received in this transaction, must rest. The Colonial Assembly, with that meanness of plan, that precipitancy of action, and that cowardly eagerness after present safety, which might have been expected in a parish vestry, adopted this mode of proceeding immediately after they had nearly come to a pusillanimous resolution of giving the Maroons equal terms, without trying the effects of General Walpole's system. Their subsequent conduct was marked by similar inconsistency and narrowness of views, both towards their own agents in the bloodhound scheme, and towards the Maroons themselves. They virtually acknowledged, that Mr Quarrell had saved the island by his ability in executing the plan; but they were too jealous of a fellow colonist, to return him direct thanks: They treated with the enemy, and, in our humble opinion, violated their plighted faith. This is the next question of importance in considering the Maroon affairs; and we shall say but a very few words upon it; though it illustrates the absurdity of expecting much from Colonial Assemblies.

In the convention between the Maroons and General Walpole, ratified by the Government, it was stipulated, that they should lay down their arms, and deliver up themselves and the deserter negroes, before a specified day. It was also stipulated, that they should *not* be carried out of the island. Now, it cannot be denied, that the Maroons were slow in performing their part of the stipulation. The first day of surrender specified in the treaty was allowed to elapse, and another was named; which also passed over, without any considerable number of Maroons surrendering. General Walpole, therefore, deemed the treaty sufficiently infringed to justify him in hastening their surrender, by threats of using the hounds. But his principal instrument of persuasion consisted in assurances that the stipulations of the treaty would be strictly observed by Government; for he plainly saw that the backwardness of the Maroons arose entirely from the distrust which forms so distinguishing a feature of the savage

character. As soon as he had succeeded in removing these suspicions, the Maroons surrendered themselves, and the Assembly, on the ground of the treaty having been set aside by their delay, immediately voted that they should be transported to the British dominions in North America. The Governor left the determination of this point entirely to them; and they positively refused even to hear General Walpole give evidence with respect to those parts of the Maroon affairs which he alone had an opportunity of knowing. When we consider the difference of the British and the Maroons in point of refinement, we shall perhaps be disposed to think, that some inaccuracy on the part of the latter, in observing the precise terms of the treaty, might have been forgiven. But when it is admitted that the Maroons continued to come in gradually on the faith of the subsisting treaty; that their slowness originated in distrust; that their submission was accepted without any new stipulations, we cannot hesitate to declare the rigorous conduct of the Assembly a direct violation of justice, as well as humanity, supported by a pitiful nicety in the interpretation of the compact, the spirit of which had been observed, as far as the British had any right to expect, from their knowledge of the party with whom they bargained. The Maroons were sent to Nova Scotia, where they remained an expence to the island of Jamaica, from their habitual want of industry; and miserable from the severity of the climate, and their hankering after a more southerly exposure. Rather induced by the expence, than by the unhappy condition of these people, the Colonial Legislature took measures, in the year 1799, for transporting them to Sierra Leone, where they have since lived in greater quietness and comfort.

The opinions of our author upon all the negro questions, differ extremely from those which we have been led to form, even by attending to his own statements of fact. He positively denies the dangers of an independent negro commonwealth being allowed to grow up in the West Indies. Upon this subject we have already delivered our sentiments, and have sketched the reasons on which they are founded. (No. I. Art. XXVII.) He objects to the scheme of cultivating by free negroes, and argues against the author of the '*Crisis*,' in a vague and declamatory style. Although on this point we agree with him, yet we are not at all confirmed in our opinion, by his very loose and superficial remarks, and we cannot avoid reprobating the careless or insidious manner in which he alludes to the excellent writer just now mentioned. He describes him as the champion of negro liberty, and declaims against the idea of emancipation, as if any one could now be found willing to support so insane a doctrine. But nothing can be more absurd than his defence of the slave trade.

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He seriously maintains, that it is authorized by religion and usage, that it is calculated to civilize Africa, and that the possession of liberty is rendered of little value, by the recollection of what has lately passed in France. We have often heard the French revolution pressed into the service of those who wanted an *argumentum ad populum*, to palliate existing abuses in the political establishments of Europe. But we have not until now observed the calamitous event used as a vindication of domestic slavery, and still less as a defence of the negro commerce.

Upon the whole, we cannot give much praise to Mr Dallas's performance, either as a history or a piece of reasoning. All the grave and argumentative part of it tends little to instruct or convince. The adventures of Mr Quarrell, however, and the anecdotes of the Maroon war, may certainly amuse those who delight in useless reading: and we must acknowledge, that after giving up all idea of receiving real benefit from the book, we have been highly entertained by perusing it merely as a romance, or an unimportant piece of biography.

ART. IX.—*Nouvelle Theorie de la Formation des Filons, par A. G. Werner.* Traduit de l'Allemand, par J. F. Daubuisson. Paris, 1802.

IN the present state of society, metallic substances are among the most powerful of our moral and physical agents. The theory of their formation, and the rules that may lead to their discovery, are therefore the most important objects of mineralogical research. The circumstances in which they are found, the economy to be observed in obtaining them, their probable extent, and possible reproduction, are inquiries which affect the interest of all, and involve the most intricate and interesting questions of geological speculation.

The author of the work we are about to consider, has long enjoyed deserved celebrity. His treatise 'On the External Character of Fossils,' may be said to have first rendered mineralogy a communicable science, by substituting precise terms, accurate definitions, and infallible criteria, for the vague, unmeaning, or unintelligible descriptions with which the adepts of the old school had formerly bewildered their disciples, and involved their art itself in barbarous mysticism. Elevated by his talents to the respectable situation of Professor in the first mineralogical school in Europe, Werner has seen his system triumph over the opposition of prejudice, petulance, and jealousy. His authority has

has been appealed to, his expressions quoted, his book translated, and his lectures pilfered. In Germany, an empire of miners and mineralogists, his words have oracular authority; and in no country where the science he professes is known, can his assertion be despised, or his authority lightly dissented from. In the work before us, there was reason to expect that the audacity of Theory should have been repressed by mature judgment, and by nearly thirty years of extensive and indefatigable observation. The powers of the author's mind have been directed to one grand phænomenon in the economy of Nature, for which he has laboured to devise a satisfactory explication. How far he has succeeded in that arduous undertaking, remains for us to inquire.

The theory itself must be fairly stated in the outset: It may be condensed into four propositions.

1. That all veins were originally fissures in the rocks they traverse.

2. That these fissures were filled from above.

3. That veins differ widely in the relative antiquity of their formation.

4. That the same vein, being partially filled at different periods, often contains substances of various antiquities.

The substance of the remarks by which these propositions are explained and connected, may be found in the following abstract:—When stratified mountains were formed at the bottom of the ocean by successive depositions, the moist incoherent mass must, on the retreat of the waters, have sunk towards the unsupported side, and its retreat must have produced numerous and profound fissures. Other fissures would be formed by the contraction of the strata during the evaporation of the superfluous moisture; and every earthquake must have increased their number. Nor is their formation confined to remote antiquity. Rents of great extent have been lately formed, after a wet season, in Silesia; and in Calabria, during the dreadful earthquake by which it was desolated. Empty fissures of various dimensions are not uncommon in rocks, and would have formed veins, had not their situation debarred them from the necessary impregnation, or their formation been subsequent to the last solution in which the country was immersed.

Veins resemble fissures, in contracting as they descend, in finally closing at bottom, and in sometimes splitting into minute ramifications. In their position they are nearly vertical, and the veins of one district that contain the same minerals are generally parallel to each other in their direction, and have probably been produced by the same convulsion. The derangement of rocks by veins, proves, still more unequivocally, that they were originally ope

open fissures; the division of the rocks being effected by violence, and the separated portion removed from its natural situation by the shock.

On considering the interior structure of veins, it will evidently appear that they were open fissures, which have been gradually filled from above. The substances they contain are disposed in coats parallel to the walls, and arranged in corresponding order on each side. Those coats that are in contact with the walls are thinnest on the top, become more thick as they descend, and sometimes unite. The inner coats receive the impressions of the crystals in the coats nearest the walls, thus establishing their anterior formation, as the inveloping substance must be more recent than what is inveloped. Veins often contain rounded pebbles, and are sometimes entirely filled with them. Portions of the rock they traverse are frequently inclosed, preserving the acuteness of their angles. Though the occurrence is rare, several well authenticated instances demonstrate the existence of petrifactions in veins; and trees have been found at a great depth in a vein of *wakke*. There is no conceivable explication of these phænomena, says Werner, but by supposing the substances filling the vein to have entered from above, and to have been precipitated from aqueous solutions.

The same depositions that constituted strata, would form veins, when precipitated into fissures existing in rocks of anterior formation. Thus we find veins of granite, porphyry, basalt, quartz, carbonate of lime, &c. If the solution contained metals, the vein would become metalliferous; and, at the same time, depositions on the surface of the rocks would form strata rich in ore. It is evident that the stratified depositions of ore are exposed to many causes of destruction, from which the walls of rock would protect the substances inclosed in a vein; but a sufficient number have escaped decomposition, alluvion, and the overwhelming incumbency of subsequent depositions, to prove the general operation of the laws which have effected their formation; for there are few ores existing in veins that may not be found in strata, some of which are of great extent, and rich in metallic impregnation.

From the diversity of substances that occupy veins, and the manner of their introduction, different modes of formation, and of course different degrees of antiquity, must be assigned to them. It is not even to be supposed, that the fissures in which they are found were all formed at the same time. The case has been so much the contrary, that some have evidently been filled and consolidated, before others were produced by subsequent convulsions, which, acting in a different direction on the mass of rock,

rock, formed a chasm intersecting the former vein; and, so tremendous has the shock often been, that not merely is a new fissure generated, but the masses of rock, and with them the portions of the old vein, have been laterally removed many yards from their former situation. The new fissure, filled by subsequent depositions, exhibits one vein traversing another, interrupting its continuity, interposing a considerable space between the junction of its dislocated extremities; while the aggressor tranquilly preserves its rectilineal direction, and its unbroken body of ore; most clearly demonstrating the recentness of its own origin relatively to that of the vein which suffered from its intrusion.

Such is the theory which Werner supports in this volume, with great copiousness of illustration, and innumerable references to observations, which he has either personally made, or indefatigably accumulated, from authorities on which dependence could be placed. In asserting his doctrines, he displays no little of that confident enthusiasm which ever distinguishes the daring theorist, and omits no method to gain friends, and disarm his antagonists. In his preface, he intreats that his work may be twice carefully read before it is judged; and two very long chapters are occupied in detailing and confuting the opinions of all who have spoken of mineral veins, from Diodorus and Pliny, to Lehmann and Lasius. He might safely have resigned the greater part of these theories to the oblivion from which we fear his interposition will not rescue them. For we doubt if even his prefatory supplication will induce the most devoted of his readers to wade a second time through this heavy mass. It was with joy we returned to the discussion of his own opinions; and we derived peculiar pleasure from his disquisitions on the relative antiquities of metals, the almost endless diversity of their formations, and the universal operation of those singular laws which have produced the association of some metals, and ordained others to be for ever disunited. We cannot too much admire the patient research and acute observations which have enabled him to exhibit, in so clear an arrangement, a series of facts that had formerly eluded the researches of the naturalist, from the obscurity of their situation, and the aspect of irregularity and confusion with which the attendant phænomena often perplex even an experienced eye.

Had every proposition that Werner asserts, been as irrefragably established, he might safely brave the puny hostilities of rival theorists in his own impregnable fortress; but, when unsatisfied with facts, he launches into the boundless regions of conjecture, we can no longer follow him with confidence or with safety.

In

In the very outset of this rash course, we find him floundering in the muddy depositions of that chaotic ocean, which speculators have unwisely created for their own entanglement; by whose treacherous quicksands they are constantly betrayed; and from the dye of whose mud not all the solutions in which they afterwards immerse the world can effectually purify them.

But let us concede them the existence of this extraordinary menstruum, in which the elements of all substances are dissolved or suspended; and let us suppose that the operation of affinities, which Nature has long ceased to exert, enabled her to summon, from the remotest of its turbid waves, the particles necessary to form granite, gneiss, primitive limestone, or schistus, and, by successive precipitations, to place strata of the one above the other, nicely defining the line of separation, and scrupulously abstaining from contaminating them with the slightest admixture. Let them lye *stratum super stratum* in all the majesty of accumulation, still we would ask the theorist how they are to be elevated into mountains. In their original constitution they must have been horizontal; for the laws of gravitation, if the speculator considers himself bound by them, would determine their concentricity to the centre of the earth. The bottom of this ancient sea being thus level, there could be no currents to cause accumulations in particular places, and the whole stratification must have reposed tranquilly under the waters which generated it. Let us concede another step, and suppose that the operation of other undiscovered laws, assembled the jarring chaotic atoms in particular spots, traced the limits within which they might repose in peace, and, by raising some tracks to comparative elevation, left profound excavations between them; still, no rock can have appeared above the surface of the ocean; and the strata deposited must still have been horizontal. The improvident speculator has contrived no reservoir to contain the superfluous waters, resting from the task of creation; that the world he has with such conjectural difficulty constructed, may be torn in every direction by the sinking down of its incoherent bulk, be cracked by the contraction of its parts in drying, and be subjected to various unknown operations and convulsions, by which its strata might be elevated from their horizontal position, till they become vertical, and mutilated at the same time, with various contortions and dislocations.

Nor even now is the tortured world to be allowed repose; for now commence its immersions in solutions impregnated with metallic salts. From what new reservoir does this scourge escape? What calls it forth teeming to saturation? What determines the moment of its parturition? and whither does it retire?

Let

Let us grant all this to have happened once, and hope that succeeding tranquillity may reward our concession; or at least that we may proceed with the more leisurely steps of philosophic induction. But the indefatigable theorist has already prepared innumerable other solutions which are successively to immerse us. Some, richly impregnated, are to form *two* depositions; and, after triumphing over the principles of chymical affinity, we may admire the moderation which does not attempt to obtain the whole *seventeen* formations of Galæna from the same solution; and thus remove, in a great measure, the embarrassment attending the regulation of the ebb and flow of a mass of fluid, adequate to covering the world.

It is needless to push this investigation farther, or attempt to analyze the wildness of opinions from which probability revolts. Theories, founded on postulates so inadmissible, and on the capricious exertion of forces so prodigious, are far from advancing the interests of true philosophy. Those hours which might be preciously employed in observing and registering the phænomena of Nature, are idly wasted in weaving the slight tissue of conjecture, and those talents which might enlarge our knowledge by well directed experiment, are ill employed in defending or combating a fantastic hypothesis.

In our opinion, Werner has proved, to a philosophic demonstration, that veins were originally fissures, that they have been formed at very different periods, and that they have been filled by successive depositions. Had he stopped here, his doctrines might have defied all opposition; though we might still have regretted that the assistance he boasts of having afforded to practical mining, should dwindle, on examination, into little more than an exhortation to miners to make geological plans and descriptions of the districts they explore. Without being accused of fastidiousness, we may also regret that the arrangement he has adopted should be so far from being luminous, and that his style should be loaded with unnecessary repetitions. It is true, he tells us, in his preface, that although he has been employed nearly thirty years in collecting the materials of this work, and although the theory he here supports had for six years formed part of his geological lectures; circumstances, which he does not explain, had obliged him to compose and publish the whole in three months, each sheet being printed as soon as it was written. This is but a bad apology, even for defects in composition; and it is impossible that this final precipitation could influence the general arrangement of a work which had been the subject of the author's meditations for so many years.

In

In his preface, Werner pledges himself to publish some other portions of his lectures. Twelve years have since elapsed, and we believe his promise remains unfulfilled. It is needless for us to observe how mortifying such a suspension must prove to all those who dedicate their time to the sciences in which he is so profoundly skilled; and how eagerly they wish him to rescue his works from the mutilations and blunders with which the pirated copies of his lectures are deformed. Many an ephemeral reputation has been raised in Germany on materials which dishonest industry has pilfered from the copious stores of Werner; and our love of literary justice combines with many other motives in making us anxious to behold him resume his rights, and chase his puny competitors from the field.

We cannot close these observations, without bestowing some attention on the translator, to whose laudable industry many mineralogists are indebted for facilitating their acquaintance with this valuable treatise. Mr Daubuisson has been already distinguished by a long account of the mines of Freyberg, and by several essays in the *Journal des Mines.* He appears to have entered Germany little skilled in the science he now so sedulously cultivates; to have listened to the German professors as to the voice of Inspiration; to have scrupulously avoided all unbecoming hesitation in embracing their opinions; to have examined no phænomena but those they indicated as deserving of attention, and to have seen no specimens but those which embellished their cabinet. Like a zealous apostle, he has laboured to promulgate the tenets he has received; and, the more effectually to secure himself from the danger of conviction and apostasy, he published the first edition of his translation before he left Freyberg, with such a solemn proclamation of his faith, as almost precluding a recantation. In Paris, this new edition, enriched by several notes and verbal corrections, appeared in 1802, under the eye and patronage of Werner, who was visiting the accumulated riches of that metropolis. The enthusiasm of the translator seems nothing abated, and his laborious zeal announces fresh translations. These will be a valuable addition to the general stock of information, if M. Daubuisson continues to exercise the same candour and fidelity that distinguish his present performance. It is no small effort of candour in a Frenchman to discover merit in the productions of foreign nations; and to naturalize that merit, without appropriating it, is a degree of honesty which some distinguished philosophers have not been able to attain.

As a specimen of the translator's style, and to afford the abettors of the Huttonian theory, a subject of meditation, we add the following short extract:

'Dans les *Annales de Chimie* de *Crell*, j'ai donné la description d'un gite de *wakke*, connu sous le nom de *buzzenwakke*, que l'on voit dans le galerie *Barbara* à Joachimsthal. Cette wakke appartient à la formation de trap: elle se trouve dans une roche primitive de schiste micacé et de schiste argileux. Le gite descend à une profondeur de plus de cent cinquante toises. Il renferme des arbres à demi-pétrifiés, qui ont encore leur écorce, leurs branches, leurs feuilles. Ce gite ressemble beaucoup aux filons; et il est bien hors de doute que ce n'est qu'une énorme fente qui s'est faite dans cette montagne primitive et élevée, et que cette fente a été ensuite remplie de wakke par le haut. Quelle est la révolution qui peut avoir produit la fente? Quelle est celle qui peut l'avoir remplie?' pp. 277. 278.

Art. X. *Essay on Irish Bulls.* By Richard Lovell Edgeworth, and Maria Edgeworth. London. 1802.

We hardly know what to say about this rambling, scrambling book; but that we are quite sure, the author, when he began any sentence in it, had not the smallest suspicion of what it was about to contain. We say, the author; because, in spite of the mixture of sexes in the title-page, we are strongly inclined to suspect, that the male contributions exceed the female, in a very great degree. The Essay on Bulls is written much with the same mind, and in the same manner, as a school-boy takes a walk: He moves on for ten yards on the straight road, with surprising perseverance; then sets out after a butterfly, looks for a bird's nest, or jumps backwards and forwards over a ditch. In the same manner, this nimble and digressive gentleman is away after every object which crosses his mind. If you leave him at the end of a comma, in a steady pursuit of his subject, you are sure to find him, before the next full stop, a hundred yards to the right or left, frisking, capering, and grinning in a high paroxysm of merriment and agility. Mr Edgeworth seems to possess the sentiments of an accomplished gentleman, the information of a scholar, and the vivacity of a first rate Harlequin. He is fuddled with animal spirits, giddy with constitutional joy: in such a state, he must have written on, or burst. A discharge of ink was an evacuation absolutely necessary, to avoid fatal and plethoric congestion.

The object of the book is to prove, that the practice of making bulls is not more imputable to the Irish, than to any other people;

people; and the manner in which he sets about it, is to quote examples of bulls produced in other countries. But this is surely a singular way of reasoning the question: For there are Goitres out of the Valais, extortioners who do not worship Moses, oat cakes over the Tweed, and balm beyond the precincts of Gilead. If nothing can be said to exist pre-eminently and emphatically in one country, which exists at all in another, then Frenchmen are not gay, nor Spaniards grave, nor are gentlemen of the Milesian race remarkable for a disinterested contempt of wealth in their connubial relations. It is probable there is some foundation for a character so generally diffused; though it is also probable, that such foundation is extremely enlarged by fame. If there were no foundation for the common opinion, we must suppose national characters formed by chance; and that the Irish might, by accident, have been laughed at as bashful and sheepish; which is impossible. The author puzzles himself a good deal about the nature of bulls, without coming to any decision about the matter. Though the question is not a very easy one, we shall venture to say, that a bull is an apparent congruity, and real incongruity of ideas, suddenly discovered. And, if this account of bulls be just, they are (as might have been supposed) the very reverse of wit; for, as wit discovers real relations, that are not apparent, bulls admit apparent relations, that are not real. The pleasure arising from wit proceeds from our surprise at suddenly discovering two things to be similar, in which we expected no similarity. The pleasure arising from bulls proceeds from our discovering two things to be dissimilar, in which a resemblance might have been suspected. The same doctrine will apply to wit, and to bulls in action. Practical wit discovers connexion or relation between actions, in which duller understandings discover none; and practical bulls originate from an *apparent* relation between two actions, which more correct understandings immediately perceive to have no relation at all.

Louis XIV. being extremely harassed by the repeated solicitations of a veteran officer for promotion, said one day, loud enough to be heard, 'That gentleman is the most troublesome officer I have in my service.' 'That is precisely the charge (said the old man) which your Majesty's enemies bring against me.'

'An English gentleman' (says Mr Edgeworth, in a story cited from Joe Millar) 'was writing a letter in a coffee-house; and, perceiving that an Irishman stationed behind him was taking that liberty which Parmenio used with his friend Alexander; instead of putting his seal upon the lips of the *curious impertinent*, the English gentleman thought proper to reprove the Hibernian, if not with delicacy, at least with poetical

poetical justice. He concluded writing his letter in these words: "I would say more; but a damned tall Irishman is reading over my shoulder every word I write."

"You lie, you scoundrel," said the self-convicted Hibernian.' p. 29.

The pleasure derived from the first of these stories, proceeds from the discovery of the relation that subsists between the object he had in view, and the assent of the officer to an observation so unfriendly to that end. In the first rapid glance which the mind throws upon his words, he appears, by his acquiescence, to be pleading against himself. There seems to be no relation between what he says, and what he wishes to effect by speaking.

In the second story, the pleasure is directly the reverse. The lie given was *apparently* the readiest means of approving his innocence, and *really* the most effectual way of establishing his guilt. There seems for a moment to be a strong relation between the means and the object; while, in fact, no irrelation can be so complete.

What connexion is there between pelting stones at monkeys, and gathering cocoa nuts from lofty trees? Apparently none. But monkeys sit upon cocoa-nut trees; monkeys are imitative animals; and if you pelt a monkey with a stone, he pelts you with a cocoa nut in return. This scheme of gathering cocoa nuts is very witty, and would be more so, if it did not appear useful; for the idea of utility is always inimical to the idea of wit *. There appears, on the contrary, to be some relation between the revenge of the Irish rebels against a banker, and the means which they took to gratify it, by burning all his notes, wherever

* It must be observed, that all the great passions, and many other feelings, extinguish the relish of wit. Thus, *lympha pudica Deum vidit et erubuit*, would be witty, were it not bordering on the sublime. The resemblance between the sandal tree imparting (while it falls) its aromatic flavour to the edge of the axe, and the benevolent man rewarding evil with good, would be witty, did it not excite virtuous emotions. There are many mechanical contrivances which excite sensations very similar to wit; but the attention is absorbed by their utility. Some of Merlin's machines, which have no utility at all, are quite similar to wit. A small model of a steam engine, or a mere squirt, is wit to a child. A man speculates on the causes of the first, or on its consequences, and so loses the feelings of wit: with the latter, he is too familiar to be surprised. In short, the essence of every species of wit is surprise: which, *vi termini*, must be sudden: and the sensations which wit has a tendency to excite, are impaired or destroyed, as often as they are mingled with much thought or passion.

wherever they found them; whereas they could not have rendered him a more essential service. In both these cases of bulls, the one verbal, the other practical, there is an apparent congruity, and a real incongruity of ideas. In both the cases of wit, there is an apparent incongruity, and a real relation.

It is clear, that a bull cannot depend upon mere incongruity alone; for, if a man were to say that he would ride to London upon a cocked hat, or that he would cut his throat with a pound of pickled salmon, this, though completely incongruous, would not be to make bulls, but to talk nonsense. The stronger the apparent connexion, and the more complete the real disconnexion of the ideas, the greater the surprise, and the better the bull. The less apparent, and the more complete the relations established by wit, the higher gratification does it afford. A great deal of the pleasure experienced from bulls, proceeds from the sense of superiority in ourselves. Bulls which we invented, or knew to be invented, might please, but in a less degree, for want of this additional zest.

As there must be apparent connexion, and real incongruity, it is seldom that a man of sense and education finds any form of words by which he is conscious that he might have been deceived into a bull. To conceive how the person has been deceived, he must suppose a degree of information very different from, and a species of character very heterogeneous to his own; a process, which diminishes surprise, and consequently pleasure. In the above mentioned story of the Irishman overlooking the man writing, no man of ordinary sagacity can suppose himself betrayed into such a mistake; but he can easily represent to himself a kind of character that might have been so betrayed. There are some bulls so extremely fallacious, that any man may imagine himself to have been betrayed into them; but these are rare; and, in general, it is a poor contemptible species of amusement; a delight in which, evinces a very bad taste in wit.

Whether the Irish make more bulls than their neighbours, is, as we have before remarked, not a point of much importance; but it is of considerable importance, that the character of a nation should not be degraded; and Mr Edgeworth has great merit in his very benevolent intention of doing justice to the excellent qualities of the Irish. It is not possible to read his book, without feeling a strong and a new disposition in their favour. Whether the imitation of the Irish manner be accurate in his little stories, we cannot determine; but we feel the same confidence in the accuracy of the imitation, that is often felt in the resemblance of a portrait, of which we have never seen the

the original. It is no very high compliment to Mr Edgeworth's creative powers, to say, he could not have formed any thing, which was not real, so like reality; but such a remark only robs Peter, to pay Paul; and gives every thing to his powers of observation, which it takes from those of his imagination. In truth, nothing can be better than his imitation of the Irish manner: It is first-rate painting.

Edgeworth & Co. have another faculty in great perfection. They are eminently masters of the *pathos*. The Firm drew tears from us in the stories of little Dominick, and of the Irish beggar who killed his sweetheart: Never was any grief more natural or simple. The first, however, ends in a very foolish way;

——*formosa superne*
Desinit in piscem.

We are extremely glad that our avocations did not call us from Bath to London on the day that the Bath coach conversation took place. We except from this wish the story with which the conversation terminates; for, as soon as Mr Edgeworth enters upon a story, he excels.

We must confess we have been much more pleased with Mr Edgeworth in his laughing and in his pathetic, than in his grave and reasoning moods. He meant, perhaps, that we should; and it certainly is not very necessary that a writer should be profound, on the subject of Bulls. Whatever be the deficiencies of the book, they are, in our estimation, amply atoned for by its merits; by none more, than that lively feeling of compassion which pervades it for the distresses of the wild, kind-hearted, blundering poor of Ireland.

ART. XI. *Thoughts on the Restriction of Payments in Specie at the Banks of England and Ireland.* By Lord King. London. May 1803. pp. 106. 8vo.

THIS sensible and instructive publication, contains the substance of what was urged in Parliament, by Lord King, against the last renewal of the Bank Restriction Bills. His reasoning coincides, at least in its general outline, with that of Mr Boyd's well known pamphlet: setting out with the strong presumptions which might have led us to expect an excessive issue of paper, and confirming that probability by a reference to the price of bullion, and the rate of foreign exchange. We must acknowledge, however, that the argument is presented by Lord King, in a more corrected form, as well as with more candour.

dour. And the interval of experience that has now elapsed, has furnished him with a larger body of evidence, and a variety of additional illustrations.

Though from the very first, there could be no doubt of the impolicy and injustice of the restriction; yet, at the date of Mr Boyd's letter, the measure was too recent to warrant a confident opinion with regard to its particular influence on prices. It was, in its kind, quite novel and unexampled; and its operation was necessarily affected by many complicated circumstances. But now, it may be affirmed, that of all the political experiments which the temerity of statesmen ever hazarded, there is not another which has been more fairly tried than this, or of which the result has been ascertained with greater certainty. We have had an opportunity of observing the operation of the measure, under many varieties of situation, and where almost every circumstance has been successively varied, by which it might either have been counteracted or assisted; in war and in peace, in famine and in plenty, with a favourable and with an unfavourable balance of trade, during a languid stagnation of our manufactures, and amidst the spirit and heat of speculation. Throughout all these changes, one uniform effect may be perceived; which, with the evidence by which it is proved, and the reasonings by which it is explained, is very ably and perspicuously described by Lord King. For the information of our readers, on this most interesting subject, we shall make an abstract of his publication; because it is highly important that the public should at length entertain a correct opinion, with respect to those laws which have vitiated the currency of this country. We shall endeavour to convey the substance of his reasonings, without meaning to confine ourselves to his language, or to the precise order in which he has arranged the different steps of the argument.

It does not appear to have ever been doubted by any of the writers on political œconomy *, that an enlargement of paper currency, beyond the growing demands of trade, has exactly the same operation in raising prices, as a multiplication of the precious metals. There is this difference, indeed, between the two cases, that the one is a local effect merely, whereas, the other extends over the whole commercial world; and that the latter is produced gradually, scarcely becoming sensible, till after the lapse of a considerable period of time; whereas, the former may take place very quickly, and has actually been known to take place very quickly in more instances than one. It is evident,

* See our First Volume, p. 179.

dent, that every such rise in the money price of commodities, is, in other words, a fall in the commodity price, or exchangeable value of money. It is likewise established by experience, and before actual experience might have been inferred from the nature of the thing, that every such depreciation of the value of the circulating medium, is accompanied with much inconvenience and distress. These are the more severe, the shorter the period of time is, within which the depreciation has been effected. The value of monied capital is diminished, and the livelihood is injured of all those persons, whose income is limited to a fixed sum of money. If a considerable depreciation takes place within a short period of time, the grossest injustice likewise must unavoidably ensue, with regard to the performance of all contracts previously agreed on. It is on all these accounts of high political importance, that the circulating medium of every country should preserve a steady and uniform value; and this it can never do, unless the effective currency, which is a quantity compounded of the actual amount, and of the rate of circulation *, preserves permanently the same proportion to the demands of commerce.

Every banking company or private banker, by whom paper is issued, lies under great temptations of issuing it to excess; in the same manner as other traders are liable to overstrain their credit, or to overstock the market. Besides the direct profit which a bank derives from the circulation of its notes, they afford facilities, which the most cautious banker cannot always refuse, either to his own speculations, or to those of his confidential correspondents. In point of fact, nothing can be more certain, than that these temptations often get the better of all their prudence. But while our currency remained in its natural and sound condition, the excess of paper circulation could never be carried so far as to have any general and public effect upon prices. By means of the instant convertibility into specie, the superfluous paper was very speedily returned back upon the issuer, as soon as it began to undergo the smallest degree of depreciation. But the condition of our currency can no longer be considered as sound or natural, when the convertibility into specie is dispensed with; and after this check is removed, there is no longer any limit of the excess to which paper, while it retains the confidence of the country, may be carried. Mr Thornton, in his excellent work, has explained in what manner the higher branches of national currency regulate and limit the rest; gold and silver all paper circulation, and the paper of the Bank of England

* See our First Volume, p. 178.

England, that of all the country banks *. If to the present suspension of cash payments at the Bank of England, another law were added, relieving the country banks from the obligation of converting their notes into those of the Bank of England; there would no longer exist any check to the emission of country paper; and there would be no bounds to the excess in which every banker might indulge, so long as his credit and solvency were unimpaired. Even in such an extreme case, however, the country paper would not possess a more extensive license than that which the paper of the Bank of England enjoys at present; and the effectual salutary limitation to which the country paper is at present subjected, is founded exactly upon the same principle with that which formerly controuled the Bank of England, under the obligation of converting its notes into specie. From the moment that the unwise law of 1797 discharged the Bank from this most necessary obligation; nothing remained to controul its discretion, or to impose any boundary to the extent of its paper circulation. The directors of this company are at all times susceptible of the same temptations, to which other traders are exposed; they have been known sometimes to yield to these, even under the checks and controuls of the ancient system; and now that all these are removed, it would be in the highest degree credulous and absurd to expect, that they will decline the opportunity of increasing the profits of their stock. These profits, it is well known, arise principally from the circulation of their notes.

It is from the operation of gold and silver, in confining paper within its proper bounds, that the constant and immediate convertibility of notes into specie, is rendered an indispensable condition, in every sound system of currency. This is a principle in the theory of money, which has hitherto been very imperfectly understood; even by those, who, in other respects, have explained it most fully. To the deficiency of all our systematic writers upon this point, we are inclined to ascribe the opposite extremes of error, which, with equal confidence, and equal loudness, are maintained, respecting the present state of our circulating medium. In the provinces, among our landed proprietors, and from that description of our parliamentary representatives, we still, as of old, hear most ignorant declamations against country banks, and all paper currency. In the great commercial cities, and especially in the metropolis, opinions are gravely avowed, by persons who ought to be acquainted at least with the details of the money trade, that the precious metals are al-

* See our First Volume, p. 190.

together unnecessary, even as a part of circulation; and that the provisional law of 1797 should be established as a permanent system. If the former sentiment may be classed among the expiring prejudices of the vulgar, this visionary scheme betrays no less ignorance of political œconomy, and in its practical tendency is much more pernicious. It is not, however, to be treated as a doctrine entirely new, or as for the first time suggested by the existing circumstances of this country. If authority could yield any support to so palpable an error, the sanction might be found of other names, than it will probably be able to produce in the present day. An idea of this sort runs through the Querist of Bishop Berkeley, not the least remarkable production of that acute genius; from whose fame it cannot be considered a derogation, that among many original and valuable views upon a science then almost uncultivated, some errors are to be found, from which we are not completely guarded by all the discoveries and experience of subsequent times. He appears to have conceived *, that all circulation is alike a circulation of credit, whether metal or paper be employed as the medium; and that as coined metals were, in the progress of mankind from barbarism, substituted for barter, so, in a farther stage of improvement, a paper medium is to be substituted for coin. If the question were solely, whether it may be stated in the abstract as at all practicable, to carry on the business of internal commerce by a medium of circulation merely conventional, neither possessing intrinsic value itself, nor immediately convertible into a commodity of intrinsic value; we should answer this question in the affirmative. The practicability is sufficiently proved, by the experiment which has been made in this country; and there existed no reason, *à priori*, to doubt its possibility. But the real and important question is a very different one; how far this practicable scheme, is, by motives of expediency, and after a full view of its operation, recommended to be actually carried into practice? To this, we have no less hesitation in pronouncing a negative, upon the principle which has already been explained. A perfect system of currency must be composed both of specie and paper.

The introduction of paper money, the most refined, perhaps, of all the expedients to which the relations of society have given birth, was not only an immense step in the progress of commerce, but may be considered as having marked an epoch in the history of mankind. But the essential benefit of the invention does

* See Numbers 426. 439. 441. & 445. of the Querist, a work originally published in 1735.

does not consist, as Berkeley supposed, in forming an entire substitution for metallic currency; but, in saving a certain portion of so costly an article, and, what is of far greater consequence, in facilitating exchanges between places remote from each other, and economizing the time and the labour of large payments. Specie, however, as possessing intrinsic value, must still be considered as the ultimate element into which the currency of the country may at all times be resolved; and is the true basis upon which the fabric of paper circulation must be solidly reared. If the whole currency is merely conventional, no check operates against an excessive issue, and consequently no security exists for the permanent value of the medium of exchange. That permanency can only be secured, by making the conventional representative of value constantly and readily convertible into real value; constantly and readily convertible into gold and silver; because these preserve, more steadily than other commodities, an uniform value. Upon the principle, which we have endeavoured to explain, the excess of paper circulation would be converted into whatever commodity the paper was made convertible, provided that commodity was of intrinsic value. But it cannot be rendered convertible into some commodities, with the same convenience, as into others; nor would the restraint upon excessive issue operate, in every case, with the same degree of efficacy and regularity. As the precious metals form the most convenient measure of value and medium of exchange, when the whole circulation is effected by a medium of intrinsic value; for the same reasons, they are better fitted than any other commodity to be the basis of a conventional currency, and to form that real value into which every portion of it may at all times be immediately converted. Permanency of value, from age to age, is the point of first importance in the medium of circulation. And while the currency of a nation consists, either wholly of the precious metals, or of a paper system founded on, and secured by the principle of convertibility, its value cannot be considerably depreciated, except, along with the currency of the whole commercial world, by the discovery of new mines of extreme fertility: an event so rare, as to have occurred only once within the period of historical memory, and that the epoch when the two hemispheres of the earth were first revealed to each other.

The preceding observations are sufficient, we trust, to shew, that when a national Bank, whose notes form the chief branch of currency, is relieved from the obligation of payments in cash, the only controul is then removed which limits the issue of paper to what is actually required by trade. That with such an opportunity, and such a license, no bank will ever long resist the temptation

temptation of high profits and extraordinary gains, there are very obvious reasons to presume; yet, it is a matter of some nicety to make out, in a particular instance, a distinct proof of the fact of undue issue. It is a case of that sort which scarcely admits of direct evidence. Even when we can obtain faithful documents of the amount of notes in circulation during a series of successive periods, we are not fully entitled to consider a progressive increase of amount as conclusive, unless that increase be very great indeed: because the quantity of currency required by the trade of a country varies with the rate of circulation, that rate of circulation differs with the different kinds of currency, and in each kind is liable to be accelerated or retarded by the various fluctuations of demand and of credit. Nor does a high and growing state of prices afford any more satisfactory proof of an undue excess in the quantity of circulating medium; because the state of prices is a very complex subject, and is known to us very vaguely; and because the same increase, which an excess of currency would occasion, may be produced by many other causes, such as a failure of produce or supply, or an accumulation of taxes, the operation of all which is so complicated together, that it is difficult to assign to any one its proper portion of the whole joint effect. Fortunately, however, there are two very simple and satisfactory tests, by which the fact of an excessive currency may be ascertained. The nature of these, we took an opportunity of explaining in a former article of this Review *, at a time when we did not yet think that sufficient evidence was laid before the public to apply the inference, with conclusive certainty, to the conduct of the Bank of England.

When the circulating medium of a country has suffered a depreciation, whether it proceeds from the debasement of a metallic currency, or from the discredit, or from the excess of a paper currency, the currency price of gold and silver bullion must rise, at the same time with that of all other commodities. This fact is usually expressed, by saying, that the market price of bullion exceeds its mint price. When the market price of bullion comes to exceed its mint price, in consequence of a depreciation of currency, the rate of foreign exchange will suffer a nominal and apparent fall. The domestic currency has sunk in its bullion value, while foreign currencies remain unaltered: the proportion, therefore, of the bullion value of the former, to that of the latter, is changed. But though this proportion is changed, the ancient numbers, expressing it, are still adhered to by merchants. There will thus be a great difference between the computed rate of exchange, and its real rate; and whether the

* Vol. I. p. 184. & p. 200.

the actual difference be in favour of, or against, the country whose currency is depreciated, the apparent rate will always be computed so much more against it, or so much less in its favour, in proportion to the degree of that depreciation. The use of these two tests, in ascertaining the fact of a depreciated currency, may be explained by several remarkable instances. Before the reformation of the silver coin in King William's time, we are informed by Dr Smith, the exchange between England and Holland, computed according to the standard of their respective mints, was *25 per cent.* against England; but the value of the current coin of England was, at that time, rather more than *25 per cent.* below its standard value *. Before the reformation of our gold coin in 1772, the market price of bullion exceeded the mint price, and the rate of foreign exchange was depressed; even the exchange with France was 2 or 3 *per cent.* against England. It is understood, that, at that time, the French coin, though worn, was not so degraded as the English, and was, perhaps, 2 or 3 *per cent.* nearer its standard. Very soon after the recoinage in 1772, the market price of bullion fell to the mint price, and there was a corresponding improvement in the course of exchange; the difference turned immediately in favour of England, and against France †. The issue of assignats, during the Revolution, depreciated the currency of France in a greater degree, than was ever known in any other instance. In the course of little more than two years, accordingly, the exchange between London and Paris fell between 60 and 70 *per cent.* to the disadvantage of the latter place; and would probably have fallen still more, by the operation of new issues of assignats, if the war had not interrupted the commercial intercourse of the two countries ‡.

It is not, indeed, from every rise in the market price of bullion above its mint price, or from every fall in the course of foreign exchange, that we are entitled to infer a depreciation of currency. A temporary excess of the market price of bullion above its mint price may be produced, without any peculiarity in the state of currency, by a failure in the supply of bullion from the mines, by a great demand for it either at home or from abroad, and, above all, by what is called an unfavourable balance of trade. The high market price, which these circumstances occasionally for a short time produce, may be farther augmented and prolonged, if the expences of foreign warfare, and the remittance of foreign subsidies, are aggravated by a failure

* Wealth of Nations, II. 215.
† Id. I. 62. and II. 215.
‡ Lord King, p. 37.

ure of the most necessary produce. It was from this view of the subject, that, when we examined the valuable publication of Mr Thornton, we deemed it proper to suspend our opinion, with respect to the operation of Bank of England paper upon prices, until the various causes of foreign expenditure might be considered as having completed their full effect; while, at the same time, we declared that the question would be solved to our conviction, if the excess of the market price of bullion should continue, after the balance of trade was restored in favour of this country. In the same manner, it is somewhat difficult to discriminate, whether an unfavourable course of exchange is real or only apparent. When it is only a few degrees below par, and has been observed only for a short period of time, it is scarcely possible to determine whether it is a real difference from a depreciation of our currency. But the longer the period of time is, during which even a small difference continues, the greater does the presumption always become, that it is only an apparent difference: and this presumption would be remarkably strengthened, if the difference were against a country which formerly enjoyed a favourable balance of trade, of which the manufactures and foreign commerce had suffered no diminution, but had advanced in prosperity, and which had recently adopted a change in the system of its currency, that might possibly lead to depreciation. It must farther be observed, that, how short soever the period may be during which the course of exchange is observed, if the difference from par is very great, and exceeds a certain limit, there is then every reason to believe that a certain portion at least of this difference is only apparent, and must be ascribed to a depreciation of currency. No person can imagine for a moment, that, when the exchange against Paris was almost 70 *per cent.* under par, that the whole of this immense difference, or that more than a very small portion of it, was real and arising from the balance of trade. Nor does any one believe that the present exchange of 16 *per cent.* against Dublin, which is nearly twice as great as the usual difference, does not in part originate in a recent depreciation of the currency of Ireland. There is, indeed, a natural and necessary limit to the real difference of exchange, as occasioned by the balance of trade. This difference never can exceed, as Lord King has observed*, 'what will be sufficient to pay the expences and profit of the merchant who exports precious metals to restore the balance.' The same thing was long ago pointed out by Sir William Petty; who informs us, that,

* P. 31.

that, about the year 1672, 15 *per cent.* was given for the remittance of money from Ireland into England: and the remark, which he subjoins, admits of an exact application to present circumstances:—'Although, in truth, exchange can never be naturally more than the land and water-carriage of money between the two kingdoms, and the insurance of the same upon the way, *if the money be alike in both places**.' Lord King farther states, that this expence will probably seldom exceed 8 *per cent.* from London to the continent of Europe; which may therefore be considered as the utmost limit of an unfavourable exchange, in a regular state of things.

From the foregoing observations, which we have insensibly protracted to an unexpected length, it may be concluded, in general, (and this general conclusion we may be prepared to apply to such particular instances as shall present themselves), that, where a steady excess of the market price of bullion above its mint price, and a great depression of the course of exchange, are permanent amidst the variation of all those circumstances which influence the balance of trade, the two effects must be referred to one common cause, a depreciation of currency. Without any farther proof, the inference is just and satisfactory. But if it be farther fortified by direct evidence and official documents, either of a fraudulent debasement of coin, or of an unwonted augmentation in the issue of paper, the conclusion becomes irresistible to every understanding, that does not set all evidence and demonstration at defiance.

The amount of Bank of England paper in circulation, prior to the suspension of cash payments, was, upon an average of three years ending in December 1795, 11,975,573l. For a considerable time after that measure had been resorted to, the Directors appear to have acted with caution and forbearance, as if not yet sure of their ground, and doubtful of the success of the experiment on which they were about to venture. To supply the place of the guineas that were thrown out of circulation, an additional quantity of small notes was no doubt necessary; which Mr Thornton has probably estimated too highly, when he states the amount at two millions; because it was not found immediately necessary to issue so large an amount. Until the year 1799, however, the issue of Bank notes did not much exceed thirteen millions. But about the middle of that year, as we find from the accounts laid before Parliament, the notes in circulation amounted to 13,759,940l.; and, before the end of the year, exceeded fourteen millions. In the course of the succeeding year, they were increased about a million and a half more. Our readers will

* Political Survey of Ireland, p. 71.

will recollect, that Mr Thornton endeavours to shew, that the issues of the Bank did not exceed the average sum, to which they amounted before the law of restriction. He admits, that, in December 1800, they were proved to amount to 15,450,970l.; but then he observes, that the Governor of the Company stated, in the following spring, to the House of Commons, that they had drawn in about a million and a half of that sum; so that, when the two millions of small notes were also deducted, there remained a sum almost exactly equal to the average of issues before the restriction. When we examine, however, the accounts which have from time to time been laid before Parliament, we find, so far from this being a correct statement of the fact, that in spring 1801, the issue of notes amounted to 16,365,206l.; which was still farther increased, in the summer of 1802, to 16,747,300l. According to the last account presented to the House of Commons, the Bank of England notes in circulation amounted to 16,108,560l. If we compare this sum with the above average of three years ending in December 1795, even after we add to the latter the whole two millions, of which Mr Thornton speaks, and which seems a very large allowance, the present issue from the Bank will be found to exceed that, which formerly was convertible into specie, by something less than one sixth of the whole. If we consider the quick circulation which paper admits of, and the increase which an accelerated rate of circulation gives to the effective powers of currency, this addition of almost one sixth must be regarded as an immense augmentation of the mass of efficient currency.

While the issue of Bank of England notes was moderate and restrained, the market price of bullion (particularly of silver bullion, which is a more certain standard than gold, because a more regular article of commerce) continued very nearly the same as its established price in our mint; sometimes rising a little above that, and sometimes falling a little below it, but speedily returning towards it from each deviation. In the summer of 1799, however, about the same time with the great increase of Bank paper, a rapid and extraordinary advance took place in the market price of bullion. That of silver rose at once to 5s. 8d., almost 10 *per cent.* above the mint price. It continued to rise, along with the progressive increase of notes; and in 1801, when they exceeded sixteen millions, it was as high as 6s. more than 16 *per cent.*, and even as 6s. 1d., more than 17 *per cent.* above the mint price.

While the issue of Bank of England notes was moderate and restrained, the rate of exchange with Hamburgh continued in favour of this country, being from 3 to 5 *per cent.* above par. But in the summer of 1799, about the same time with the great increase

crease of Bank paper, a very rapid fall took place. It fell at once to 32, about 8 *per cent.* below par; and continued to fall almost regularly, though not quite so regularly as the price of bullion rose, along with the progressive increase of notes. At the commencement of 1801, when they exceeded sixteen millions, the exchange with Hamburgh was as low as 29l. 10s. almost 16 *per cent.* below par.

These facts are highly curious and important: important to our own country in the present juncture, on account of the conclusion which they enforce respecting a most important object of national policy; important to the œconomist of every country and age, from the new light which they throw on one of the most difficult subjects in his science. The detail of these facts may be accurately considered, in a set of excellent tables which Lord King has subjoined to his work; and which, from their construction in parallel columns, exhibit, more distinctly than we have been able to describe, the remarkable correspondence between the variations in the quantity of Bank notes, and the variations in the price of bullion and the rate of exchange. During the late suspension of hostilities, the exchange was somewhat improved, though it still continued apparently unfavourable to England; and the market price of bullion fell in some degree, though it still remained considerably above the mint price. These effects must be ascribed to the beneficial influence, even of a momentary pacification, upon the commercial relations of this country; and from all former experience, it may with confidence be inferred, that, had there not been an actual depreciation of our currency, the market price of bullion would have been on a level with its mint price; and the computed exchange, instead of being against us, would have appeared, as doubtless the real balance was, greatly in our favour. It is very ingeniously observed by Lord King, with reference to the state of things at the date of his publication—

'We have, at the present time, a striking instance of an exchange with the Continent at par, and in an improving state; while the price of bullion is between 9 and 10 *per cent.* higher than the mint price. This extraordinary difference is rendered intelligible by supposing Bank notes to be depreciated, and the real balance of trade very different from the nominal, but by no other hypothesis.' p. 35.

We have already alluded to the remarkable state of the exchange between Dublin and London. While that with the Continent has been so uniformly unfavourable, as we have described it, the exchange with Dublin has been all along increasing in favour of this country. But this exception in point of fact, forms

an additional illustration and proof of the general principle. In the former regular state of things, while the obligation of converting paper into specie subsisted, the ordinary difference of exchange between London and Dublin was 8 *per cent.* against the latter. But this has undergone a material alteration, since the Bank of Ireland, as well as that of England, received a license of issuing paper free from that obligation. If the Bank of Ireland had been more moderate in its abuse of this license than the Bank of England, it is obvious, that the currency of the former would have suffered a less depreciation than that of the latter, and there would consequently have been an apparent diminution in the difference of exchange. On the other hand, if the Bank of Ireland has been more extravagant in its abuse of that license than the Bank of England, the currency of the former must have suffered a still greater depreciation than that of the latter, and there will consequently have been an apparent increase in the difference of exchange. Now, the actual case is, that there has been a very great increase in the difference of exchange; and, agreeably to that correspondence which the preceding reasonings entitle us to expect, the issue of Notes from the Bank of Ireland has been greatly more enlarged than that of the Bank of England. For the detection of this fact, and of most reprehensible conduct on the part of the Directors of the Bank of Ireland, the public is indebted to the intelligence and activity of Lord King; upon whose motion, in the month of February last, the following document, which we insert entire, was laid before Parliament.

'Account of the Amount of Bank of Ireland Notes in Circulation at different Periods (including Bills under 5l.), presented to the House of Lords, pursuant to an order dated February 1803.

1797.		*L.*	1802.		*L.*
January 1.	—	621,917	June 1.	—	2,678,980
April 1.	—	737,268	August 1.	—	2,628,958
June 1.	—	808,612	October 1.	—	2,528,951
September 1.	—	959,999	December 1.	—	2,530,867
1801.			1803.		
April 1.	—	2,266,471	February 1.	—	2,633,864
May 1.	—	2,405,214			
June 1.	—	2,350,012			(p. 106.)

In the space of six years, it is thus proved, the paper currency of the Bank of Ireland has been augmented from 621,917l. to 2,633,864l.; and its notes at present in circulation exceed, more than four times, the amount of what were in circulation when the act of restriction was passed. During the same period, the

the price of silver in Dublin has experienced a great advance, having varied from 6s. 6d. to 7s. Irish currency; an increase which, estimating the mint price at 5s. 7d., is from 14 to 20 *per cent.* The rate of exchange between Dublin and London has been also remarkably affected; the difference having progressively increased from $8\frac{1}{3}$, the ordinary difference, to 10, 12, 14, and even 16, to which it has risen since the publication of the present Work. This proof, of the depreciation of Bank of Ireland notes, has not been confined to the course of exchange with London; but is felt in the transactions of Dublin with many of the provincial towns, where these notes have not acquired a general circulation, the currency still consisting either of specie or of country notes. In consequence of this, and of the depreciated condition of the Dublin currency, there is an actual difference of exchange between Dublin and those towns. In Belfast, for instance, this is the case; and when a payment is there made in Bank of Ireland notes, an additional sum is paid proportional to the discount. To these statements of Lord King, we may add a fact exactly of the same nature, which has recently come to our knowledge; that when there is a money transaction betwixt this country and those parts of the north of Ireland, where the notes of the National Bank are not in general circulation, the difference of exchange, instead of being computed at 15 or 16 *per cent.* as against Dublin, does not exceed 8 *per cent.*, which was the ordinary exchange with Dublin, before the measure of restriction was resorted to. 'It is impossible, (our author observes), under such circumstances, to acquit the Directors of the Bank of Ireland of the charge of gross misconduct, even upon the ground of supposed ignorance and inexperience. An important trust, which, upon mistaken principles of political necessity, was committed to this corporate Body by Parliament, for the public benefit, appears to have been perverted to the private interest of the proprietors of their stock.'—p. 53. The remedy which Lord King has proposed, for the cure of these disorders, appears extremely simple, and founded on the justest principles of political economy. While the Bank of England continues to enjoy the restriction, that of Ireland cannot, with any propriety or justice, be directed to resume the ancient system of payments in specie. But, as a temporary expedient, an obligation upon the Bank of Ireland, to pay upon demand, in notes of the Bank of England, would unquestionably impose upon the Irish Directors the necessity of restraining the issue of their paper, and of reducing it at least to the standard of English currency.

From the preceding mass of evidence, so harmoniously consistent with all the deductions of general principle, our readers,

we trust, are prepared with us to pronounce, that the fact, of a depreciation of our currency originating in excess, is completely established. To our mind, at least, the reasonings and statements of Lord King appear now quite decisive. We mean, decisive as to the actual consequences of the measure of 1797, and its pernicious influence upon the system of circulation. For of the impolicy of that measure, we never for a moment entertained a doubt. To have apprized the public of that, it was quite sufficient, that the most intelligent and best informed persons owned themselves unable at the time to descry its probable effects; and that it was in itself a violent interference of the Legislature, forcing the arrangements of commerce out of their accustomed and natural course. Nothing can be more judicious than the concluding observations of Lord King:

'A due regard to *general rules*, and especially to the great rules of property, forms a most important part of the duty of a legislator. They are the foundations of all private and political security; and the only means by which great principles can be effectually protected against rash speculation and hasty and inconsiderate judgments. A strict adherence to these rules, and a deep sense of their value and importance, is the great characteristic which distinguishes civilized nations, and which marks the progress of political knowledge and improvement. It has, in general, distinguished the legislative proceedings of our own country, and may be justly regarded as one of the principal causes of our national prosperity and greatness. Yet a more extraordinary deviation from all general rules has never occurred, than in that change in the system of our paper currency, which commenced in the Act of Suspension of 1797, and is still continued. A law to suspend the performance of contracts has been suffered to remain in force upwards of six years. A power has been committed to the Directors of the Bank, which is not entrusted by the Constitution even to the Executive Government; a power of regulating, in a certain degree, the standard of the currency of the kingdom, and of varying this standard at their pleasure. A precedent has been established, by which, upon any suggestion of temporary expediency, the whole personal property and monied interests of the country may be committed to the discretion of a commercial Body not responsible to the Legislature, and not known to the Constitution.

'This extraordinary measure, which originated in embarrassment and temporary difficulties, has been suffered to continue from mere inadvertence. Neither the Public nor the Legislature appear to have considered to what consequences such proceedings ultimately tend. Had Parliament been called upon to authorise any of those direct frauds upon the currency which have often disgraced arbitrary governments; had it been recommended to them to raise the denomination, or to diminish the value of the current coin, there can be no doubt that such a proposal would have been rejected with indignation. Yet an abuse of the same nature

nature has been established by law in this country. The power of reducing the value of the currency, by a silent and gradual depreciation, is more dangerous, from the very circumstance of its being less direct and less exposed to observation.

'The true interests of Government and the People are not really at variance. No advantage can possibly be obtained by the former, under any emergency, from any change in the system of currency by which the Public is injured. After the first momentary relief, Government, so far from deriving any benefit from such violations of established rules, is obliged, like other consumers, to increase its expences, to multiply its loans and taxes, and to adapt its revenue to the enhanced price of labour and commodities. But this is only a small part of the evils that have uniformly been experienced by those nations which have had frequent recourse to such expedients. The abuse increases in strength, and a return to the former system is rendered more difficult by delay; public credit suffers; the revenue and resources fail; and what was at first a mere temporary accommodation, becomes finally a permanent cause of national weakness and decay. The case which is here supposed is extreme; but every instance of a discretionary power, by which the currency may be depreciated, has this tendency, and may ultimately produce these effects.' pp. 83. 86.

We have purposely abstained from interrupting the deduction of the principal argument, by an allusion to any collateral views or incidental topics, in which we feel ourselves disposed to differ from the author, or to criticise his mode of statement. It is proper that we should now explain very briefly the few objections which have occurred to us.

He has not, perhaps, adhered with exact precision to the distinction, of which, in the abstract, he seems aware, between the two sorts of depreciation; the one originating from excess, the other from discredit: For he appears to apprehend, that the excess alone of Bank of England notes might at length produce a discount between them and gold coin. (p. 37. & p. 81.) This seems inaccurate. It must be recollected, that paper cannot become permanently excessive, until gold and silver coin have been in a great measure thrown out of the channel of circulation. Every superfluous issue is, for some time, counteracted, in its influence on prices, by a displacement and exportation of an equivalent portion of precious coin: And when these are at length so much thrown out of circulation, that the fresh emissions of paper produce an uncorrected influence upon prices, the currency must then be considered, with regard to every sensible effect, as consisting entirely of paper. What remains of precious coin, forms, comparatively, no part of the circulating medium. Now, it is only between two different kinds of currency, bearing a sensible proportion to each other, that a discount can be established;

a discount, between the two different currencies of one place, being exactly the same thing as the course of exchange between the currencies of two different places. When a discount is established between the two currencies of one and the same place, it must proceed from a discredit or want of confidence in one of them; in consequence of which, two money prices are recognized for all commodities, and the precious coins remain still in the channel of circulation, notwithstanding continued emissions of paper. We have little doubt, that the discount at Dublin originated in this manner.

In the course of this author's liberal remarks on country Banks, he gives an opinion, in favour of that law, which formerly prohibited the issue of notes under the value of five pounds. We are rather inclined to doubt the policy on which this prohibition was founded. The authority of Dr Smith, indeed, is with Lord King; but the principle of commercial freedom has such firm hold of our conviction, that, to warrant any exception from it, we should require much stronger reasons than are furnished upon this point by either of these writers.

Lord King has stated, rather too absolutely, perhaps, (p. 15. & p. 23.), that the circulating medium of a nation bears no proportion to its wealth and trade. It is quite true, that the number of exchanges bears no *ratio* to the mere quantity or amount of circulating medium; because the quantity required varies, as we have often observed, with the rate or velocity of circulation. But the amount of circulating medium, and the rate of circulation, may be taken together, and considered as forming a complex quantity; and then there can be no doubt that this complex quantity bears a *ratio* to the number and value of exchanges. This *ratio*, it is evident, may be fixed and constant, though the two component parts of that complex quantity are perpetually varying; because, while trade continues the same, they must vary inversely, as each other. Nor does it affect the truth of this proposition, as thus stated abstractedly, that the present resources of political arithmetic do not yet enable us to assign the *ratio*.

Lord King has endeavoured to strengthen that part of his argument, which is founded on the unfavourable state of foreign exchange, by a theory which, as far as we know, is quite new; that, in the present commercial relations of Great Britain, the real course of exchange with the Continent must necessarily and permanently be in our favour. The great trade with the East Indies and China is carried on almost entirely by an exportation of silver to Asia, and this trade is possessed almost exclusively by Great Britain. We must therefore draw from the rest of the western world, that supply of this precious metal, which is annually consigned to the east. Our direct commerce with Spain

and Portugal is inadequate to this purpose: we must derive the supply, therefore, from the several nations of the Continent, among whom the annual produce of the mines is distributed from Portugal and Spain. This bullion we can only purchase by an exportation either of produce or of manufactured goods; our exports of these, to those nations, must therefore constantly exceed our import of goods and produce from the same nations. The balance of trade with the Continent is thus, it is said, necessarily and permanently in our favour; and of course, likewise, the difference of exchange. The plausibility of this theory at first caught our assent; but, on farther consideration, we were led to suspect that it involves a fallacy. It does not follow, because our imports always consist partly of bullion, that the balance of trade is therefore permanently in our favour. Bullion is a commodity, for which, like every other, there is a varying demand; and which, exactly like any other, may enter the catalogue either of imports or exports: and this exportation or importation of bullion will not affect the course of exchange, in a different way from the exportation or importation of other commodities. The real course of exchange, between two countries, depends upon the state of their reciprocal credits and debts. When the real difference is in favour of this country, it must be occasioned by the demand abroad for bills being greater than the supply: and that difference is no other than the premium which is paid for bills, in consequence of the competition. This excess in the demand abroad above the supply of such bills, proceeds from an excess of the debts due to us, above the debts due by us; that is, from an excess of our whole exports, above our whole imports. The balance thus due to us, and which cannot be liquidated by means of bills, may either be discharged by sending bullion to this country, or may be allowed to remain for a time unpaid. So long as it remains a permanent debt, the price of bills will continue high, that is, the course of exchange will continue in our favour. If the balance be discharged by an actual transference of bullion, the supply of bills abroad will then become equal to the demand, and exchange will be at par. But even when it has the effect of liquidating such a balance, bullion is only sent to this country, because there is an effectual demand for it, which allows the importation; and it liquidates that balance in no other way than an equal import of any other commodity, for which there had been a demand, would have done. The state of exchange, therefore, does not depend upon the bullion trade, more than upon that of any other commodity; it depends entirely on the balance of debts. Provided the whole exports are no more than equal, during a given period of time, to the

the whole imports, the exchange will be at par, although a great part, the greater part, or even the whole of those imports, may have consisted of bullion. Let it be supposed, for example, that the commerce between Britain and Portugal had consisted wholly of woollen cloths exported from Britain, and of nothing but bullion directly imported from Portugal, provided the whole quantity of woollen cloth exported was no more than equal in value, annually, to the whole quantity of bullion imported, and that the reciprocal purchases were made upon the same terms, in respect of the length of credit, the real exchange would have remained steadily at par, though we imported nothing but bullion; and if, on the other hand, our import of bullion had exceeded our export of woollen cloth; or if the Portuguese merchant had granted a more indulgent credit than he received from Britain, the course of exchange would then have been permanently against this country, although we imported nothing but bullion. That there is a steady influx of bullion into this country, both for our own consumption, and for the supply of our Asiatic trade; and that the course of exchange, until the year 1799, was steadily in favour of this country with almost the whole of the Continent; are facts which appear to us quite unconnected with each other. That favourable difference of exchange ought, perhaps, to be considered as having been partly apparent and partly real. That portion of it which was only apparent, was owing to the excellent state of our currency (for the gold coin regulated the rest), compared with the currencies of the Continent, most of which were much more degraded below their respective standards. That portion which was a real difference of exchange in our favour, and which therefore indicated a balance of debts in our favour, was owing to that credit which the merchants of England are enabled, by their great capitals and skill, to extend to the traders of almost all foreign countries. This appears to us a more correct explanation of the fact, than that which is suggested by Lord King. For the purposes, however, of his general argument, the fact alone is enough, that, in the present commercial relations of Britain, the real difference of exchange is almost permanently in our favour. This corroborates all the other arguments which have been adduced to show, that nothing but a derangement and depreciation of our currency can explain the appearance, continued since 1799, of an exchange against us.

We cannot permit ourselves to dismiss this work, without expressing our approbation, both of the style, and of the temper, in which it is written. So great perspicuity is not often attained, upon a subject in its nature intricate and abstruse; but it is still more rare, upon a subject connected with the topics of political difference,

difference, to preserve such entire candour. The calmness with which the argument is pursued, and the clearness with which it is stated, might render this pamphlet a model for similar publications. In almost all the general principles, that are collaterally introduced for the sake of illustration, the author is liberal and accurate; nor was an apology for these digressions in the smallest degree necessary. On the contrary, we have always thought, that such writers, as undertake to inform the public mind upon measures of temporary interest, render themselves doubly and eminently useful, when they seize every opportunity of expounding those more extensive truths, which, though in possession of the learned, are not yet insinuated into popular conviction. It is by innumerable repetitions of this sort, that an impression may at length be made, even on vulgar understandings, in favour of an enlightened policy; and the assent of the multitude, habituated to the results of that genuine philosophy, whose high aim is to emancipate mankind from practical error, and to ameliorate their political condition.

ART. XII. *The Defence of Order:* A Poem. By Josiah Walker, A.M. pp. 176. Third Edit. Edinburgh. Manners & Miller. 1803.

IT is impossible to bestow too much praise on the laudable motives which appear to have dictated this publication. The principles which pervade the whole composition, whether upon subjects of a political, of a moral, or a religious cast, seem to us altogether unexceptionable. The poet's mind has evidently been deeply affected by the sufferings of all Europe, since the fatal reign of anarchy began; and, in the fulness of his emotions, he has poured out three *cantos*, or, as he calls them (after the modish phrase), *parts*, expressive of his honest indignation at the crimes of the French Revolution, his zeal for the cause of regular government, and his gratitude to those illustrious men who have stood in the breach, and devoted themselves to the noble task of stemming the destructive torrent. In all the feelings which have influenced his mind, we trust every one is now prepared to sympathize; at least, we are happy in thinking, that the latest of the events which this age has been doomed to experience, brings one blessing along with it—the inestimable good of unanimity and patriotism. The Defence of Order, then, will be read under circumstances peculiarly favourable. Whatever portion of its plan is didactic, must necessarily be undisputed. The poet sings to a willing and believing generation. He belongs to a party, in which all his

British readers are comprehended; and if truth and accuracy of principle alone were required in a poetical composition, the lays of Mr Walker might set all criticism at defiance.

But, unfortunately, we speak it with unfeigned regret, the bulk of readers are so devoid of true taste, as to seek for something else than mere truth in poetry. They are even so callous in their feelings of moral rectitude, that they refuse to balance the inestimable jewel of truth against the various poetical faults which the best of men will often commit when they deliver themselves in verse. Nay, so depraved are the appetites of those who make pretensions to taste in works of fancy, that they are generally found to undervalue the most innocent and virtuous sentiments, merely because they may happen to be delivered in flat or ungrammatical, or (what such critics are pleased to call) unpoetical language. The friend of virtue hath, from this cause, great reason to lament the reception which his favourite topics often meet with; and to deplore the wicked infatuation of mankind, who, from the days of the worthy Sir Richard Blackmore down to the present time, have persisted in slighting the most wholesome doctrine, if not communicated in a striking, or a pleasing form.

We are seriously concerned to think, that not even the great popularity of the subject upon which this poem is written; nor the undoubted justness of the points of doctrine on which it touches; nor the happy union of private with public eulogium, by which it is pervaded; nor the equally fortunate combination of beautiful paper, with exquisite typography, in which it so eminently excels almost all the other productions of the Scotish press, will obtain for it, on the part of the readers to whom we have been alluding, a short suspension of the prevailing rules of taste. We are much afraid, that men, calling themselves judges of poetry, will examine the strains of the 'Muse of Order,' as our bard ingeniously denominates her, with all that cold and unsparing severity, which a good mind would wish to see reserved for the punishment of immoral and seditious poesy. But lest our readers should think us too desponding upon this subject, we must disclose to them the grounds of our dread; and, as fear is apt to magnify danger, we shall quote at length the passages of this praiseworthy and estimable performance, upon which our apprehensions for its fame are principally founded; premising, at the same time, that it would be endless to think of enumerating all these, as they occupy, in fact, nearly the whole of the worthy author's pages.

In the first place, the readers of poetry rarely possess such reasoning heads, as may enable them to unravel very intricate periods, and come easily at the meaning of perplexed, elliptical, and inverted chains of verse. Hence, they are apt,

somewhat

somewhat rashly, to conceive a prejudice against such passages as the following; and to imagine, superficially enough, that there is no meaning, or, at least, no sense worth seeking for, when a little more trouble than usual is required to discover it.

'Thus, to the savage, though mature in age,
When reason bends to passion's brutal rage,
Benign restraints from situation flow,
And give the guarded intellect to grow.
Soon taught, how wretched they, who singly prowl
Through jungles wild, where ravening rivals howl,
Rude plans of polity the elders build,
And freedom's bane, for ordered union yield.

'Yet there, when sovereigns slack their moody sway,
Or restless subjects, but by starts, obey,' &c. p. 21.

'Even when your tyrants, fiercer than before,
Grind you, till nature can endure no more,
When (direful hour! denied th' award of Heaven,
Till sorrow long be felt, and oft forgiven)
When forced to prove rebellion's dubious fate,
And pour its poisoned vial on the state,
Yet, yet be calm—specific faults repair,
And stop—the fabric's reverend pillars spare!
Spare antient forms, your heated host to awe,
To bridle ruin, and restore the law;
Spare one great floodgate, at command to drop,
And, when its end is gained, the deluge stop;
Else will its sweeping force uptear the realm,
And you, who broke its sluices, first o'erwhelm.' pp. 25. 26.

'So for Carew, Ierne's outcast son,
Unfading wreaths unfinished daring won;
Who o'er the cave of death sublimely stood,
Decoyed his doom, the dire explosion wooed,
And drained the goblet, with triumphant eye,
"To all who gloriously in battle die!" pp. 114. 115.

'Mated with thee, for mutual succour paired,
In all thy deeds his manly genius shared,
Thy help invoked, to plant the Indian gem,
With rooted hold, in Albion's diadem;
And lent thy daring hand requiting aid
(Though storms without and rage within forbade)
Closer to draw the loose and ravelled zone,
That bound Ierne to her parent throne;
To round, renew, cement the sundered realm,
And move the whole by one presiding helm.' p. 84.

Now,

Now, we are far from dissembling, that these, and innumerable other passages which might be quoted, are conceived in a considerable degree of obscurity, and even of confusion. But we can with truth assert, that, after some labour, we have generally succeeded in getting an idea of the author's meaning. A perfect solution of difficulties, indeed, is not always to be expected. But if our vanity, or partiality, does not much deceive us, we have, in most of these instances, obtained a tolerable approximation. And where we have failed, we hope, at some future period, to be more fortunate; especially if the poet shall follow an advice, which we humbly offer, and add a marginal interpretation, after the manner of the commentators on the classics. If, then, the reader shall be able to discover the meaning of the author, what more would he require? How many commentators have been labouring upon famous authors, ever since the revival of letters, without doing so much?

We shall, in the next place, be told, that with the best intentions towards his subject, our author very frequently involves it in ridicule, by some unhappy oversight, or perhaps by some natural defect in that organ by which men discriminate between the sublime and the ludicrous. And truly, such portions of verse as the following, may appear to give a certain colour to the insinuation, that Mr Walker, like the respectable Blackmore, the pious Hopkins, and many other excellent characters, is somewhat too intemperate in his use of the bathos. Describing the principles which rouse a mighty people to vengeance, he says,

> 'Minds, thus prepared, against abuse will rise,
> When Nature urges—not when knaves advise;
> Feel for themselves, nor meddling *flappers* need,
> To prove their pain, and tell them where they bleed.' p. 70.

The following picture of a great famine is original, and we will maintain it, very affecting:

> 'Sad was the scene! believe the Muse, who saw
> The ruggid rustic from his cot withdraw,
> The bootless tears from those within to hide,
> Which aching fondness wrung from manly pride;
> Their dreadful cause reluctant to reveal,
> That leagues around contain no second meal!' p. 72.

The noble person to whom the poem is dedicated, with a liberality rarely to be met with, purchased bread-corn at an advanced price, in Leadenhall market, during the scarcity, and sent it down by sea, to relieve the poor of the parish. It may perhaps be alleged by hypercritics, who have studied the pedantic

dantic writings of Scriblerus, that the following high wrought passage describes the foregoing fact too minutely.

> 'To rich Augusta's granaries he flies;
> No wary doubts, no balanced scruples rise:
> 'Unlock your stores,' he calls, 'your ships prepare,
> 'And instant succour to my people bear!
> 'Pause not—nor urge the cost—though tripled thrice,
> 'I pledge my name and fortune for the price.
> 'Wealth I but feel a trust, till it provide
> 'Relief for want, in scenes where I preside.'
> The mandate thus repeated, grainy stores
> Are soon diffused through Tay's exhausted shores.' p. 73.

The next examples which we take, present moving portraits, the one of *Memory*, the other of *Magnetism*; or, as the author intends it, of the effects of French principles.

> 'Her backward tube let Memory still apply,
> Through travelled spaces to direct my eye.' p. 52.

> 'Felt ye magnetic spells your frame bewitch,
> Your features model, and your fibres twitch,
> Force you to writhe, in sympathetic throes,
> Racked with your prototype's well-imaged woes;
> And, face to face, in wild convulsive dance,
> Reflect each furious attitude of France?' pp. 67.8.

The following description of Colonel Graham eating his horse, will, we much fear, be less relished than it deserves. p. 129.

> 'From scene to scene his active valour hastes,
> Where danger thickens, and where famine wastes;
> Self-doomed, in Mincio's leaguered towers, to feed
> On stinted portions of his butchered steed.' p. 129.

And this fine distich on French alliances will foolishly be thought deficient in dignity.

> 'Brigaded thieves, incendiaries and spies,
> With matchless impudence, self-named allies.' p. 85.

Nay, we are afraid there are critics who will be more sensible of the vulgarity than the force of the following appeal.

> '*Yourselves be judge*, who best our weal promotes:
> He gave us *victuals*—they would give us *votes*.' p. 75.

In all these, and a multitude of other passages, we must take the liberty of asserting, without fear of being contradicted, that the intentions of the author were pure, that he firmly believed he was treating his subject with the sublimity it merited, and that

separate simile. Lord Nelson is a small diamond or sparkling cross; Lord St Vincent is likened to a bird tearing out a bull's eyes; Lieutenant Price, to a bomb-shell (he belonging probably to the artillery); Lord Cochrane, to a sword-fish stabbing a whale; and Lord Duncan, to Leonidas. Who does not perceive the beauty and justness of all these comparisons? For our parts, we are inclined, as we must give an opinion, to prefer the last, for the striking accuracy of the resemblance; well knowing that Leonidas, the celebrated Greek admiral, fought an equal force of Persians, gained a complete victory, and returned in triumph to his grateful countrymen, who immediately gave him a pension and a peerage.

Upon the whole, therefore, we are of opinion, that our favourite poem may challenge the attacks of criticism, whether we view the accuracy of the principles which it is intended to inculcate, or the innocence of the views with which the author has executed the detail of his work. But knowing, as we do, how little such rare qualities weigh in the scale of public opinion in these degenerate times, we must recommend it to Mr Walker to make up his mind for the worst. Let him consider the emptiness of rhyming, either to individual edification, or to the public weal; and how far inferior poetic fame is to the praise of worth. What though Horace has pronounced a sentence against mediocrity? Does that prevent this very line of mediocrity from being the path most constantly pursued, and by the greatest crowds? Our author will meet, in spite of Horace, with the most respectable part of the poetical community in the middle regions. These, in fact, are the parts generally frequented by royal and noble, and holy and wealthy, and fair authors; and with their society, he may be well consoled for the want of the '*white fillet*,' which forms the only badge that we remember to distinguish the other order of bards, the '*Phœbo digna locuti.*'

ART. XIII. *A Description of the Anatomy of the Ornithorynchus Paradoxus.* By Everard Home, Esq. F. R. S. From the Philosophical Transactions for 1802.

THE first description of this animal was given by Dr Shaw, in the Naturalist's Miscellany; but, at that time, he could not decidedly pronounce it to be a natural production. Its singular appearance struck him so forcibly, that he almost instantly suspected a trick; and was led to think on the various artifices, that had often been practised, to impose on the ignorance and credulity

lity of naturalists. He acknowledges frankly, in his natural history, that the beak of a duck, so curiously engrafted on the head of a quadruped, was so very unlike the other animal productions of nature, that he could not help viewing the whole with a degree of scepticism; and that he published his account in the miscellany with a sort of diffidence, and under some private suspicions that it was possibly a fabrication of art. His doubts, however, are now dispelled. Several specimens have been brought to Europe. And this very extraordinary animal is actually a native of Austral Asia, or New Holland.

In that country, and in no other, has it yet been seen in the living state. It frequents the banks of small fresh-water lakes, and is supposed to feed in the muddy places that surround them; although the particular kind of food on which it subsists be not known. When it goes into the lake, it does not swim upon the surface, but merely comes up occasionally to breathe, which it does in the same manner as the turtle. When brought ashore, it runs upon the ground with as much activity as a land-tortoise, and, like most of the amphibia, appears very tenacious of life.

The specimens brought to Europe were of different sizes. Those sent to Sir Joseph Banks, and dissected by Mr Home, were much larger than that formerly described by Dr Shaw. Of Sir Joseph's specimens, the male was 17½ inches long, measuring from the point of the bill to the extremity of the tail. Of this measurement, the bill was 2½ inches, and the tail 4½: The circumference of the body was 11 inches.

In all, the head was rather compressed; had a bill and nostrils like a duck's, very small eyes, and oblong slits for external ears. The trunk resembled that of an otter, and was nearly of the same thickness throughout, except at the shoulders, where it was smaller. The feet were short, and webbed; and had each five toes, pointed with claws. In the fore feet, the web extended beyond the claws; and in the hind feet terminated at their origin. The tail, in its general shape, was similar to that of a beaver: and at its extremity, in Dr Shaw's figure (for Mr Home has given us none), it appears bifid.

The colour on the back, legs, bill, and tail, was a dark brown; on the under surface of the neck and belly, a silver grey. The hair was of two kinds; a very fine thick fur of half an inch long, and a very uncommon kind of hair, three quarters of an inch long, cylindrical at the root, and flattened at the point, so as to have the appearance of feathers. Both of these kinds were longer on the belly, than upon the back.

We have given the above general description, partly taken from Dr Shaw's Natural History, and partly from Mr Home's paper,

in order that our readers may have some idea of the nature and habits of the animal, before they enter with Mr Home upon an investigation of its structure.

In this investigation, Mr Home seems to have noted down every circumstance as it occurred; and has presented them to the public very nearly in that order. He divides his description into two parts; that of the external, and that of the internal appearances: a division, which admits of that loose, rambling detail, which is very easy for the writer to give, but very difficult for the reader to comprehend. In this account, the connexions of the parts, by form, structure, and function, are frequently overlooked; and that of place, or mere situation, substituted for them.

Doubtless, the mind, by that arbitrary power of association which it possesses to a certain extent, may connect the circumstances which fall under its examination, by the time in which they happen, by the place which they occupy, by similarity or contrariety with respect to use, cause, or effect, &c. But the results of these different associations, it must be allowed, are calculated to produce very different impressions. One association is suited to one subject, and another to another; and, comparing the associations formed by others, with those already in our own minds, we are naturally led to pass sentence on a man's knowledge, penetration, wit, judgment, &c.

The chain of connexion which Mr Home appears to have followed in this instance, might be excuseable in a common-place book, but can hardly be admitted in a book of science. It must surely have proceeded from want of time, or a want of inclination to bestow that attention which is necessary in forming a clear and distinct arrangement. No person, we are fully persuaded, who is in the least acquainted with his character, will ever be disposed to suspect his abilities as either a naturalist or an anatomist; yet, for his own sake, in addressing the public, he should have avoided whatever appeared like slovenliness or carelessness in his description; and shown, that, besides manual dexterity in the way of dissection, he possesses the talents and the education which fit him for an author.

But as censure is not criticism, nor dictatorial arrogance any proof of superior discernment; and as the candid may expect, that, after disapproving of his method, we should propose one of our own, we are willing to comply, and would recommend, in all such anatomical descriptions, something like the arrangements adopted in books of anatomy, where the bones, muscles, blood-vessels, nerves, &c. are treated separately, and where the intelligent

ligent scientific reader may discover, at once, what is superfluous, and what is defective.

An arrangement of the organs, either according to structure or function, gives much clearer ideas to the reader, is more useful to the student of anatomy, and, at the same time, is better adapted to the purposes of the naturalist and physiologist. This indeed is far from being the order of dissection; but dissection furnishes only the materials for a description. We convey no idea of mechanism, by simply enumerating the different materials of which a clock or watch is composed; and every person might acquire the reputation of an historian, were the loose unconnected materials of a note-book allowed to constitute a history.

For the sake of our readers who may wish to know what Mr Home has said of the anatomy of the Ornithorynchus Paradoxus, we shall here exhibit the substance of his notes, in what we think a more connected and intelligible form.

The Osseous System.—The upper part of the head was flat, and the cranium capacious, with an osseous septum instead of the falx of the dura mater. Such an osseous septum, in a less degree, is found also in the craniums of the spoonbill and parrot; but in no quadruped, that Mr Home knows, excepting the Ornithorynchus paradoxus.

The ribs were sixteen in number, and the first six united to the sternum; these six, excepting the first, were osseous at both extremities, and the cartilaginous part in the middle answering so far the purposes of a joint. The false ribs had likewise their cartilages; and these cartilages, at their anterior extremity, terminated in broad osseous laminæ, that overlapped one another like scales.

To the upper extremity of the sternum was attached a bone, which, at its upper extremity, divides into two, each of which was connected with a scapula resembling a bird's, and was made to perform the office of a clavicle.

We are rather surprised that Mr Home did not remark other analogies between this and the structure of birds. In the feathered tribe, a bifurcated bone is attached both to the sternum and scapulæ; there is a cartilaginous joint in the middle of the true ribs; and, in many at least, these ribs have transverse processes overlapping the rib immediately below. The first rib likewise, in many birds, is not a true rib; and here, though the first rib was joined to the sternum, it differed from the rest, if we may be allowed to judge from the figure, by having its cartilage not in the middle, but connected with the sternum. Notwithstanding, however, this general analogy, the differences are considerable. The bifurcated bone, in the feathered tribe, does not

not supply the place of the clavicles; the sternum is different; the form of the chest is widely different; and the transverse processes have not the situation, nor belong to that species of ribs in which we here see the osseous laminæ.

The pelvis of the ornithorynchus was unusually small, and had two moveable bones attached to the pubis, like what we see in the kangaroo, and, he might have added, in the opossum, where these bones are connected with the pouch where the female occasionally puts up her young, and conceals her mammæ.

In this account of the osseous system, nothing is said of the extremities, their articulations, or of the number and form of their bones; nothing of the number or form of the bones that compose the cranium and face; nothing of their relative situations or features; nothing of the diameters of the cranium or foramen magnum; nothing of the different aspects of the head, with regard to the trunk; nothing of the vertebral column, and consequently nothing of the number or differences of the cervical, dorsal, lumbar, and sacral vertebræ. Nor can we implicitly trust to the plate, where we never should have found out the number of ribs. It is a figure, like too many in modern books of anatomy, where youthful science, bashful and coy, conceals herself in her secret apartments; but, childishly attached to vanity and show, and wishing to astonish the world with her consequence, sends her painter, engraver, or colourman, in gaudy livery, and with polished smoothness, to tell the inquirer she is not at home; or, in plain English, is not to be seen.

Muscular System.—There is mention only of a strong panniculus camosus, and a diaphragm, muscular towards the circumference.

Vascular System.—The heart was found in the middle of the chest, with its apex towards the sternum, and the whole enclosed in a strong pericordium. Mr Home must have observed, that this is the situation of the heart in birds. The heart had two ventricles, and two auricles, but no foramen ovale between the auricles, nor direct communication between the ventricles. The two ascending venæ cavæ were like what we see in the kangaroo, beaver, otter, and many other animals. The difference of size which he remarked between the right and left auricles, might have been owing to a difference of contraction at the time of death. Sabatier has shewn, that this is the cause of a similar difference in other animals. Nothing more is said of the distribution of the veins or arteries: he saw nothing of their appearance in the head, neck, trunk, extremities, nor viscera; nor was much more to have been expected, without a previous injection of the vessels.

Absorbent

Absorbent System.—The lacteals were small, and the mesenteric glands numerous, of the size of millet seeds. He has not mentioned the thoracic duct, and probably saw none of the lymphatics.

Nervous System.—The brain was not in a state to be examined; and the spinal marrow, the cauda equina and their nerves, are all passed over in silence. The olfactory and optic nerves were small; but the fifth pair, which supplied the muscles of the face, as in many other animals, uncommonly large.

Alimentary System, and its appendages.—The teeth were all grinders, four in number, lying in the posterior part of the mouth, composed of a horny substance, and embedded in the gum to which they were connected by an irregular surface, instead of fangs. The upper mandible projected anteriorly and laterally, and beyond the inferior. In the superior, there were longitudinal ridges, and in the inferior longitudinal grooves, which corresponded when the mouth was shut: these were all in the corneous substance. The transverse serræ in the lower mandible were confined to the fleshy parts.

The tongue did not project into the bill, but was confined in its situation: it was small towards the apex, swelled, and rose towards the root, where two pointed and corneous teeth sprung from it, and inclined forwards: the rest of the tongue was armed with short cuticular papillæ, inclining backwards.

There were cheek pouches, as in some of the monkeys. No mention is made of parotid, submaxillary, sublingual, or other salivary glands.

The œsophagus was very small, particularly behind the larynx; the stomach was an oval, membranous bag, laterally attached to the œsophagus, which seemed to be continued into the duodenum. The duodenum, at its commencement, had its coats thickened, forming the valve of the pylorus; it was fixed in its situation, and received the fluids conveyed by the ductus pancreaticus and ductus choledochus communis: this last duct, as in ordinary cases, was formed of the cystic and hepatic ducts, and entered with the pancreatic into the intestine, at a small distance from the pylorus. The duodenum had transverse rugæ, or valvulæ conniventes. The remaining part of the intestinal canal, which was strung on a loose, broad, and transparent mesentery, had no rugæ, but was studded with glands. There seems to have been no foundation for the division into large and small intestines. A small loculated cæcum, in some respect similar to that in the bittern and heron, marked the commencement of what Mr Home calls the colon. At the extremity of the rectum, which opened below the root of the tail, were two lateral glands, which

which he thought at first belonged to the rectum; but afterwards, upon examining the ornithorynchus hystrix, saw two glands in a similar situation, with ducts leading to the penis.

The omentum, like the mesentery, was a thin, transparent membrane, without any fat; it was attached to the stomach and spleen, in the usual way; but, reaching the colon, it returned to the spine, forming the meso-colon, and leaving no apron or pouch interposed between the viscera and the peritoneum lining the muscles.

The liver was divided into five lobes: the gall-bladder had its usual situation.

The spleen was connected with the stomach and omentum, and consisted of two long slender bodies, united at one end, and for the length of half an inch.

The pancreas was spread upon the great and little omentum, as in the sea otter, and was made up of small parts, in a very similar manner.

Urinary System.—The kidnies were conglobate, and in the usual situation; the ureters pellucid; the capsulæ renales small; the bladder was not in the pelvis, but attached to the peritoneum lining the abdominal muscles. We might add here, that the situation of the bladder was not singular. Nothing is found in the pelvis of the mole but muscles. The rectum and other organs, which pass through the pelvis in other animals, are there on the outer side between the bones and the skin. In the ornythorynchus, the urethra, like the ureters of birds, terminated in the rectum.

Respiratory System.—The nostrils opened near the point of the bill: the glottis was uncommonly narrow, the epiglottis proportionally small: the rings of the trachea broad for their size, and meeting nearly behind. The lungs were large, corresponding to the capacity of the chest. They consisted of four lobes; two on the right side, one on the left, and a small one behind the heart. The lateral and posterior sides of the heart were the only parts in contact with the lobes. The base of the heart was situated higher, and the fore part was covered with the sternum. The cartilages of the larynx are not described; and a thyroid gland, if it was present, is not mentioned.

Organs of Sense.—The organ of smell, in its construction, resembled that of other quadrupeds, and might be said to have consisted of two turbinated bones in each nostril.

The eye was small, nearly spherical; had a membrana nictitans, and a very loose eyelid.

The opening of the ear was at a very great distance from the organ; and there was a cartilaginous canal, the size of a crow-quill

quill, winding round the side of the head, on the outer side of the temporal muscle; and leading to the orifice in the temporal bone. The membrana tympani was large, of an oval form; on the outer side, concave. The tympanum contained only two bones; one passing directly from the membrane towards the fenestra ovalis, which Mr Home calls the foramen ovale. On this, there was a second, imperfectly resembling the stapes, having a flat surface, of a circular form, upon the orifice, and a small neck, by which it was united to the other bone: The organ, altogether, bore a greater resemblance to that of the bird, than the quadruped.

The organ of taste was not examined with a view to its sensitive functions.

From the fifth pair of nerves that supplied the muscles of the face being uncommonly large, Mr Home was led to believe, that the sensibility of the different parts of the bill was very great; and that therefore it answered the purpose of a hand, and was capable of nice discrimination in its feeling: the same observation, he acknowledges, was made by Blumenbach of Gottingen, who first dissected these nerves.

Sexual System.—The male which Mr Home examined was longer than the female, of a darker colour, had a spur on his hind leg, but no fat under the integuments. The fat, however, till further inquiry, should hardly be considered as any characteristic of sex; its presence, or absence, might be owing to age, or casual circumstance. The female, from the great quantity of fat, was of the same circumference with the male.

In the male, the testicles were situated in the abdomen, close to the kidnies; and the epidydymus connected by a broad membrane, which admitted of its lying very loose. The vasa deferentia proceeded to a penis, which did not project beyond the surface, but seemed, to the eye, a process from the pubal side of the rectum; and, when retracted, was entirely concealed by the inner membrane of the verge of the anus, forming its prepuce. This penis was composed of two parts, each of which had its glans, with perforated papillæ; one glans pointing to the right, the other to be left, and in these directions discharged the semen through the papillary orifices: This structure, it must be obvious, has a distant analogy to that of birds. There was no appearance of seminal vesicles; and there is no mention of a prostate gland.

In the human, and many other species of animal, a canal, called the *urethra*, serves the common purpose of conveying both semen and urine. In the bird, however, and the ornithorynchus, the seminal and urinary canals are distinct; but there are not

two

two kinds of urethræ. Urethra signifies the urinary passage, and can never, without an abuse of language, be applied to any other. From not attending to this circumstance, the following sentences, if not unintelligible, are at least obscure: 'When the urethra is laid open from the bladder to the rectum, about half an inch from its termination, it communicates with the proper urethra of the penis, which afterwards divides into two, one going to each glans, in the centre of which is a cavity, communicating directly with the papillæ, the points of which are pervious, forming the orifices by which the semen is evacuated. The vasa deferentia open into the membranous part of the urethra, before it comes to the root of the penis.'—Does Mr Home mean, that the vasa deferentia open into a comon canal, which, after communicating with the urinary passage, divides into two branches, leading to the two clusters of papillæ at the extremity of the penis?

His description of the female organs is equally confused. He mentions a vagina which is not different from the extremity of the rectum and fallopian tubes, where he acknowledges there is no uterus. In this instance, he seems to have been misled by the common language of anatomy, which is founded on distinctions that are not to be met with in the ornithorynchus.

In the female, the ovaria were small, though the size might depend on the state, or the season in which the animal was killed. From each of the ovaria proceeded a canal, which terminated in the rectum and in the lateral parts of the urethra, a valvular projection being interposed between their orifices and the fæces. Our author thinks that this structure bears an analogy to that of birds, though not surely of those birds that have but one ovarium, and one oviduct: it has certainly a much stronger resemblance to that of frogs and other animals which have two ovaria, and two oviducts.

Classification in Natural History.—From the want of mammæ, and from the structure of the sexual organs, the naturalist surely cannot, with any degree of propriety, arrange this animal with the Mammalia; and very few will be hardy enough, after the account Mr Home has given, to think of arranging it with Birds or Fishes. The only possible class that remains, is the Amphibia; and if it belong to that class, it must be arranged with the order of Reptilia. It differs, indeed, from all of that order, by having a rough hairy covering. But a rough covering, a bilocular heart, and warm blood, every one knows, are not peculiar to the mammalia; and such objections to its being admitted among the amphibia, cannot be sustained.

Dr

Dr Shaw, in his Natural History, has placed this animal under the name of Plætypus, in the order of Bruta, between the elephant and the walrus, and another animal, of a similar structure, in the genus Myrmecophaga of the same order. To this animal he has given the name of Myrmecophaga aculeata. Mr Home calls it Ornithorynchus hystrix; and read a paper upon it to the Royal Society, June 9. 1802, entitled, 'Description of the Anatomy of the Ornythorynchus Hystrix.' In this paper, he mentions a third species of the ornithorynchus, of the same size as the hystrix, and which was shot at Adventure Bay, Van Diemen's Land, by Lieutenant Guthrie, in the year 1790, a drawing of which was made by Captain Bligh, and sent to Sir Joseph Banks, who allowed Mr Home to annex a copy of it to his paper. The anatomy of this third species is not described, but probably resembles that of the other two. Mr Home says of the ornithorynchus hystrix, that its internal structure so nearly resembles that of the paradoxus, that a particular description of many of the parts is unnecessary. He proceeds, however, to describe it, but in the same careless manner as he did the paradoxus, relating every thing nearly in the order in which it occurred, just as a merchant does in his day-book. We shall not follow him through this description; but could wish, that, in future, if he attempt any thing similar, he would transfer his accounts to his ledger, before he presents them to the eye of the public. At the same time, we readily acknowledge our obligations to this learned and ingenious author, for what he has done; and are still of opinion, that the faults of his paper are solely to be imputed to his want of leisure, or of inclination.

ART. XIV. *Discourses on the Jewish and Christian Dispensations, compared with other Institutions: and a Future State of Rewards and Punishments: In Answer to the Objections of Hume.* By W. Craven, D. D. Master of St John's College, Cambridge. 8vo. About 480 pp. Printed at the University Press, 1802.

THIS volume, which was published originally in detached parts, was completed about the time that our design commenced. We procured it in order to examine its contents; but were soon given to understand, that in consequence of some mistake committed by the printer, the author was preparing a more correct copy for immediate publication. We therefore considered it as an act of mere justice to wait for the present edition; and now proceed to give some account of the author and his performance.

With the author of a book, generally speaking, a Reviewer has no concern. We conceive, however, that upon this occasion, we are bound to notice some parts of his character which have come to our knowledge, because they throw a light upon a few peculiarities in the volume before us.

Dr Craven is now in an advanced period of life, the greater part of which he has devoted to habits of study and retirement. Not many years since, he was placed at the head of a numerous and learned Society: and though he enters but little into the bustle, and not at all into the intrigues, which such a situation sometimes occasions, yet he reflects dignity upon the College over which he presides, by the mild lustre of unaffected learning and unostentatious virtue.

From the simplicity of his manners, we may account for much of what might otherwise appear negligence in the composition of the work before us. There is no attempt whatsoever at ornament, and scarcely any at elevation of style. The words appear to be set down as the thoughts occurred; and the reader is often left to collect his own inference from the facts and observations which are loosely thrown together before him.

From his advanced age we expect a quaint phraseology, as well as an antiquated orthography *. Indeed, if we did not know that this volume has been published within a very few years, and occasionally see an allusion to modern writers (though to none, we believe, of later date than Mr Gibbon's and Bishop Hurd's earlier publications), we might conceive ourselves perusing a treatise a century old.

We shall confine our observations to the first and largest part of the volume, namely, the 'Discourse on the Jewish and Christian Dispensations, compared with other Institutions.' The 'Discourse on a Future State of Rewards and Punishments,' though highly valuable, from the acuteness and solidity with which the argument is conducted, is a republication of some sermons, which appeared twenty years ago. They have certainly undergone some alteration in their form, but they cannot properly be considered as a subject of critical investigation now.

The plan of the other discourse is of a very extensive nature; and we conceive we cannot give a better idea of it, than by quoting the heads of the chapters, with the pages at which they respectively occur. This is the more necessary, as such an arrangement is a desideratum in the volume itself.

Chap. i. p. 3. The religion of the Jews compared with that of other nations. ii. p. 11. The Assyrians and Egyptians. iii.

* We suspect that even amongst his contemporaries, Dr Craven can scarcely produce authority for *marvelous*, *choosed*, *behooved*.

iii. p. 22. Religious systems of the learned. iv. p. 40. The learned of Chaldæa and Ægypt. v. p. 54. The form and design, the rise, the institutions, and sanctions of the Jewish government. vi. p. 64. Concerning Moses, as the lawgiver of the Jews; their history, prophetical writings. vii. p. 78. Objections to the divine origin of the law. viii. p. 96. The Messiah foretold. ix. p. 109. The office of Messiah. x. p. 122. Concerning the prophets who foretell the Messiah. xi. p. 131. The prophecies concerning the Messiah, and their interpretation. xii. p. 157. The moral precepts of the law vindicated and improved by Jesus: the doctrine of salvation; how far taught in the Old, and further explained in the New Testament. xiii. p. 175. Precepts in common with Christian and Heathen moralists. xiv. p. 186. On a future state, as taught by the Heathens. xv. p. 203. Doctrines peculiar to Christianity. xvi. p. 219. Types pointed out in the New Testament. xvii. p. 231. The reality of types. xviii. p. 245. Objections to types and typical interpretation. xix. p. 258. Conversion of the Gentiles; Rejection and restoration of the Jews. xx. p. 273. Antichrist, Saracens and Turks, Millennium. xxi. p. 287. Scriptural and Pagan prophecy compared. xxii. p. 302. Jesus, the Messiah. xxiii. p. 316. The ministry of the Apostles. xxiv. pp. 328—353. The rise of Christianity and Mahomedism compared.

The design of this discourse embraces no less a compass than the internal evidence in favour of the Old and New Testament: It professes also to explain and enforce the arguments from the much contested and embarrassed subjects of prophecy and type. A work of such extent must obviously be supposed to rank under the denomination of a sketch, rather than be considered as a finished piece. The merit of the execution, therefore, must principally depend upon these two points; the correctness of the outline, and the importance of the parts which are selected as the subject of the artist's skill. In the former of these particulars, our author will be found to deserve great praise, as the topics are in general treated with precision and judgment. But perhaps it may be thought, that in a performance of this nature, which embraces such a variety of particulars, and which of necessity must treat them with conciseness, the greatest stress should have been laid upon facts which are undoubted, and most attention paid to that species of argument which is least liable to objection. Hence, unless any such new light can be thrown upon a controverted point, as to establish it upon a firmer basis than any on which it stood before, or unless a different mode of reasoning be employed upon questions which have hitherto been found to 'engender strifes' and difficulties, such points and such

questions

questions should, in our opinion, be avoided. This appears to us reasonable, whether the work be intended for the satisfaction of the believer, or the confutation of the infidel. On this account, then, we could not but be sorry, when we saw a considerable portion of the volume appropriated to the subject of Types and Prophecy; because, in matters so much disputed, even the believer will require some originality to repay him for a new demand on his attention; and the infidel will not yield his assent to arguments, of which the force is not universally, or at least generally, acknowledged by believers themselves. When, therefore, we confess, that the subject of prophecies from the Old Testament, quoted and alluded to in the New, appears to us to have been more satisfactorily treated by Dr Sykes, in the preface to his Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, and by Bishop Chandler, in his Defence of the Christian Religion*, the venerable author of the work before us must excuse us, if we say, we should rejoice if he had devoted the pages in question to the elucidation of Oriental and Greek learning, or to the sensible dicates of his own excellent judgment.

We have indeed been much gratified by the plain but judicious manner

* The argument from prophecy is certainly much more striking in the aggregate, than in the detail. On this subject we shall take the liberty of borrowing the words of that sensible and liberal divine, Dr Jortin: 'That Christ was foretold by the prophets, may be shewed, I think, without an accurate discussion of single texts. There are, it may be, a hundred different passages in the Old Testament, relating to some person, whoever he be, one or more, and to certain considerable changes which should happen in the world. Christians say that they relate to Christ, and some of them are produced in these discourses. He who would see more, may consult Fabricius, *De Ver. Chr. Rel.* p. 569., and Huet *Dem. Ev.* prop. vii. History, sacred and profane, ancient and modern, will furnish us with a variety of heroes, kings, warriors, philosophers, and illustrious persons. If we endeavour to apply these passages in the Old Testament to any one of these great men, for example, to Judas Maccabæus, to Confucius, to Socrates, to Solon, to Numa, to Scipio Africanus, to Augustus Cæsar, &c. we immediately see that it is a vain attempt; that three-fourths of them are nowise suitable to his character and his deeds; and that it is easy to select many single ones amongst them, which cannot possibly be adapted to him. If we apply them to Christ, and to the religion established by him, a surprising correspondence immediately appears.

'To ascribe these coincidences to chance, is to give a very poor and unsatisfactory account of them. He who can believe that chance produced them, ought not to object credulity to Christians.' *Discourses concerning the Truth of the Christian Religion*, p. 177. (note.) 2d edit.

manner in which he has brought together the result of his investigation into Pagan opinions and practices, on subjects of religion and morals, and compared them with the Jewish and Christian institutions. The result of some particulars, in which he has thus compared them, may be best explained in his own words.

'We find, that as the bulk of mankind seemed, in the crowd of false gods which they worshipped, to have lost all sight of the true God; so it likewise may be said of the more learned, *that in their wisdom they knew not God.* Some there were, who held, indeed, the doctrine of a Supreme Intelligence; but they were neither well enough disposed, nor sufficiently able, to teach it as they ought, with sincerity or truth *. They formed conceptions unworthy of the Deity, making at the same time a number of subordinate beings the objects of worship; along with these, bringing in a train of fantastical, superstitious, and profane notions. And thus, while they prided themselves in the distinction of philosophers, they only showed, for the most part, a superiority over the vulgar, in being more ingenious in folly and absurdity.

'The power and strength of human reason, to investigate religious knowledge, must be seen and tried, if not in the popular establishments of a country, yet in the theories of the learned and inquisitive. But neither in the one nor the other do we meet with truth, pure and uncorrupt, without a mixture of error and elaborate folly. In the various regulations and institutions intended for public use; in all the inquiries undertaken for private information and improvement; in every effort of genius, to what purpose soever directed, men have failed of attaining to a system of religion, so just in its doctrines as that of the Jewish nation.

'And here the wonder will return upon us, if we set a divine interference aside, how it should happen, that this people professed a religion so very different from all other religious systems of every kind; those, more particularly, of their neighbours, who were held in such high estimation for science by the rest of the world. The learned came from the remotest countries, and were glad to borrow from the treasures of Chaldæa and Egypt: these were the great sources of knowledge. How was it, that the Jews drew not waters from these fountains, so much sought after by other people, and so near at hand to themselves? Or rather, we ought to ask, whence had they their clear and pure waters, when all the springs were everywhere muddy and corrupt?' p. 51.

The following observation appears to us solid as well as ingenious, and we do not recollect to have met with it before.

'Had

* See Bishop Warburton concerning their double doctrine: the one held out to the people in common; the other, what they taught their hearers in private. Vol. ii. B. 3. § 2, 3. Notissimum est, illud Platonis, Τον μεν ουν ποιητην και πατερα τουδε του παντος ευρειν τε εργον, και ευροντα εις παντας αδυνατον λεγειν. Timæ. p. 28.

'Had the law of the Jews been of human institution, it were to be expected, that Abraham would have appeared as the first giver and promulgator. He had left his native country, to go in quest of a new habitation, (Gen. xii.); and having fixed his seat in Canaan, in the midst of a warlike people, who were strangers to him, some rules and regulations might have been thought necessary for the convenience of him and his followers. At least, it is on such occasions, and from the like beginnings, that states and commonwealths have usually taken their first rise.

'He had not been long in Canaan, before he had an opportunity of signalizing himself in a war, in which the kings of the country had suffered a defeat; and he no sooner took a part in it, than he gave a turn to the action, and victory declared in his favour (Gen. xiv.). The country seems at that time to have been divided into a number of petty kingdoms; and Abraham appears to have possessed a force and strength, which, compared with that of his neighbours, was by no means inconsiderable. He was, besides, of that eminence and authority among his own people, which entitled him to become the head and founder of a state *. Thus he was in circumstances which both invited and required him, according to the usual rules of proceeding, to think of framing a system of laws, and of settling some form of government, for the security and establishment of him and his followers. Yet, it was not Abraham, but Moses, who, many years after, engaged in the office of giving laws to the people of the Jews; though, to all appearance, his situation was as discouraging, and as adverse to the purpose, as that of the former was favourable.' p. 64.

Had our author not confined himself to the outlines of his very extensive subject, or had he applied himself more intensely to those parts of his argument, which we think would have better repaid his attention and gratified his readers, we are of opinion, that he might have entered much more particularly into the detail of the Mosaic law, and shown its superiority over every other mere human institution, (especially of those which approach the nearest in point of time), by its correct notions of human duty, and its enlarged views of human comfort.

As it will be thought, from the nature of the topics enumerated above, that the discourse occasionally assumes the form of Polemic, we can assure our readers, that the tone of discussion employed by our author constitutes a most legitimate and Christian species of warfare. The only expression, throughout the whole work, to which even the most bitter hater of *Odium Theologicum* could, by any perverseness of construction, apply that appellation, is to the following:

'The

* Possibly Romulus, when he first laid the foundation of Rome, was not able to muster a much larger, certainly not a more respectable number of followers than Abraham at this time.

'The writer above alluded to, willing to persuade his readers, that the νους of Plato is the λογος of St John, goes on to observe, "that the theology of the Philosopher could never have been established by all his eloquence, had it not been confirmed by the celestial pen of the Evangelist:" an observation built on a false position; and is as groundless as it is insidious. "Dignosci queat," says Mosheim, "ex animæ mundi ψυχης doctrina in Timæo, ut et de νω mente in Philebo, quam parum Platonis quæ dicitur trinitas, cum Christiana consentiat."

With joy and gladness should we behold the time, when works of controversy shall appear upon any subject of religion, morals, or politics, or indeed upon any subject of inferior moment, (for it is not always true that the passions rise in due proportion to their real interest), with no more symptoms of acrimony than this. We should hail it as the dawn of those halcyon days which, we are assured, will attend the full prevalence of the holy religion we profess.

Upon the whole, we consider this volume as bearing honourable testimony to the industry, good sense, and candour, of its venerable author; and we recommend it, as furnishing a series of important facts and observations, to all ingenuous inquirers into the very interesting subject of which it treats.

ART. XV. *Travels of four years and a half in the United States of America, during* 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, *and* 1802. Dedicated, by permission, to Thomas Jefferson, Esq. President of the United States. By John Davis. 8vo. London. 1803.

MR DAVIS is a pedagogue, who would be a wit and a fine gentleman. He went to America avowedly as an adventurer, or, as he more elegantly expresses it, 'the architect of his own fortune;' and subsisted there, partly by translating occasional publications from the French, and partly by teaching children their rudiments in parish schools and private families. In this way, he appears to have roamed through the greater part of the Southern States, falling sentimentally in love with all his female pupils, and landladies' daughters, and changing his situation every two or three months, either because he was tired of it, or because his employers thought proper to dismiss him. His book is entirely occupied with the story of his own exploits and adventures, and ought rather to be called Memoirs of his Life, during his stay in America, than an account or description of the country. With the exception of some observations on the climate and state of society in Carolina, and a topographical account of the city of Washington,

ton, this book contains nothing of a descriptive nature, and little that is calculated to make a lasting impression on the mind. In running it over, we are indeed occasionally amused with a peep, as it were, at the manners of the people among whom he travelled; but of the state of agriculture, commerce, aud the arts, we learn nothing. Except the mocking bird and the rattle-snake, we hear very little of the productions of the country; and on the interesting subject of its government and politics, a total silence is observed. Mr Davis's observations seem principally to have been directed to the manners of the people of America; but, unfortunately, he had not an opportunity of visiting the New England states, where, in this particular, he would have met with the most originality and room for speculation; and, in the southern part of the Union, he seems to have directed his attention only to the lower classes of the people. His chief associates, indeed, appear to have been an itinerant English Doctor, and a wandering Irish schoolmaster, with whom he used to tipple porter and quote Virgil, and with several of whose epistolary effusions, both in verse and in prose, he has favoured the public in this volume.

Though we can assure our readers, that there is very little to be learned from these travels, yet, as they are preceded by a complimentary epistle from no less a person than the President of the United States, and as the author himself arraigns all preceding travellers of 'want of taste, want of literature, or incapacity for observation,' we think it adviseable to give a short sketch of his proceedings, and some few specimens of his own peculiar excellencies.

He landed at New York, where he translated Bonaparte's Campaign, and was introduced to Mr Burr, Vice-President of the United States, whose eloquence he praises in a line from Homer, and whose daughter he celebrates in a hemistich of Horace. Here, also, he used to drink Madeira with a Major Howe, who had unfortunately been metamorphosed into a deist by reading an odd volume of Gibbon's history.

'Before this period, the Major was a constant attendant on the Established Church; but he now enlisted himself under the banners of the infidel Palmer, who delivers lectures on deism at New-York, and *is securing for himself and followers considerable grants of land in hell.*' pp. 22. 23.

From New-York he walked to Philadelphia with his friend the physician; and though they must have passed through the greater part of the state of New Jersey, the only remarks that he favours us with, are, that he was prevented from sleeping at Elizabeth-

town

town by the barking of a huge mastiff, 'which noise it did not remit during the whole night, notwithstanding the Doctor put his head out of the window, and vociferated to him repeatedly;' and that at Trenton, the said Doctor, having an inflammation in his eyes, and happening to stumble as our author was leading him to his chamber, 'took an opportunity *comically enough* to observe, When the blind leads the blind, they shall both of them fall.'

At Philadelphia, they found the yellow fever; and, after moralizing a few days in its deserted streets, they embarked for Carolina, and were happily landed at Charleston. Here Mr Davis was admitted as usher to an Academy, but was dismissed in about six weeks, and accepted the place of tutor to the children of a rich planter, about eighty miles in the interior of the country. In this woodland retreat, Mr Davis appears to have given himself up to poetry and romance. He makes various observations upon the fragrance of the flowers, the clearness of the waters, and the melody of the birds; and, after contrasting the finery of the Carolina ladies with the graceful undress of Venus when she meets Æneas in the woods, he makes the following fine apostrophe to the place of his residence.

'*Coosohatchie!* thou shalt not be unknown, if, by what eloquence nature has given me, I can call forth corresponding emotions in the breast of my reader to those which my own felt when wandering silently through thy woods.' p. 74.

In the middle of these delicate and sentimental effusions, we were rather surprised to find our author start up in the character of a bloody huntsman.

'I generally accompanied my pupil into the woods in his shooting excursions, determined to make havoc both among birds and beasts of every description. Sometimes we fired in vollies at the flocks of doves that frequent the corn fields; sometimes we discharged our pieces at the wild geese, whose empty cackling betrayed them; and once we brought down some paroquets, that were directing their course over our heads to Georgia. Nor was it an undelightful task to fire at the squirrels on the tops of the highest trees, who, however artful, could seldom elude the shot of my eager companion.' p. 84.

The following remarks, however, are of a different character.

'In Carolina, the legislative and executive powers of the house belong to the mistress: the master has little or nothing to do with the administration: he is a monument of uxoriousness and passive endurance. The negroes are not without the discernment to perceive this; and when the husband resolves to flog them, they often throw themselves at the feet of the wife, and supplicate her mediation. But the ladies of

Carolina, and particularly those of Charleston, have little tenderness for their slaves. On the contrary, they send both their men-slaves and women-slaves, for the most venial trespass, to a hellish mansion, called the Sugar-house. Here a man employs inferior agents to scourge the poor negroes: a shilling for a dozen lashes is the charge. The man or woman is stripped naked to the waist: a redoubtable whip at every lash flays the back of the culprit, who, agonized at every pore, rends the air with his cries.

'Mrs D— informed me, that a *lady* of Charleston once observed to her, that she thought it abominably dear to pay a shilling for a dozen lashes; and that, having many slaves, she would bargain with the man at the Sugar-house to flog them by the year!' p. 90.

We give Mr Davis credit for the humanity of these observations, though they are certainly calculated to give the European reader a very exaggerated idea of the severity with which slaves are generally treated in America. In spring, he returned to Charleston, in the neighbourhood of which, he again met his friend George, the Irish schoolmaster; and, 'not more joyous,' says he, 'was the meeting of Flaccus and Maro at the Appian way.

'*O! qui complexus, et gaudia quanta fuerunt!*'

From Charleston he proceeded to Georgetown. That our readers may form some idea of the profit and pleasure to be derived from the narrative of this exemplary traveller, we insert the following passage.

'I supped and slept at a solitary tavern kept by young Mr Dubusk, whose three sisters might have sat to a painter for the Graces. Delicate were their shapes, transparent their skins, and the fire of their eyes drove the traveller to madness. Finding my young landlord companionable, I asked him why he did not pull down the sign of General Washington, that was over his door, and put up the portrait of his youngest sister. That, said he, would be a want of modesty; and, besides, if Jemima is really handsome, she can want no *effigy*; for good wine, as we landlords say, requires no bush.

'Mr Dubusk was a mighty great dancer. Indeed, he would frequently fall a capering, unconscious of being observed. But he swore he would dance no more in the day-time, because it was ungenteel. We drew our chairs near the fire after supper, when Mr Dubusk did his utmost to entertain me. He related, that, only a few nights before, some sparks had put a black pudding into his bed, which, by the moon-light through his window, his apprehension magnified into a black snake, and made him roar out, murder!' p. 117.

From Georgetown he returned to New York, where he was again hired as a pedagogue; and, upon the election of Mr Jefferson, followed the multitude to Washington, and was present at the

the delivery of his inaugural address, with a full copy of which he has generously presented his readers. At this period, a series of letters from his friend Mr George is introduced, of whom he is pleased to observe, 'that every thing that relates to him must be interesting to the poet, the wit, and the scholar.' As a specimen of his talents and his friend's taste, we shall insert a part of his first epistle.

'While devouring Newtown-pippins, and drinking cyder to the health of your bardship in my heart, the stage-driver brought me your welcome epistles. At first, the fellow pretended there was no letter for me, (I tolerate these liberties, because the Jehu has a pretty wife); but in a few minutes he delivered me the packet. *Jucundius est legere quam libere*; so I left the old parson, and his wife and his daughter, (her nose is like the tower of Lebanon looking towards Damascus), and I opened, O Devil! thy budget of satire. This has revived me; and I now walk about with your epistles in my hand, which, however, I am obliged to put down every five minutes, to hold both my sides while I laugh it out.

'By St Patrick, I swear, thou art above all men dear to me. I love thee with more than brotherly love. I hope we shall never part. In the vast deserts of the world, I never could have found such another friend as thyself; and (to speak in the language of classic antiquity) I think Apollo himself must have brought us acquainted.

'Tell me if you are about publishing your poems. Do not go far for a title. Nothing appears so stiff and pedantic as a little book with a magnificent title. Remember that Horace gives his odes no other name than *Carmina*, though he might have accumulated a thousand imposing epithets to decorate his title-page. It is rumoured you intend dedicating your effusions to Burr. Avert it, literature. Dedicate not the book to an American. Can Burr, or Maddison, or Adams, or even Jefferson, add to the reputation of him who aspires to be read on the banks of the Thames?' pp. 190. 191.

The concluding sentiments of this extract form but a small part of the acrimonious lucubrations which this book contains upon the literature and learning of America. We do not mean to deny the charge: literature is one of those *finer manufactures*, which a new country will always find it easier to import than to raise; there must be a great accumulation of stock in a nation, and a great subdivision of labour, before the arts of composition are brought to any extraordinary degree of perfection. The great avenues to wealth must all be filled, and many left idle in hereditary opulence or mediocrity, before there be leisure enough, among such a people, to relish the beauties of poetry, or to create an *effectual demand* for the productions of genius. But though these causes may for some time retain the genius of America in

a state of subordination to that of Europe, we cannot persuade ourselves that its condition has ever been so deplorable as to form a proper object for the contempt of Mr Davis or his friend. There are an hundred authors in America, who would be ashamed to write like either of them, and ten thousand men who are not authors, that are entitled to feel compassion for their insolence and their vanity. The truth is, that American genius has displayed itself, wherever inducements have been held out for its exertion. Their party pamphlets, though disgraced with much intemperance and scurrility, are written with a keenness and spirit, that is not often to be found in the old world; and their orators, though occasionally declamatory and turgid, frequently possess a vehemence, correctness, and animation, that would command the admiration of any European audience, and excite the astonishment of those philosophers who have been taught to consider the western hemisphere as a grand receptacle for the *degeneracies* of nature.

In a subsequent visit to Washington, Mr Davis was present at a learned dispute between a Virginian and a New-England man, about the literary merits of Franklin. The latter, enthusiastic in all that related to his countryman, asserted that the Doctor, being self-taught, was original in every thing he had published. To this the Virginian replied, that his writings, so far from being original, exhibit nothing but a transposition of the thoughts of others; in short, that he was a downright plagiarist. After some altercation, they agreed to decide the point by wager. The Virginian immediately produced two books; and, by comparing the passages, proved, to the entire satisfaction of the company, that the celebrated parable of Franklin against persecution, is copied nearly *verbatim* from Bishop Taylor's polemical discourses. He afterwards clearly demonstrated also, that the much admired epitaph of the philosopher, is taken from one in Latin written on the bookseller Tonson, by an Eton scholar, an English translation of which was given in the Gentleman's Magazine for February 1736. Most of our readers hold in their recollection that of Franklin. We insert the concluding lines of the other, in which the resemblance is sufficiently striking.

> 'Hic jacet bibliopola,
> *Folio* vitæ delapso,
> Expectans *Novam Editionem*
> *Auctiorem* et *Emendatiorem.*'

Not content with these proofs, the gentleman went on to convince his opponent, 'that the pretended discovery of calming troubled waters by pouring oil upon them, may be found in Bede's History

History of the Church; and that the facetious essay on the air bath, is poached word for word from Aubrey's Miscellanies.' We do not remember to have met with these detections before, and are not prepared to enter into any controversy on the subject *. It is certain, however, that the enlightened part of the American community begin now to consider this boasted character in a very ambiguous point of view, and to attach much less consequence and veneration to his memory than formerly. To him they are certainly indebted for some very important public services, and for his strenuous endeavours to introduce among them a taste for science and literature; but, on the other hand, his canting exhortations to extreme frugality, have had their effect in preventing the expansion of the noblest principles of the mind; and his example in the dereliction of religion, has certainly lent an unfortunate support to the cause of scepticism and infidelity.

During his stay in the metropolis, Mr Davis was present at one of the most interesting debates with which the House of Representatives has been occupied since the accession of the present President. One of the very first measures of that administration, was to propose the absolute and entire abolition of all internal taxes, comprehending those which had been imposed on distilled liquors, on refined sugars, on licenses to retailers of wine and spirits, on sales by auction, on carriages, and on stamps, and to substitute in their place certain customs and duties on the importation of foreign commodities. This step, we are afraid, was taken rather from a strong

* The parable, we believe, was never claimed, nor avowed by Franklin, as one of his compositions; and, as to some of the other articles, we must be permitted to doubt the accuracy of the Virginian gentleman's information. In the ecclesiastical history of venerable Bede, we have not been able to find any account of a tempest calmed by oil. But cap. 1. lib. 5. contains an anecdote of *Oidwaldus Amantissimus Deo Pater*, which probably misled the American scholar; for that worthy person is there related to have quelled a violent tempest '*orando*;' and the Virginian probably conceived that *orandum* is the Latin for oil.

The antiquity of the fact respecting oil cannot, however, be questioned. We find in Pliny, Nat. Hist. II. 106. '*omne mare oleo tranquillari*;'—and Plutarch, Quæst. Nat. p. 914. speaks of the

'πλαφανεια και γαληνη θαλαττης ελαιω καλαρραινομενης.'

We think it much less likely, that Franklin should have met with this fact in venerable Bede, or even in Pliny and Plutarch, than that he should have taken the hint at second hand from some quotation in more popular works.

strong desire of popularity, than from any sound or deliberate principle of financial reformation. Old established taxes are commonly paid with the least reluctance, and the amount of those that were levied in America, was confessedly very inconsiderable. By the repeal, a deviation is made from what a celebrated writer has denominated the 'plain high road of finance;' the revenue of the country must be entirely drawn from the fluctuating source of commerce; a dependence is placed on the very winds and waves; and, in case of a war, which the history of the X. Y. Z. negotiation and the affair of New Orleans lead us to consider as an occurrence by no means so improbable as some affect to suppose, this resource must be in a great measure cut off; and it will then be necessary to resort again to those very taxes, the imposition of which, at first, occasioned an insurrection, but to which the people had become accustomed and reconciled. The repeal does not appear to have been supported so much on the idea of any individual tax being exceptionable, as in conformity to a regular and peculiar system of policy, objecting to the principles of internal taxation. If any particular tax had been considered as burdensome or unequal, it ought certainly to have been modified or withdrawn; but we must confess ourselves utterly at a loss to comprehend the inducements to an entire and indiscriminate annihilation of these sources of revenue.

Of these imposts, that on stamps, particularly, excited the interest of the community; and although, in a commercial country, a duty of this nature must be extremely productive, and though we are disposed to think, none can be of more just or equable operation; yet, as the very mention of a stamp act, though imposed by his own representatives, is grating to the ear of the American citizen, and calls up to his mind remembrances of an unpleasing nature, we can readily conceive, that a timid and cautious administration might have urged the substitution of some other in its stead, or even have consented to its abolition, until a more awful and imposing crisis. But as for the duties on stills and distilled liquors, to which but a temporary resistance was made by the deluded inhabitants of the western parts of Pennsylvania, not only the necessities of government, but the policy of checking a most general and odious vice, the bane of social and domestic happiness, required their continuance. Where spirituous liquors, both of home and foreign manufacture, are in such vast abundance, and so easily procured, a perpetual allurement and irresistible temptation is held out to intemperance.

The

The consequence is, that in no country is habitual drunkenness so prevalent as in the United States; and, instead of augmenting the evil, the wholesome interposition of legislative controul is imperiously demanded for its diminution.

The repeal of the other taxes, such as those on auctions, licenses, carriages, and refined sugars, must at first sight appear equally inexpedient, as nothing could afford a more legitimate subject for the exercise of the just and received notions of taxation than each of these. To us, it seems a strange inconsistency, that the Nabob who lolls in his coach, and who consumes refined sugar or wine from the retailer, should give nothing for the enjoyment of these luxuries, while those in the more humble walks of life are obliged to pay an high price for the imported necessaries of life. Could the idea be entertained that the people were too much burthened, it would certainly have been better, as the federalists proposed, to lessen or take off entirely the duties on salt, brown sugar, the cheaper teas, the coarser manufactures; and indeed, from all those articles which the poorer part of the community have the greatest reason to require, in which they are more immediately concerned, and which arise rather from the necessities than the refinement of human nature.

Notwithstanding, however, the reasoning and the clamours of the federal party, it is known that the bill passed both the Senate and House of Representatives, and immediately received the approbation of the President.

Our author, after observing that Mr Randolph was the most eloquent in the discussion, and that he addressed the House fully an hour in favour of the repeal of the duty on domestic distilled liquors, dismisses the subject, with this single profound remark.

'I took great interest in this debate, *for I consider whiskey very cheering;* but I thought it curious that a member from Virginia should stand up for the repeal of the tax upon that liquor, which, now it is become cheaper, will throw many of his countrymen off their feet!'

After his return from Washington, Mr Davis took up a small school at Occoquan, in the neighbourhood (he says) of some flour-mills, that made as loud a noise as the cataract of Niagara; and happening to see a few straggling Indians in their way through the country, he takes the opportunity of introducing a romantic legend, about the Indian *Princess* Pocahontas, daughter of the *Emperor* Powhatan, who fell in love with Captain Smith, soon after the first colonization of Virginia. We never met with any thing more abominably stupid than this story, and must be excused for passing it over with very little notice, though

though Mr Davis is pleased to say, 'this part of my volume, many of my fair readers will, I am persuaded, *hug with the tenderest emotion to their bosoms.*' All that we can understand of the story is this: Captain Smith runs away from Pocahontas, and Captain Rolfe falls in love with her; and she, after weeping some time for the fugitive hero, marries the living one, and comes over to England with him, where she lives at Brentford, and dies at Gravesend. As a specimen of our author's talent in novel writing, we add the following affecting account of Captain Rolfe's appearance in love.

'He delighted in the secrecy of his solitude, where he could indulge, undisturbed, the emotions that *Pocahontas* had excited; he wandered dejected by moon-light along the banks of the river; and he who once was remarked for dressing himself with studied elegance, now walked about with his stockings ungartered:

'*Omnia vincit amor; nos et cedamus amori.* VIRG.' p. 283.

In about three months, Mr Davis became wearied with his situation at Occoquan, because he had not 'found any female disciple with expressive dark eyes, to consider his instructions as oracular;'—'so he returned to Philadelphia, and from that place, proceeded to New York.' This is his own account of his progress.

'From Philadelphia I travelled to New-York, partly by water, and partly by land. In the passage-boat to Burlinton was a sweet girl of seventeen, whose voice was music; and *who observed that the Pennsylvania shore of the Delaware was much more pleasant than the Jersey side.*' p. 312.

He then travelled for a day with an old man, 'whose lungs were ulcerated with blasphemy;' and was fortunate enough in the concluding part of his journey, to sup with an elegant landlady and her sister, on whose table he found an old novel, 'the concluding pages of which seemed to have been moistened with the tears of sensibility.'

After some farther perambulation, our author again takes up a school in the interior of Virginia, where he falls in love with one of his pupils; and after the usual term of three months, is dismissed to make room for a more steady and diligent instructor. From this place, he marched indignantly to Baltimore, where finding a shipmaster liberal enough to take his word for payment of his passage across the Atlantic, he thought such an opportunity was not to be neglected, and was wafted back to England, to prepare this volume for the instruction of his countrymen.

Our readers will now be pretty well able to judge, whether the

the President of the United States has selected for his patronage, the most profound and discerning of all his visitors, or whether the travels of Mr Davis are perfectly fitted for all the purposes of such a publication. Of his style, a pretty correct judgment may be formed from the specimens we have already exhibited; but as he is pleased to say, that 'in what relates to the structure of his sentences, he does not fear competition with those who have reposed from their youth under the shade of academic bowers,' it is nothing more than justice to add one word upon that subject. The style and phraseology of this book, is made up of pedantry, affectation, and vulgarity. At one time, we hear of mountains 'losing their lofty summits in the clouds;' and at another, of a bewitching damsel, who 'had two balls of pitch stuck in her head for eyes.' A reverend professor is said to be very *voluminous*, 'because he would admit no book under the size of a folio on his shelves;' and the author himself is described as having been *bounded* from one town to another, and as having accompanied his pupils with great condescension in the exercises of fishing and *gunning*. We learn also, that he purchased a lap-dog *because of* its littleness; that he had a mind *not inductile* to wit and humour; and that his style is infected with no colloquial barbarisms.

Such is Mr Davis's performance, which is to supersede the use of all past, and all future travels in America; and to serve for a model to all who may hereafter visit remote regions for the instruction of their countrymen. The attempt, however, in which he has failed, has not yet been attended with very eminent success in the hands of any other. The productions of Monsieur Brissot, Mr Weld, and the Duc de Liancour, are certainly of a class far superior to that which is now before us: but an accurate, unprejudiced, and philosophical account of the United States, is still a *desideratum* in Literature. We have for some time been expecting from the pen of an enlightened foreigner, already celebrated for his travels in Egypt and Syria, the result of his observations on this interesting country, and have greatly regretted the circumstances which have so long withheld this gratification from the public.

ART. XVI. *Lectures on Painting.* Delivered at the Royal Academy, March 1801. By Henry Fuseli, P. P. With additional Observations and Notes. London: Johnson. 1801. pp. 151. 4to.

THE very philosophical views exhibited in every part of the discourses of the late illustrious President had opened a path in the art of painting, almost equal in novelty and extent to that

which had been pointed out in science by the invaluable productions of Bacon. The general approbation of his countrymen was well bestowed on that correctness of judgment, comprehensiveness of understanding, chasteness of conception, and modest simplicity of style, which characterized the works of Sir Joshua Reynolds's pen, as well as of his pencil; and lovers of the art had a right to expect, that, with such an example in view, his followers would not fail to carry on the work of improvement, which had so long been required, and which he had so ably commenced.

Was the author of the performance now before us, ignorant that these were the sources of the approbation bestowed upon his predecessor? Or was he actuated in publishing it by the same motives of ludicrous vanity, which lately influenced the first painter of a great nation to exhibit for public inspection, under the same roof with the transfiguration, his miserable composition of the Sabines, as deficient in execution, as it is wretched in design?

That our author is no stranger to the influence of such motives, is manifest from that singular specimen of vanity and assurance, which is offered as an exordium to these lectures, and which must produce an effect directly contrary to that which was obviously intended.

After some magnificent observations, which, if they have any meaning, are intended to prove, that it is more difficult to treat a subject after preparation than before it, our author has been at the trouble of extracting from the laws of the academy, those passages which allude to the province of the lecturer; and, in the most obscure language, delivers his comments upon the qualifications of his station. Amongst those qualities, which are required by the laws, we find properly enough placed, perspicuity of method, and command of words. It is doubtless in allusion to his glaring deficiency in these requisites, a deficiency which he himself has discovered, that our author introduces the old adage, obscured in a mist of language through which we can scarcely discern it, 'you must take the will for the deed.' With regard to the plan of the work, we are informed, that a *progressive* method is to be observed; and indeed, until we read the next sentence, we could not conceive that any other method was possible. But he immediately shows us very clearly, that his method is not to be progressive, by adding, that this 'will enable him on future occasions to treat more fully those parts, which the pressure of others, seemingly or really more important, has obliged him to dismiss more abruptly, or with less consideration, than they have a right to claim.' This is so confused a circumlocution, that it describes

scribes nothing very accurately; but it is much nearer to a description of a retrograde, than of a progressive method.

After a flattering account of the substance of lectures which the author means to deliver, we are disappointed with the information, that the present are only to be considered as fragments; and various obstacles which have occurred, are enumerated as an excuse for their incompleteness. We cannot but consider it highly unjustifiable in any man to *undertake* an office which is of great importance, and to suffer himself to be prevented by any surmountable obstacles from the performance of his duty.

In his *definitions*, we cannot give our author credit for being often understood; and, when intelligible, we think him generally inaccurate. By *Nature*, he says, he understands 'the general and permanent principles of visible objects, not disfigured by accident, or distempered by disease; not modified by fashion or local habits.' If by disfiguring, he meant alteration of form from the usual standard, and by accident any irregular cause of change, we should be inclined to pronounce this definition too unqualified for a lecture on painting. Disfiguring by accident, occurs so frequently in nature, and sometimes contributes so indisputably to the picturesque, that we are astonished any painter should have thought of making it an exception to the general idea of 'natural.' He proceeds, 'Nature is a collective idea, and, though its essence exists in every individual of the species, can never, in its perfection, inhabit a single object.' To assert that any thing in nature is imperfect, or that the essence of nature can be otherwise than perfect in any individual, appears to us to savour of paradox. Modified as the assertion ought to have been, by a reference to the contracted views of art, and the incomprehensive conceptions of man, it would still be scarcely admissible.

Speaking of *beauty*, he says,

'On *beauty* I do not mean to perplex you or myself with abstract ideas, and the romantic reveries of platonic philosophy, or to inquire whether it be the result of a simple or complex principle. As a local idea, beauty is a despotic princess, and subject to the anarchies of despotism; enthroned to-day, dethroned to-morrow. The beauty we acknowledge, is that harmonious whole of the human frame, that unison of parts to one end, which enchants us; the result of the standard set by the great masters of our art, the ancients, and confirmed by the submissive verdict of modern imitation.' p. 5.

In this exquisite passage, we suspect the author has perplexed himself; at least, we know he has perplexed his readers. In smoothness of numbers, it is far inferior to the celebrated song by a person of quality; but, in the other great attribute of that composition,

composition, it may boldly challenge a comparison. What shall we say of a brain, that can combine such a motley group of incongruous images, as 'beauty the result of complex principle'—'beauty a despot'—'this despot subject to tyranny'—'qualities dethroned'—'a principle, the harmonious whole of the human frame'—'a quality, the unison of parts'—'a despot, the result of a standard'—and 'modern imitation returning a verdict.'

Of *grace* we have a definition somewhat more intelligible, but equally imperfect in a general view, and inapplicable to particular cases. It is ridiculous to say, that grace is nowhere to be met with, but in a balance of motion and repose. What becomes of the Endymions, Fawns, and other sleeping figures, which are perfectly graceful, although repose constitutes the chief character? Applied to execution, he adds, that it means 'that dexterous power, which hides the means by which it was attained, the difficulties it has conquered.' We doubt much, whether grace alone can be said to do this, though we do not deny that the art, to which our author alludes, contributes in some measure to the perfection of grace.

On the subject of *genius*, a very ill-timed and inconsistent reserve is affected. The lecturer tells us, that 'he speaks of genius with reserve; for no word has been more indiscriminately confounded.' He then defines it to be 'that power, which enlarges the circle of human knowledge, or combines the known with novelty.' If he had said at once, that genius is the power of making new combinations, which are pleasing or elevating to the mind, we should have conceived that he at least knew what he meant by the term of which he is speaking.

'Guided by these preliminaries,' he proceeds, 'we now approach that happy coast (Greece), where, from an arbitrary hieroglyph, the palliative of ignorance, from a tool of despotism, or a ponderous monument of eternal sleep, Art emerged into life, motion and liberty.' p. 7.

Geography, medicine, carpenters' shops, Egyptian pyramids!!! There is, at least, some variety in this strange jumble of images; but the remainder of the passage is only a heap of unconnected sounds. Indeed, from the specimens that we have already given, our readers will be inclined to agree with us, in allotting to Mr Fuseli the very first rank among that class of artists, who employ themselves in covering paper with certain alphabetical characters, that bear a delusive resemblance to significant composition.

The rest of the first lecture is employed in describing the origin and progress of the Greek art. Amongst the reasons given for the excellence of the Greek painters, one is, 'that simplicity of their

their end, that uniformity of pursuit, which, in all its derivations, retraced the great principle from which it sprung, and, like a central stamen, drew it out into one immense connected web of congenial imitation.' With the sublimity of this passage our author seems to have been so fully impressed, that he has emphatically introduced it in another part of his work.

After some borrowed conjectures on the rudiments of art among the Greeks, and a prolix, uninteresting detail of rather more than is known concerning Polygnotos, Aglaophon, Phidias, Panænus, Colotes, and Evenor, he draws up a fine, though imaginary character, of Apollodorus the Athenian, which may be recommended to the perusal of our readers, as one of the very few specimens of tolerable composition which are to be met with in this work. We must, however, observe, that the merit of Apollodorus, in the conception of his Ajax, seems to have been almost equalled by the noble strength and expression of the original description; which Mr Fuseli has only parodied, where he talks of 'the figure of Ajax wrecked; and, from the sea-swept rock, hurling defiance into the murky sky.'

The character of Zeuxis's style is not ill drawn. Doubting, at first, whether he shall assign the praise of genius to him, our author at last comes to a determination in his favour. We cannot, however, imagine why he should think it a necessary conclusion, that because Zeuxis was endowed with the power of invention, he must therefore have been a grand and beautiful *colourist*. Innumerable cases have occurred in the history of the Art, to prove that these two perfections cannot easily be united. It would perhaps not be going too far, to lay down as a general maxim, that superior merit in one of those departments is incompatible with excellence in the other.

The following attempt is made to explain the manner in which this painter embodied by signs the Athenian Δημος, as 'the only supposition which can shed a dawn of possibility on what else appears impossible.'

'Perhaps he traced the jarring branches to their source, the aboriginal moral principle of the Athenian character, which he made intuitive.'

In a long dissertation on Timanthes's celebrated picture of Iphigenia, our author combats the opinions of Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Falconet; and decides, that

'He did not hide the face of Agamemnon, because it was beyond the power of his art; not because it was beyond the *possibility*, but because it was beyond the *dignity* of expression.'

Notwithstanding

Notwithstanding the authorities so copiously cited by our author in favour of the concealing system, we would, in the first place, beg leave to suggest, that the rule does not, as by his practice he seems to think, apply to writing; but that, in that art, it is always expedient to give the reader a full view of what is meant. And secondly, that with respect to painting; those subjects, in our opinion, are totally unfit for the painter, however strictly conformable they may be to Nature, which necessarily involve concealment, even though this be required by propriety. By excellence of execution, it is true, a skilful artist may sometimes cover the defects of his subject. But a judicious painter will avoid unnecessary difficulties; and most assuredly we can derive no pleasure from the contemplation of concealed forms, except perhaps the very trifling gratification of being able to commend the workman's sense of propriety.

Our author's account of the third æra of the Greek arts contains a well drawn character of Apelles, and some just remarks on the possibility of uniting various characters in one subject, without injury to the primary feature.

The second lecture commences with an account of the restoration of the art in the fifteenth century, and then details its progress, as advanced by the genius and industry of Masaccio, Mantegna, Luca, Leonardo da Vinci, Bartolomeo della Pata, Michael Angelo, Raphael Sanzio, Titian, Correggio, &c.

The account which our author gives of these artists, is equally correct and trite; not, indeed, that the same sentiments were, ever since the flood, couched in such inimitable language. Our author has the peculiar talent of diffusing around the most common-place ideas which a man can conceive, such a glare of absurd expression, and of daubing over his sketches with such a violent and fantastic colouring, that it frequently requires a little reflection to recognize the most familiar object. Leonardo da Vinci, we are told, was 'all ear, all eye, all grasp;' and, after a pompous account of the magnificence of those various powers of painting, sculpture, and architecture, which were required in Michael Angelo, for the accomplishment of his great work, the Cupola of St Peter's, our author sums up his character, by saying, 'such, take him all in all, was Michael Angelo, *the salt of art.*' In a note upon this great man's sensibility to the beauties of oil colour, our author compares oil paint to fruit, and descants upon its glow, its juice, its richness, and its pulp. We never before heard of the *juice* of oil colour, and can only venture a conjecture that our author alluded to the turpentine; and that by the *pulp*, he meant to express some of the drying oils, or perhaps macgellup.

The

The character given of Raphael has some merit; that of Titian is indecent in the expression, though pretty justly conceived; and Correggio's manner is happily, though fancifully described, as affecting us 'with the soft emotions of a delicious dream.' We can by no means, however, agree with our author, that if impropriety of ornament were to be fixed by definition, the subjects of the Farnese gallery might be quoted as the most decisive instance. The licenses in which An. Caracci, and many of his cotemporary artists indulged, when, without respect to the rules of arbitrary propriety, they eagerly seized upon every opportunity of exalting their art, and displaying the full extent of their powers, call to our remembrance that great sculptor of antiquity, who proposed a huge mountain as the block from which to chisel out a human form, and only waited the commands of Alexander to make from these vast materials, a statue as durable as the world, holding, in its left hand, a city, with a myriad of inhabitants, and pouring from its right a mighty river into the sea!

In speaking of the Dutch school, we are told that Rubens 'first spread that ideal pallet, which reduced to its standard the variety of Nature, and, once methodized, whilst his mind tuned the method, shortened or superseded individual imitation.' All comment upon this absurd passage is unnecessary.

The second lecture concludes with a glance at the state of art in England, from the age of Henry the Eighth, to our own. We present our readers with the following correct, but too concise observations, on a subject which was worthy of more attention.

'Whilst Francis I. was busied, not to aggregate a mass of painted and chiselled treasures, merely to gratify his own vanity, and brood over them with sterile avarice, but to scatter the seeds of taste over France, by calling, employing, enriching Andrea del Sarto, Rustici, Rosso, Primaticcio, Cellini, Niccolo; in England, Holbein and Torregiano, under Henry; and Federigo Zucchero, under Elizabeth, were condemned to Gothic work and portrait painting. Charles, indeed, called Rubens and his scholars to provoke the latent English spark; but the effect was intercepted by his destiny. His son, in possession of the cartoons of Raphael, and with the magnificence of Whitehall before his eyes, suffered Verio to contaminate the walls of his palaces, or degraded Lely to paint the Cymons and Iphigenias of his Court; whilst the manner of Kneller swept completely what yet might be left of taste, under his successors: such was the equally contemptible and deplorable state of English art, till the genius of Reynolds first rescued from the mannered depravation of foreigners his own branch, and soon extended his view to the higher departments of art.'

Here was a favourable opportunity afforded to our author, for adding

adding his testimony to that of his illustrious predecessor, on a subject which interests the Academy at large, and the lecturer in particular. It will be readily seen, that we allude to the great importance of establishing a museum, furnished with such specimens of the arts as would serve to illustrate the dry details of systematic works.

In no instance, has a more convincing proof been given of the trite maxim, '*Segnius irritant animos*,' &c. than in the slow proficiency made by those artists, who, confined to our own kingdom, have been unable to contemplate the original models, of which even the descriptions of Mr Fuseli give such inadequate ideas. To say, that those who enjoy the opportunity of travelling do not all derive proportionate advantage, is perhaps only to say, that they have fallen into the same fatal errors with those students of philosophy, morals, politics, who have been educated on the same plan. Dazzled at once by the splendour of generalities, they have ever afterwards disdained to pursue the humbler, and to them apparently obscure paths of minuter science.

In the third lecture, a subject more dignified in its nature, and topics of more practical importance are so much overwhelmed with bombast, confused imagery, and useless unintelligible metaphysical disquisitions, that we very sincerely doubt, whether, to use our author's own words, 'invention will discover any gold, by penetrating athwart the outward crust of the rock into the composition of its materials.' The principal subject of the lecture is *Invention*, a term, of which our author seems to have a very obscure notion in its abstract sense, and which he explains by allusions which furnish instances of any thing but invention. He tells us, that 'representation of form in figure, constitutes the physical element of the art; character and action the moral.' Invention is described as the most eminent of the 'technic powers;' and the justness of the appellation is maintained by an 'appeal to the explicit acknowledgment of all ages, and the silent testimony of every breast.' Our author, however, soon after talks of that intuition into the sudden movements of nature, which the Greeks call φαντασιαι. If we have any glimmering of his meaning in this passage, we cannot discover the slightest connexion between φαντασιαι, as thus defined, and invention, Shakespeare and Theon, whose warrior our author describes most pompously and most unnecessarily, are given as instances of men who possessed the 'radiant recollection of associated ideas, the spontaneous ebullition of nature.' Michael Angelo, too, is quoted as an example, and his genius is compared to 'sparks flying from a red-hot iron.'

The

The characters of specific invention are tolerably well exemplified by full descriptions of M. Angelo's Frescoes in the Capella Sestina. As instances of the dramatic style, in which Raphael was unquestionably the greatest master, our author alludes to his Cartoons, and to the 'allegoric drama that fills the stanzas, and displays the brightest ornament of the Vatican.' He adds some observations on the historic style, and a few very just and prudential remarks on the propriety of temperance and moderation in plagiarism.

We perfectly agree with him in opinion upon the unity of time, which is to be found in the Transfiguration, and think that every attentive contemplator of that divine performance must learn with astonishment, that this characteristic quality should have been so long a matter of controversy among critics.

Such, so far as we can discover, is the substance of the Lectures now before us. From the several particulars which we have detailed, we believe that most of our readers will agree with us in drawing one conclusion, that whether we consider our author's selection of subjects, or his manner of treating them, these lessons are equally ill calculated to furnish the solid practical advantages proposed by the institution, and required by the greater part of the pupils for whom they were intended. The Professor has taken ample care to set before us, in a clear light, the extent of his failure in performing the duties of his station; for he has descanted much upon the nature of those duties in a copious commentary on the laws of the Academy; by which standard we are willing to estimate his merits. We will venture to pronounce, without any degree of hesitation, that his efforts have for the most part failed. He has neither displayed 'knowledge founded on theory, substantiated and matured by practice,' nor 'a mass of well-selected and digested materials,' nor 'perspicuity of method,' nor 'command of words.' It is of infinitely less importance to inquire, if he is endued with that 'presence of mind, and that resolution, the result of conscious vigour, which, in submitting to correct mistakes, cannot easily be discountenanced.' That he has, at least, one of the requisites which he considers necessary in the professor of painting, 'an imagination to place things in such views as they are not commonly seen in,' we readily allow; he has indeed placed them in such views as no one ever did, or ever will see them in. His performance is one great mass of shade, unbroken by a single gleam which might lead us to discover the objects upon which he is employed. From the real difficulties of his task, which, however, he has very carefully enumerated, he has kept at so respectful a distance, that we can form no judgment with respect to the pro-

bable success of his prowess, should he hereafter attempt to encounter them.

We cannot conclude, without passing our decided censure upon a practice, not peculiar indeed to our author, but as unworthy of a philosopher, as it is foreign from the duties of a practical instructor; we mean, the practice of illustrating all subjects by toilsome and unproductive researches into those mines of antiquity, in which, while the labourer is dazzled by the specious appearance of valuable ores, nothing is to be found but a confused mass of rubbish or dross, from which all the valuable metal had been long ago extracted. In practical lessons of painting to the operative student of the art, we should be glad to hear no more of skiagrams, monograms, monochroms, cestrums, polychroms, and the whole heap of scholastic trash for which the present Professor cherishes so unnatural a veneration.

After all, we must allow him some praise for modestly appreciating the practical importance of his work. Convinced, it should seem, of its inutility, he has placed the book beyond the reach of that class of men for whom it was composed, by a compliance with the modish and ridiculously expensive form of publication; and he has removed the meaning beyond the reach of *all*, by composing in such an unintelligible jargon, as no reader can hope to decypher, without an extravagant waste of time and attention.

After the large specimens which we have given, and without which our readers might have blamed the severity of our judgement, we think ourselves amply justified in summing up Mr Fuseli's character as a writer, in the words of the poet (Shakespeare):

> 'Taffata phrases, silken terms precise,
> Three-piled hyperboles, spruce affectation,
> Figures pedantical, this summer fly
> Have blown quite full of maggot ostentation.'

ART. XVII. *Odes of Anacreon.* Translated into English Verse; with Notes. By Thomas Moore Esq. of the Middle Temple. Third Edition, 12mo. London. Carpenter. 1803. pp. 322.

We are informed, that the name on the title-page of this book does not announce to us a new candidate for literary distinction; but that it is well known to be a variety of the appellation by which the author was pleased to distinguish himself, when, a few years ago, he submitted to the public the Effusions of Mr Thomas Little. By this change of title, we conclude Mr Moore means to intimate that he has now attained that maturity of

of genius which may enable him to meet the decision of the public in his own person; and that he will not hereafter plead insignificance in mitigation of his offences, or seek shelter, in obscurity, from the punishment which morality and criticism must concur in awarding to the peculiar vein of inspiration by which he is distinguished.

It was probably a similar confidence in his growing powers, that induced Mr Moore to undertake a new version of a work already so often translated; for there does not appear to have been any other excitement to the task, but the hope of excelling his predecessors. It may be doubted, whether the interests of morality required that Anacreon should be presented to the public in a new and more seductive dress; and there are many, we suspect, who will be inclined to think that the world was long ago sufficiently well instructed in his maxims. Though far from being one of the most licentious writers of antiquity, he often trespasses against delicacy; and we believe it would be difficult to point out any classical writer, whose pen has done smaller service to the cause of virtue or good citizenship. To such of our readers as have the slightest knowledge of the poems in question, this remark will appear superfluous. But it is extorted from us by the very singular tenor of Mr Moore's preface, and more particularly by the unusual expressions which he employs to characterize his favourite bard.

'In truth (says he) if we omit those vices in our estimate, which ethnic religion not only connived at, but consecrated, we shall say that the disposition of our poet was amiable; his morality was relaxed, but not abandoned; and Virtue, with her zone loosened, may be an emblem of the character of Anacreon.'

By what unheard of metamorphoses, both of character and sex, Anacreon came to resemble *Virtue, with her zone loosened*, we cannot imagine. If the bard of Teos must be a woman, and if the fancy of a zone must enter into the description, we should think 'the reeling goddess with the zoneless waist' a comparison fully as natural, and a little more true. The assertion, that Anacreon will be found very amiable, if his heathen vices are laid out of the account, is saying but little for his character, and nothing at all for the tendency of his works. If the ideas which he suggests to us are of a nature not to be admitted into a virtuous mind in the present day, it signifies but little that they were deemed less offensive at a remote period.

But let us, as Mr Moore has prudently done, shut our eyes to the more glaring offences of the poet; and after all, we apprehend his character will have little to boast of. Mr Moore says much of his benevolence; but neither of this, nor of any other moral

moral quality, have we been able to discover more than two faint traits in the whole of his works. One or two of his odes show, that he looked with an indulgent eye on the indiscretions of youth; and another, that he was averse to slander, and was not quarrelsome in his cups. In all the rest of his poems, the topic of moral praise is exhausted, when you have admitted that he is an elegant libertine. He is the father of that kind of poetry, in which freedom from care, and the praises of wine and of love, are the constant, and almost the only topics; and though he is by no means so relaxed or so inflammatory as some of his imitators and translators, yet he never appears in any other character than that of a lover of the bottle, an admirer of the fair, and the eulogist of improvidence

After having adopted ideas equally remote from the common opinion, and from truth, it would be surprising if Mr Moore maintained any consistency throughout this extraordinary preface; and, accordingly, we often observe him struggling between an absurd wish to canonize Anacreon, and the obtrusive sense of his human imperfections. Had he been content to allow the poet his due praise, and no more, we should not have met with sentences like the following:

'His descriptions are warm; but the warmth is in the ideas, not the words.' p. 21. Preface.

It might be fairly asserted, that this defence is absolutely unintelligible. But let us be metaphysical, and admit the distinction to be founded upon a difference; still we must maintain that it is one from which no consequence can be deduced. It is plain, that these warm ideas either are, or are not, suggested by the words employed; if they are suggested, the words have all that kind of warmth of which language is susceptible, as nobody ever looked for the caloric, or palpable fire of the chemists, in the letters of which those words are composed. But if, on the other hand, the imagery is not suggested by the terms, with what justice can we attribute it to Anacreon? The truth is, we suspect that Mr Moore has used this notably subtile form of expression, to express merely that the language of Anacreon is not gross. Must we repeat what has been so often said, that grossness (however degraded a state of mind it may indicate) is not one of the most dangerous qualities in amorous compositions? We recal to memory this hackneyed observation for the sake of our readers only; for Mr Moore has shewn, in the following passage quoted from a note, that he himself was quite familiar with the doctrine:

'The picture here (says he) has all the delicate character of the *semireducta Venus*—and is the sweetest emblem of what the poetry of passion

passion ought to be; glowing, but through a veil, and stealing upon the heart from concealment.' Vol. ii. p. 72.

We should have thought that to say thus much, in order to prove Anacreon no saint, was the *ne plus ultra* of serious trifling; but we were in a manner forced to it by Mr Moore's misrepresentations: For, besides the extravagant paragraphs already noticed, we meet with the following note upon the words, Τὸν Ἀνακρέοντα μιμοῦ,'—*Imitate Anacreon.*

'In morality, too, with some little reserve, I think we might not blush to follow in his footsteps." Vol. ii. p. 89.

It is strange that such a note should occur, when, in the ode immediately succeeding, Mr Moore had an opportunity of contemplating the dispiriting effect of dissipation, and the remorse and terrors which it bequeaths to old age. In this melancholy *relique*, the old debauchee, reviewing a life passed in pleasure and inactivity, exclaims

Διά ταῦτ' ἀναταλύζω
Θαμὰ Ταρταρον δεδοικώς.

which is rendered, with singular felicity, by Madame Dacier, '*Car j'apprehends furieusement la demeure de Pluton.*'

We shall here take leave of the vices and virtues of Anacreon, and attend a little to those principles which should regulate the translator in the performance of his office. Since the splendid specimens exhibited by Dryden and by Pope, translation has ceased to be ranked with those servile occupations which devolve upon literary drudges. This task, as it has been found to require peculiar talents, is at length not only considered as useful, but even repaid with honour; and, from the numerous qualifications necessary to its execution, this reward seems to be most justly bestowed.

First of all, the translator undertakes the arduous office of an interpreter, which, in its fulfilment, implies a very exact knowledge of two languages, differing perhaps in idiom, as much as the nations who employ them differ in the shades of their character. Moreover, it is not always between contemporary people that the translator is obliged to interpret. He has frequently to acquaint us with the ideas and sentiments of very remote periods, conveyed in a language which is no longer an instrument of thought to any of the inhabitants of the globe. But when his affair is with poetry, the difficulty becomes still greater; for poets are, of all writers, those most conversant with the more delicate forms of thought. Their ideas are in themselves most evanescent, and associated by links of so perishable a kind, that they are liable to be lost in the lapse of time. It is then that translation

translation becomes indeed formidable from its difficulty, when we act as interpreters between distant ages: for, if we reflect, that a period of above two thousand years, alternately agitated by tempests, or stilled by a dark and profound calm, lies between us and the classical writers of antiquity, we shall be convinced that he must be a skilful pilot, who can transport uninjured, over so vast a sea, the delicate merchandise of the poet. To relieve the translator from some of the difficulties of his task, certain laws have been prescribed, deduced chiefly from the example of successful predecessors; and these rules seem all to be dictated by one prevailing principle—that we should resemble the original as much as possible, and that our departures from it should be permitted only when rendered necessary, by the alteration of manners, and the progress of refinement.

In order to qualify a man completely for the task of translation, there is required, besides the previous philological preparations, either analogous genius, or that happy versatility of mind, which readily conceives and assimilates the various modifications of human character. Original talents, if not also congenial, oftener mislead their possessor, than ensure his success; for they dispose him perpetually to intrude his own favourite topics, and either totally to dispossess the genuine sense of his author, or so to colour and disguise it, that the original subject can no longer be recognized. Formerly, it was thought that literal versions were the most likely to attain the ends of translation; and it was customary to employ words, not only accurately similar in signification, but alike in number and disposition. It was soon found, however, that this method of '*doing into English*,' had a wonderful tendency to hide the sense; more especially in translations from languages, where inversion is the order of composition. Upon style, it had the constant effect of destroying its varieties, and levelling all to one jargon, remarkable only for quaint and unmusical ruggedness. The '*doing*' mode is therefore laid aside, with great propriety, as a rude, awkward, and barbarous contrivance; yet the principle which first dictated literal translations remains in force. It constitutes the translator's obligation to learn the prevailing species of his author's style, and to seek for a corresponding one in his own language. It forbids him, on any account, to substitute ornament for simplicity, diffuseness for energy and conciseness, or languor for animation.

There are some gentle readers of poesy (as they usually call it), whose feelings are abhorrent from the most moderate restrictions on the liberty of translation. These personages intreat (rather than assert) that full scope should be given to all possible improvements; and they love to repeat (after their harmless and kindly

kindly manner), that it is unjust to reprove him who increases the sum of our pleasure. It is, however, generally observed, that few beyond this class of dilettanti are much disposed to consider, as real improvements, the thoughts which translators have been charitable enough to lend to the classics. Those readers for whom the classics wrote, seldom wish to see their favourite authors converted into vehicles of modern sentiments. They can generally perceive the bungling arrangement and disproportionate selection of images to which such a licentious system of imitation must always give rise; and, even admitting the patchwork to be well put together, they are always inclined to suspect that the same *divinus afflatus* did not engender all the figures.

The liberty of improvement, then, should be sparingly exercised, even by writers of the best judgment; and its embellishing effects should only there be visible, where the original, by a conciseness too laconic, left a thought unfinished, or, by a simplicity too naked for a nicer age, gave an appearance of poverty to the expression. Neither the nakedness, nor the taciturnity of a savage, should remain with the author, when he comes into the polished assemblies of modern society; but he should in other respects be the same man, and exhibit the same modes of thought, as when he resided among his countrymen of old. Our plan does not allow us to systematize these general views of translation; but, imperfectly as they are here sketched, they will guide our decisions upon Mr Moore's work.

We are now naturally led to examine the poetical merits of Anacreon; and we think the following account of his characteristic features sufficiently accurate to enable us, without danger of error, to institute a comparison between the original Greek and the translation now before us.

The simplicity of Anacreon is often spoken of; but it is seldom said wherein that simplicity consists—whether we are to look for it in the mode of thinking, or chiefly in the manner of expression. To us it appears, that, notwithstanding the examples of natural and obvious sentiment dispersed through the writings of Anacreon, as well as those of all the other minor poets, he is by no means distinguished for constant simplicity in his conceptions. If this remark holds with respect to the common editions, it applies with double force to the collection as given by Mr Moore. Indeed, he has used so little discrimination in deciding what odes are genuine, and what falsely attributed to Anacreon, that the most opposite styles may be easily detected in the perusal of his volumes; and it would be impossible to fix upon any one trait pervading the whole, so as to characterize the poetry. That the odes translated by Mr Moore are all Anacreontic, in so far

far as they are Bacchanalian or amorous, we admit; but we cannot imagine that the translator himself, notwithstanding his professed disregard of the opinions of commentators, believed all that he has given, to be the productions of the same individual. Some of them he allows to be spurious, and we are persuaded that he must have suspected many more. The very first ode in *this* book is evidently written by some imitator, ancient or modern; it speaks of Anacreon as then dead, and describes his ghost returning from the shades to bid his imitator prosper.

The love songs of Anacreon are, in our opinion, neither very natural, nor very tender. They are the sprightly effusions of a man of gallantry; and please, from their readiness, their vivacity, and the ingenious finishing with which they are turned. They are seldom artless, and never so pathetic as to interest us deeply in the amours of the author. His sufferings are not so acute as to deprive him of wit, or diminish his relish for a conceit. Hence, though we have many well turned compliments, and lively sallies, we have none of the whining tones of a modern poetical lover, no complaints of cruelty, no hints of suicide. There is no clashing of the interests of Bacchus and Venus; we never hear of his rising from table to wander into the wood in quest of his mistress: and we are much inclined to doubt whether any passion could have been so strong, as to induce him to sacrifice his regular *quantum* of wine. Even in his drinking songs, where he seems much more in earnest, plainness of conception, and freedom from conceit, are by no means very prominent qualities. We often meet with studied epigram, and not unfrequently discover his partiality to forced thoughts, and curiously ingenious figures.

How, then, it may be asked, has simplicity been reckoned the peculiar feature of the Teian muse? And to what branch of the composition does this characteristic quality belong? In our opinion, it may be found in the *language* of Anacreon; and here it is equally apparent, whether we regard the structure of his sentences, or the selection of the words. This circumstance, we imagine, has recommended the odes to teachers of youth, as peculiarly adapted for the purposes of early instruction; and truly the love of Greek seems to have been more consulted in the choice, than the care of morals.

In the compositions of Anacreon, epithets are so thinly scattered, that the reader is surprised when he stumbles upon one. We suspect that, in most of the cases where they do occur, the combination must be ascribed, not so much to the exuberance of the poet's fancy, as to his compliance with the ordinary forms of colloquial expression. Thus, when he bestows an epithet upon a divinity,

divinity, or upon the common apparatus of the convivial board, we generally find that he uses the appellative which the language of ancient superstition, and the rites of social intercourse, had consecrated to such objects. In the very few instances which do not fall under this remark, we shall find that the epithets are specifically necessary to the description, and constitute the most prominent feature of the picture. They are neither expletive nor ornamental; neither paraded for show, nor introduced for the sake of the measure. They seem intended to make the author understood by his reader, and aspire at no higher object. We often meet with odes so very barren of what is termed poetical diction, that, were it not for some prettinesses in the turning of the thought, or the sprightly cadence of the metre, we should scarcely imagine we were reading a poem. Let any one, in proof of this, take up a common edition of Anacreon: he will have read through two entire odes, without encountering a single epithet; and, we are confident, may examine the whole book, without meeting any thing that will materially affect the truth of our general position. These remarks apply, with very little modification, to the slight tincture of metaphor which may now and then be traced in the writings of our poet.

Though we have already expressed a general opinion, that, in the contrivance and materials of the odes, there is a greater display of ingenuity than simplicity, yet some of them afford examples of the most artless and enchanting *naiveté*. His allegorical fictions are the subjects which oftenest lead him astray from nature. His love songs are likewise a little affected; but he seems to sing the praises of Bacchus with a heart-felt fervour. We read with delight his two odes to the Rose, from the relief they afford to the constant recurrence of his encomium on drinking. The first is the better of the two, and is an example of simplicity, both in matter and manner. The other, which is the longest, is in a richer vein of poetry, and is perhaps the most splendid and elaborate of all Anacreon's compositions; but, towards the close, is defective in point of simplicity.

In the conduct of a long piece, his ingenuity generally wins some little trophy from his taste; but there are scattered through his works, natural touches which almost rival the scriptural simplicity.

> Ὀλίγη δὲ κατόμισθα
> Κόνις, ὀστέων λυθέντων.—
> Τὸ σῶμά σου μέλει μοι·
> Τὸ δ' αὔριον τίς οἶδεν;

At times, Anacreon seems to have aimed at an epigram; and frequently the merit of an ode rests upon a line at its close, or even, in a few cases, upon a single word. The first ode (Θέλω λέγειν,

λέγων, κ. τ. λ.) seems to be of this kind, and is evidently written for the sake of the word ἀνίκητον; for if there is no sting in this word, we pronounce the ode miserably stupid. The chief merit of epigrammatic writing is conciseness; and many of Anacreon's odes are not so long as to exceed very much the limits of that kind of composition.

One additional remark we have to make, which is of considerable importance to our present purpose—that Anacreon never detains long an amorous sentiment or voluptuous image which comes across him. He gives it frankly, and without reserve; but never dwells upon it, or wantons with its circumstances, or gloats upon it in detail. We know only of two exceptions to this remark—the odes wherein he directs the painter how to delineate his mistresses. We disagree, therefore, with Mr Moore, as to the tendency of the poetry, not so much because we are shocked by any gross violations of decency in particular instances, as that we disapprove of his constantly inculcating the absurdity of forethought, and teaching that to drink and to love are the only occupations worthy of our solicitude.

If there be any truth in the preceding observations, we cannot be expected to award to Mr Moore the praise of being a faithful interpreter. Anacreon, we have said, used scarcely any poetical diction; but Mr Moore employs one that is both very copious, and extremely ornamented. Anacreon is sparing, even to niggardliness, of epithets. Mr Moore pours them forth with profusion on all occasions. In Anacreon, they are all essential adjuncts: in Moore, they are for the most part circumstances merely accessory, used, like the tails of Homer's similes, not for illustration, but for the imagery which they incidentally suggest. The two odes which we have mentioned, as not having a single word conjoined with an epithet in the original, have scarcely a word without one in the translation. Anacreon is less metaphorical and figurative than any other poet; less so, indeed, than some prose writers of antiquity. Mr Moore's imagination is as fertile in figures, as his wit is ready in conceits. All the additions which he makes to his original, are combinations of epigram and trope.

Such is the plan on which the whole version seems to be conducted. To improve the ancient bard, by filling up his ideas, lending him new beauties, and bringing out his thoughts, is the main object of our translator. This method is pursued with various success, sometimes greatly embellishing the original, and, in other instances, completely flattening its spirit. It is used with advantage in a few odes that are descriptive; but we feel it cumbersome in many of the lighter pieces, and quite intolerable

intolerable in those which hinge on a conceit, or partake of the manner of an epigram. It has very much increased the bulk of the book, and has spun out some odes, which were once but catches or glees, to almost the dreary length of Chevy Chase. What the original has gained in elegance, it has lost in vivacity. It is no longer the ingenuity of the thought which strikes; it is the magic of the diction which pleases. But every writer who has a great command over the common-places and common phraseology of poetry, is at times in danger of imposing upon himself very unmeaning sentences. We think Mr Moore often answerable for this inanity—for this trick of cheating his reader with the mere semblance of thought. We remember that he had very nearly passed upon us, as fine writing, the following vague lines relating to Anacreon:

> 'His tresses wore a silvery dye,
> But beauty sparkled in his eye,
> Sparkled in his eyes of fire,
> Through the mist of soft desire.' Vol. i. p. 38.

The smooth flow, and agreeable imagery of the three last lines, made the author loath to part with them, otherwise the intrinsic merit is as little as their resemblance to the Greek.

> Γερων μεν ην καλος δε
> Καλος γε και φιλυτος.

Before leaving this topic, we may remark the childish partiality which Mr Moore shews to the adjective 'rosy,' which he uses much more frequently than even Anacreon's preference for the flower authorises. It occurs in every page, and sometimes with no very distinct meaning. We meet with *rosy bonds*, *rosy rays*, *rosy forms*, *rosy bosoms*, and a number of other odd rosy things, besides the constant recurrence of the more ordinary usages, *rosy lips*, *rosy smiles*, *rosy breath*, &c. We suppose, that, to a listless Arcadian reader, this diction has the effect of introducing a number of agreeable and confused images; but it only reminds the attentive critic, of the little artifices of poetry, and puts him on his guard against their effect. The proverbial expression with which Mr Moore has made us acquainted, 'ροδα μ' ειρηκας,' '*You have spoken roses*,' may be applied literally to himself.

On the whole, we think Mr Moore has damped the fire of his work by a profusion of epithet; and that, had he broken the uniformity of his diction with some passages of greater simplicity, he would have heightened our pleasure, without materially violating his own plan of translation. That plan, however, we think, is constructed with so little judgment, that he has totally failed in the important point, of being faithful to the manner of his original. We lament Mr Moore's general want of success in copying the happy finishing we have so much admired in Anacreon.

A delicate hint in the original, becomes a tame exposition in the translation; and, where the poet's art was shown in leaving a picture or an inference to the mind of the reader, Mr Moore generally helps us to understand it with a compassion somewhat officious. It may serve to illustrate this remark, if we give a prose translation of a short ode, and compare it with the version we are now criticising.

Μή με φύγῃς, ὀρῶσα
Τὰν πολιὰν ἴθειραν·
Μήδ' ὅτι σοι πάρεσσιν
Ἄνθος ἀκμαῖον ὥρας,
Τἀμὰ φίλτρα διώξῃς.
Ὄρα, κἂν σιφάνοισιν
Ὅπως πρέπει τὰ λευκὰ
Ῥόδοις κρίνα πλακέντα.

'Though thou hast seen my grey locks, ah, do not fly me; nor, because the flowery bloom of spring is yet upon thee, disdain my caresses. Behold yon garland! how lovely looks the snowy lily twined with the blushing rose!'

Mr Moore is pleased to convert this truly Anacreontic sketch of an ode into the following full-length fashionable song.

Fly not thus my brow of snow,
Lovely wanton, fly not so;
Though the wane of age is mine,
Though the brilliant flush is thine,
Still I'm doom'd to sigh for thee,
Blest, if thou could'st sigh for me.
See, in yonder flow'ry braid,
Cull'd for thee, my blushing maid,
How the rose of orient glow,
Mingles with the lilies' snow.
Mark how sweet their tints agree,
Just, my girl, like thee and me.

If our readers take the trouble of comparing the version which we have submitted to them, with this of Mr Moore, they will probably admit, that the *couplets* which he has thought proper to add, were not required by any obscurity in the original, and have as little tendency to improve the ideas of Anacreon, as to bring out his meaning.

As the poet does not often express himself with much simplicity, we have some reason to regret that his translator should have studiously diminished the small number of passages which possess this quality. Why, when Anacreon commissions a cup of Vulcan, and unaffectedly desires it to be made 'ὅσον ἐστὶ βαθύτατον,'—'as deep as possible'—does Mr Moore put the order into the following language?

'Let

'Let me have a silver bowl,
Where I may cradle all my soul.'

How came 'ὁ βιος βροτοις ἀδηλος'—'Life is uncertain to mortals,' to signify,

'No! no! the walk of life is dark,
'Tis wine alone can strike a spark?'

'Τυφιῳ δ' ὑπο γενειῳ'—'Beneath her delicate chin,' is translated (if the expression may be allowed)

'Then beneath the velvet chin,
Whose dimple shades a love within.'

In these, and innumerable other passages, we are at a loss to see any beauty or novelty which could have tempted the ingenious translator to use so full a license of amplification. But some of his little additional fancies are much more original, and imagined, indeed, with such a happy dereliction of nature, that it was scarcely possible for him to have been anticipated in them. Thus, Anacreon talks of 'the juice flowing from the pressed grape.' Mr Moore prefers,

'In fervid tide of Nectar gushing,
And for its bondage proudly blushing.'

Now, what will our readers think of Mr Moore's prudence, when they are informed that he actually attempts, in a great number of places, to combine with these tinsel additions, other additions of pathetic images; that, forgetting the peculiar vivacity of Anacreon's amorous character, he makes him a sentimental lover; that he chooses those very passages in which he has rendered Anacreon more than commonly splendid and ingenious, to make him also sigh and burn? The redoubled absurdity of perverting, by additions, the character of the original, and coupling together the most incongruous qualities in those additions, must strike every one who reads the work denominated, by Mr Moore, a translation of Anacreon. We might give various amusing specimens of this injudicious style, but shall content ourselves with referring to the twenty-second ode; which, though distinguished by most of this author's beauties, is also remarkable for the imperfections just now pointed out. It is greatly more than double the length of the original. It may be reckoned one of Mr Moore's most vigorous efforts towards the improvement of Anacreon, whose manner and design he nevertheless fails to preserve; and, by the union of sentimental tone with artificial thought, upon a trivial subject, he has in this poem approached the insipidity of the Della Cruscan school. But none of the manifest changes which Mr Moore has made upon his original, are more exceptionable than his constant employment of glowing language and attractive imagery in pourtraying those simple ideas that border a little upon

upon the wanton. Far from showing the least reluctance to render fully intelligible those *incorrect* passages, he eagerly seizes every opportunity of enlarging upon and embellishing the little symptoms of temperament which not unfrequently escape Anacreon. But for the serious consequences of such amplifications and digressions, we should be disposed to smile at the want of self-command evinced by Mr Moore, whenever an amorous idea is started. Without sullying our page with the worst instances of this tendency by which our author is, at least in his verse, distinguished from Anacreon, we shall only hint at a few of the most harmless.

καλει δ' ετταιρην —'*call my mistress.*'

'And bring the nymph with floating eye;
Oh! she will teach me how to die.'

χαριτεσσι συγχορευειν—'*dancing with the Graces.*'

'When with the blushing, naked Graces,
The wanton winding dance he traces.'

χορευσω—'*I will dance.*'

'I'll bill and twine in airy dance,
Commingling soul in every glance.'

Our readers may find abundance of this, and of worse than this, in these volumes, *passim.*

A style so wantonly voluptuous, is at once effeminate and childish; and it is as unlike the original, as it is unmanly in itself. But we believe Mr Moore's ambition is not pointed towards the chaster graces of poetical composition. He will probably, with his congenial friend Mr Thomas Little, be consoled for all the justice which criticism can dispense,

'If some fond feeling maid like thee,
The warm-eyed child of sympathy,
Shall say, while o'er my simple theme
She languishes in passion's dream,
"He was indeed a tender soul"—

And so on, in much the same style, down to

—'The flowings of so fond a heart.'

After dwelling so long upon those instances, in which Mr Moore's additions and changes are, we think, equally illegitimate for a translation, and unhappy as original composition, we must now inform our readers, that he has been extremely felicitous in explaining and embellishing several of the odes which Anacreon had left meagre and unintelligible. We might give the 27th ode of Mr Moore's collection as a very signal proof of his powers to elucidate one of the most obscure and unpromising of all the original poems. But we prefer the 21st, as affording a more full illustration of the remarks formerly stated upon

upon the subject of translation. The title is, 'εἰς τὸ δεῖν πίνειν;' and, in order that our readers may compare the obscurity, the awkward abruptness, and the mean simplicity of the original with the ease and richness of Mr Moore's version, we shall make use of an *Anacreon done into English* by one Gilpin of Yorkshire, and published in the year 1796.

'The black earth drinks, and the trees drink it; the sea also drinks the breezes, and the sun the sea, and the moon drinks the sun. Why do you contend with me, O companions! when I myself have a mind to drink?' Such is literally the material out of which the following beautiful workmanship has been fashioned:

'Observe, when mother earth is dry,
She drinks the droppings of the sky;
And then, the dewy cordial gives
To every thirsty plant that lives.
The vapours which at evening weep,
Are beverage to the swelling deep.
And when the rosy sun appears,
He drinks the ocean's misty tears.
The moon, too, quaffs her paly stream
Of lustre from the solar beam.
Then hence with all your sober thinking,
Since Nature's holy law is drinking.
I'll make the laws of Nature mine,
And pledge the universe in wine.'

Of Mr Moore's language, it will not be necessary to say much, as the specimens which we have given, evince the enviable command of an expression at once easy, copious, and variously elegant. From this he very seldom deviates; and, however he may have mistaken Anacreon's style in other respects, he is almost always strictly faithful to him in the possession of classical purity and propriety.

Many bungling translators, of a class somewhat different from the literal tribe, have endeavoured to make their authors speak English, by putting into their mouths the most slovenly and vulgar phrases; and have sacrificed all vestige of classical elegance, to a disgusting familiarity of style. Those who attempt the version of lighter compositions, of songs, of *jeux d'esprit*, are the most prone to this error; and examples of its influence are nowhere so frequent, as in the numerous translations of Anacreon. A Pæan in honour of Dionysus, is by this class of dunces *rendered* a low drinking song; and the slang of the punch bowl, with all the *verba solennia* used in addressing the waiter, echo so constantly through the verse, that we are rather disposed to fancy ourselves messing at an ordinary, than reclining at one of those ancient

cient festivals which the gods sometimes honoured with their presence. Of this description and tendency are the errors of Mr Younge, from whose pen there has appeared, since the date of Mr Moore's work, a small, but jolly version of the Teian, adapted, we should imagine, from its familiarity, to all the purposes of the most common use. Here, the '*juice of the grape*' flows in the form of '*good liquor.*' '*Bottles and glasses*' are the apparatus of a Grecian table. The effects of '*libations to the rosy god*' are impressively brought home to every reader, through the medium of a simple and affecting term, '*dead-drunk;*' while the rhythm is happily adapted, not to the obsolete airs which used to wake the Lesbian groves, but to the tunes of more ordinary occurrence, which, in modern times, and northern climates, lull the jovial companion whom they had first excited to noisy mirth. In glancing over this work of the Reverend Mr Younge, we were prevented from fulfilling our plan of reviewing it, by meeting with a few such verses as the following:

> 'Let others love war—bring a bottle, my boy!
> For have it I will, and I must:
> Dead-drunk to lye stretch'd, is allow'd to be joy,
> But none *to lye* dead in the dust.'—
> 'The horse, we observe, has a character on it,
> And Parthians are guess'd by the shape of their bonnet.'

Mr Moore has too sound a judgment, and too refined a taste to blunder so grossly. His errors are in the opposite extreme. Younge's translation is well fitted for a pot-house: Moore's is much better calculated for a bagnio.

ART. XVIII. *The Trial of John Peltier, Esq. for a Libel against Napoleon Buonaparté, First Consul of the French Republic,* at the Court of King's Bench, Middlesex, on Monday the 21st of February 1803. Taken in Short-hand by Mr Adams, and the Defence revised by Mr Mackintosh. Large 8vo. London. 1803. pp. 464.

WE heard so much from London of Mr Mackintosh's speech in defence of Peltier, and the admiration there expressed was so consonant to the effect which the publications of this gentleman have formerly produced on ourselves, that we were quite impatient to see a more full and accurate report of it than the newspapers afforded. In this desire, we have at last been gratified by the present volume, which exhibits to the public, and will preserve for posterity, that splendid and noble oration, in a more entire form, than is usually given by the press to the specimens of English eloquence. At the same time, we cannot doubt that the minute shadings on which the tone and harmony

mony of colouring depends, as well as many groupes of illustration, and those bold felicities of expression that are struck out by a powerful imagination in the heat of extemporaneous fluency, could neither be caught by the short-hand writer at the time, nor by any effort of recollection brought again before the original mind. As all our readers must have participated our impatience, we do no more than our duty in enabling them to partake of our gratification, by a considerable number of extracts.

It is quite unnecessary to take any particular notice of what the volume contains, besides the defence; though that occupies little more than one third part of it. The evidence to establish the fact of publication, was of course a matter of form merely. The speeches of Mr Attorney General, and the charge of the Lord Chief Justice, appear to be very carelessly reported, and in some passages are neither grammatical nor intelligible. There is a very large appendix, composed of no papers but such as are already in the hands of every body; extracted from the late official Correspondence, the Parliamentary Debates, the Termly Reports, Sir Robert Wilson's book, and L'Ambigu. The extracts from the last only are added here with propriety. The remainder of the volume consists of trash from the pen of M. Peltier himself; the querulous tone of which is, in the writer's situation, its most pardonable circumstance. That the volume might not be too small, a prolix Preface, and a tedious 'Adresse au Public,' are given both in the original French and in an English translation.

Nothing can be clearer, we think, than the merits of the trial. Neither the ingenious sophistry of an advocate, nor the unmanly evasions of his client, can disguise the tendency or the intention of a direct incitement to assassination. The result was such as, on all similar occasions, may be expected from a Middlesex jury, and from the resolute unclouded calmness of English justice: which, neither intimidated by appearances of a gathering storm, nor inflamed by the circumstances of temporary irritation, adheres to the formal administration of general and fixed rules; and, at a period when all the bonds that hold the European commonwealth together are untied, when all the international arrangements once founded on reciprocal forbearance appear broken up, is the last to retain a sense of ancient rights, a veneration and observance of ancient maxims.

When the legal grounds of a charge are clear, and the defence of the accused hopeless, all that we can expect in the argument of his Counsel, is a display of skilful arrangement in the case he shews, and of judicious colouring, so as to soften

and shade those parts from which the attention of the Judges must if possible be withdrawn. A great deal of this sort of art is accordingly employed here, to obliterate or explain away that which is the fundamental fact in every charge of libel, the libellous intention. This is first attempted, by representing M. Peltier as merely the republisher of Parisian satires and lampoons, with the view of gratifying public curiosity with such historical documents: in L'Ambigu, Chénier was made author of the ode which recommends a poinard; in the Defence, the imputation is shared between Chénier and Guinguené; and in his address to the public, Peltier pretends to have received information, since his trial, that this poem was the composition of the celebrated Carnot. A more elaborate effort is then made to prove the libels of Peltier's Journal, particularly the ode, to be rather satires against the Jacobins still lurking in Paris, than directed against the government and life of the First Consul: the reasoning in this part of the defence is far too subtle to produce any effect, though, in point of composition, it contains some of the most powerful passages of the speech. But the principal topics, both of argument and of declamation, are derived from the high importance of a free press; a doctrine on which, before an English jury, an advocate, how unfavourable soever his cause may be, can appeal to principles that are at once conclusions of the soundest philosophy, and the established prejudices of his audience. But those principles have never been illustrated with such force of historical painting, such extent of philosophical reflection, and such warmth of oratorical diction, as in the passages which Mr Mackintosh has bestowed upon this noble subject. As one specimen of these, we have chosen the following extract.

'I am convinced, by circumstances which I shall now abstain from discussing, that *this is the first of a long series of conflicts, between the greatest power in the world, and the only free press now remaining in Europe.* Gentlemen, this distinction of the English press is new—It is a proud and melancholy distinction. Before the great earthquake of the French revolution had swallowed up all the asylums of free discussion on the Continent, we enjoyed that privilege, indeed, more fully than others, but we did not enjoy it exclusively. In great monarchies, the press has always been considered as too formidable an engine to be entrusted to unlicensed individuals. But, in other continental countries, either by the laws of the state, or by long habits of liberality and toleration in magistrates, a liberty of discussion has been enjoyed, perhaps sufficient for most useful purposes. It existed, in fact, where it was not protected by law; and the wise and generous connivance of governments was daily more and more secured by the growing civilisation of their subjects

jects. In Holland, in Switzerland, in the Imperial towns of Germany, the press was either legally or practically free. Holland and Switzerland are no more; and, since the commencement of this prosecution, fifty Imperial towns have been erased from the list of independent states, by one dash of the pen. Three or four still preserve a precarious and trembling existence. I will not say by what accomplices they must purchase its continuance. I will not insult the feebleness of states, whose unmerited fall I do most bitterly deplore.

'These governments were in many respects one of the most interesting parts of the antient system of Europe. Unfortunately, for the repose of mankind, great states are compelled, by regard to their own safety, to consider the military spirit and martial habits of their people, as one of the main objects of their policy. Frequent hostilities seem almost the necessary condition of their greatness; and, without being great, they cannot long remain safe. Smaller states, exempted from this cruel necessity—a hard condition of greatness, a bitter satire on human nature—devoted themselves to the arts of peace, to the cultivation of literature, and the improvement of reason. They became places of refuge for free and fearless discussion; they were the impartial spectators and judges of the various contests of ambition, which from time to time disturbed the quiet of the world. They thus became peculiarly qualified to be the organs of that public opinion, which converted Europe into a great republic, with laws which mitigated, though they could not extinguish, ambition; and with moral tribunals, to which even the most despotic sovereigns were amenable. If wars of aggrandizement were undertaken, their authors were arraigned in the face of Europe. If acts of internal tyranny were perpetrated, they resounded from a thousand presses throughout all civilized countries. Princes, on whose will there were no legal checks, thus found a moral restraint, which the most powerful of them could not brave with absolute impunity. They acted before a vast audience, to whose applause or condemnation they could not be utterly indifferent. The very constitution of human nature, the unalterable laws of the mind of man, against which all rebellion is fruitless, subjected the proudest tyrants to this controul. No elevation of power,—no depravity, however consummate,—no innocence, however spotless, can render man wholly independent of the praise or blame of his fellow men.

'These governments were, in other respects, one of the most beautiful and interesting parts of our antient system. The perfect security of such inconsiderable and feeble states, their undisturbed tranquillity, amidst the wars and conquests that surrounded them, attested, beyond any other part of the European system, the moderation, the justice, the civilization, to which Christian Europe had reached in modern times. Their weakness was protected only by the habitual reverence for justice, which, during a long series of ages, had grown up in Christendom. This was the only fortification which defended them against those mighty monarchs to whom they offered so easy a prey. And, till the French

French revolution, this was sufficient. Consider, for instance, the situation of the Republic of Geneva; think of her defenceless position, in the very jaws of France; but think also of her undisturbed security, of her profound quiet, of the brilliant success with which she applied to industry and literature, while Louis XIV. was pouring his myriads into Italy before her gates; call to mind, if ages crowded into years have not effaced them from your memory, the happy period when we scarcely dreamt more of the subjugation of the feeblest republic of Europe, than of the conquest of her mightiest empire, and tell me if you can imagine a spectacle more beautiful to the moral eye, or a more striking proof of progress in the noblest principles of true civilization.

'These feeble states, these monuments of the justice of Europe, the asylum of peace, of industry, and of literature, the organs of public reason, the refuge of oppressed innocence, and persecuted truth, have perished with those antient principles which were their sole guardians and protectors. They have been swallowed up by that fearful convulsion, which has shaken the uttermost corners of the earth. They are destroyed, and gone for ever.

'One asylum of free discussion is still inviolate. There is still one spot in Europe where man can freely exercise his reason on the most important concerns of society; where he can boldly publish his judgement on the acts of the proudest and most powerful tyrants. The press of England is still free. It is guarded by the free constitution of our forefathers. It is guarded by the hearts and arms of Englishmen; and, I trust I may venture to say, that if it be to fall, it will fall only under the ruins of the British empire.

'It is an awful consideration, gentlemen. Every other monument of European liberty has perished. That antient fabric, which has been gradually reared by the wisdom and virtue of our fathers, still stands—It stands, thanks be to God! solid and entire—but it stands alone, and it stands amidst ruins.' p. 83.

After describing the submissive lethargy, in which the great body of the people of France have been left by the Revolution, exhausted and stupified as they are by so many horrors, Mr Mackintosh gives the following picture of those who were actors in those scenes of blood, and of whom the earth is not yet purified.

'Some of them, indeed—the basest of the race—the Sophists, the Rhetors, the Poet-laureats of murder—who were cruel only from cowardice, and calculating selfishness, are perfectly willing to transfer their venal pens to any government that does not disdain their infamous support. These men, republicans from servility, who published rhetorical panegyrics on massacre, and who reduced plunder to a system of ethics, are as ready to preach slavery as anarchy. But the more daring—I had almost said, the more respectable ruffians, cannot so easily bend their heads under the yoke. These fierce spirits have not lost "*the unconquerable*

querable will, the study of revenge, immortal hate." They leave the luxuries of servitude to the mean and dastardly hypocrites, to the Belials and Mammons of the infernal faction. They pursue their old end of tyranny, under their old pretext of liberty. The recollection of their unbounded power, renders every inferior condition irksome and vapid; and their former atrocities form, if I may so speak, a sort of moral destiny, which irresistibly impels them to the perpetration of new crimes. They have no place left for penitence on earth; they labour under the most awful proscription of opinion that ever was pronounced against human beings. They have cut down every bridge by which they could retreat into the society of men.—Awakened from their dreams of democracy, the noise subsided that deafened their ears to the voice of humanity; the film fallen from their eyes which hid from them the blackness of their own deeds, haunted by the memory of their inexpiable guilt: condemned daily to look on the faces of those whom their hand made widows and orphans, they are goaded and scourged by these real furies, and hurried into the tumult of new crimes, which will drown the cries of remorse; or, if they be too depraved for remorse, will silence the curses of mankind. Tyrannical power is their only refuge from the just vengeance of their fellow creatures; murder is their only means of usurping power. They have no taste, no occupation, no pursuit, but power and blood. If their hands are tied, they must at least have the luxury of murderous projects. They have drank too deeply of human blood, ever to relinquish their cannibal appetite.

'Such a faction exists in France. It is numerous; it is powerful; and it has a principle of fidelity stronger than any that ever held together a society. They are banded together by despair of forgiveness, by the unanimous detestation of mankind. They are now contained by a severe and stern government. But they still meditate the renewal of insurrection and massacre, and they are prepared to renew the worst and most atrocious of their crimes, that crime against posterity and against human nature itself, that crime, of which the latest generations of mankind may feel the fatal consequences—the crime of degrading and prostituting the sacred name of Liberty.

'I must own, that however paradoxical it may appear, I should almost think not worse, but more meanly of them, if it were otherwise. I must then think them destitute of that, which I will not call courage, because that is the name of a virtue—but, of that ferocious energy which alone rescues ruffians from contempt. If they were destitute of that which is the heroism of murderers, they would be the lowest, as well as the most abominable of beings.' p. 115.

The most entertaining, and perhaps the most skilful characteristic of the speech, is a strong current of allusion to existing circumstances, which flows steadily through the whole of it. It would not, during the subsistence of peace, have been quite justifiable to have arraigned, under actual names and designations, those criminal enterprises of aggrandisement, by which the

the warfare of Europe is prolonged, and its prospects of political improvements retarded, if not ultimately endangered. But those schemes are shadowed out, and their present leader intelligibly pourtrayed, in the acts and under the appellations of Philip II. and Louis XIV.; while an incitement to purer ambition and more illustrious emulation is conveyed by the consecrated names of Elizabeth, and Henry, and William. The passage, in which one of these instances is en orced, we cannot refuse to our readers; because it has been rendered still more closely applicable, both as a parallel and as an example, by the aspect which the political situation of this country has very recently assumed.

'The reign of Queen Elizabeth may be considered as the opening of the modern history of England, especially in its connexion with the modern system of Europe, which began about that time to assume the form that it preserved till the French Revolution. It was a very memorable period, of which the maxims ought to be engraven on the head and heart of every Englishman. Philip II., at the head of the greatest empire then in the world, was openly aiming at universal dominion; and his project was so far from being thought chimerical by the wisest of his contemporaries, that, in the opinion of the great *Duc de Sully*, he must have been successful, 'if, by a most singular combina ion of circumstances, he had not at the same time been resisted by two such strong heads as those of Henry IV. and Queen Elizabeth.' To the most extensive and opulent dominions, the most numerous and disciplined armies, the most renowned captains, the greatest revenue, he added also the most formidable power over opinion. He was the chief of a religious faction, animated by the most atrocious fanaticism, prepared to second his ambition, by rebellion, anarchy, and regicide, in every Protestant state. Elizabeth was amongst the first objects of his hostility—That wise and magnanimous princess placed herself in the front of the battle for the liberties of Europe. Though she had to contend at home with his fanatical faction, which almost occupied Ireland, which divided Scotland, and was not of contemptible strength in England, she aided the oppressed inhabitants of the Netherlands in their just and glorious resistance to his tyranny; she aided Henry the Great in suppressing the abominable rebellion which anarchical principles had excited, and Spanish arms had supported in France, and after a long reign of various fortune, in which she preserved her unconquered spirit through great calamities, and still greater dangers, she at length broke the strength of the enemy, and reduced his power within such limits as to be compatible with the safety of England, and of all Europe. Her only effectual ally was the spirit of her people; and her policy flowed from that magnanimous nature, which, in the hour of peril, teaches better lessons than those of cold reason. Her great heart inspired her with a higher and nobler wisdom—which disdained

disdained to appeal to the low and sordid passions of her people, even for the protection of their low and sordid interests; because she knew, or rather she felt, that these are effeminate, creeping, cowardly, short-sighted passions, which shrink from conflict, even in defence of their own mean objects. In a righteous cause, she roused those generous affections of her people, which alone teach boldness, constancy, and foresight, and which are therefore the only safe guardians of the lowest, as well as the highest interests of a nation. In her memorable address to her army, when the invasion of the kingdom was threatened by Spain, this woman, of heroic spirit, disdained to speak to them of their ease, and their commerce, and their wealth, and their safety. No! She touched another chord—She spoke of their national honour, of their dignity as Englishmen, of "*the foul scorn that Parma or Spain* SHOULD DARE *to invade the borders of her realms.*" She breathed into them those grand and powerful sentiments, which exalt vulgar men into heroes, which lead them into the battle of their country armed with holy and irresistible enthusiasm, which even cover with their shield all the ignoble interests that base calculation, and cowardly selfishness, tremble to hazard, but shrink from defending. A sort of prophetic instinct, if I may so speak, seems to have revealed to her the importance of that great instrument, for rousing and guiding the minds of men, of the effects of which she had no experience; which, since her time, has changed the condition of the world; but which few modern statesmen have thoroughly understood, or wisely employed; which is no doubt connected with many ridiculous and degrading details; which has produced, and may again produce, terrible mischiefs; but of which the influence must after all be considered as the most certain effect of the most efficacious cause of civilization; and which, whether it be a blessing or a curse, is the most powerful engine that a politician can move—I mean the Press. It is a curious fact, that, in the year of the Armada, Queen Elizabeth caused to be printed the first Gazettes that ever appeared in England. And I own, when I consider that this mode of rousing a national spirit was then absolutely unexampled, that she could have no assurance of its efficacy from the precedents of former times, I am disposed to regard her having recourse to it, as one of the most sagacious experiments, one of the greatest discoveries of political genius, one of the most striking anticipations of future experience, that we find in history. I mention it to you, to justify the opinion that I have ventured to state, of the close connexion of our national spirit with our press, and even with our periodical press. I cannot quit the reign of Elizabeth, without laying before you the maxims of her policy, in the language of the greatest and wisest of men. Lord Bacon, in one part of his discourse on her reign, speaks thus of her support of Holland: "But let me rest upon the honourable and continual aid and relief she hath given to the distressed and desolate people of the Low Countries; a people, recommended unto her by ancient confederacy and daily intercourse, by their cause so innocent, and their fortune so lamentable!"

lamentable!" In another passage of the same discourse, he thus speaks of the general system of her foreign policy, as the protector of Europe, in words too remarkable to require any commentary: "Then it is her government, and her government alone, that hath been the sconce and fort of all Europe, which hath lett this proud nation from overrunning all. If any state be yet free from his factions erected in the bowels thereof; if there be any state, wherein this faction is erected, that is not yet fired with civil troubles; if there be any state under his protection, that enjoyeth moderate liberty, upon which he tyrannizeth not; it is the mercy of this renowned Queen that standeth between them and their misfortunes." p. 148.

In leaving these extracts to the admiration of our readers, we cannot refrain from expressing our regret to have lately heard, that we are to be deprived, for a period, of the eloquence that can be thus powerfully employed in describing the grandest transactions, and asserting the most valuable interests of civilized mankind. Under another clime, and among the ruins of ancient refinement, it will indeed prove most interesting, to a mind which has deeply meditated the policy and revolutions of Europe, to study the far different frame of Asiatic laws, and, guided by the light of science, to trace the uniformity of our moral nature under the most artificial disguises, and amidst opposite extremes of variation. Nor ought we to forget the benefits imparted to that amiable, though remote portion of our fellow subjects, by strengthening and enlightening the judicial administration, to which their municipal rights are entrusted; and which, from the half-incorporated mixture of languages and laws and usages, requires qualifications of a much higher order than that of professional erudition. Yet, even for these important purposes, this is not a period when England, the last bulwark yet undemolished of popular government and of European independence, can easily spare a single advocate of genuine liberty, a single labourer in the philosophy of public affairs, a single genius that in this great and good old cause can command an influence over other minds. The genius, the labours, and the zeal of all may not perhaps be more than sufficient to dispel the cloud that hangs over the world, and to open again upon our horizon, in its former brightness, the prospect that for a while has been obscured.

ART. XIX. *Memorial addressed to the Sovereigns of Europe and the Atlantic.* By Governor Pownall. London. Debrett. 1803.

WE with pleasure acknowledge the title which the author of this Memorial has to the respectful attention of the public

lic, as a politician and an author, he has been known for nearly half a century; and the counsels he delivered, both in and out of Parliament, at the period of the unfortunate contest between Great Britain and her American colonies, did honour to his character as a man, and his judgment as a politician. His conduct at that crisis appears neither to have been influenced by a deference to those in power, nor biassed by factious views; and as his opinions had no support from either of these sources, they appear to have made little impression upon his countrymen. With the powerful recommendation of the fulfilment of former predictions, Governor Pownall brings forward his speculations upon the present state of the nations of Europe and the Atlantic.

The Memorial is divided into three parts. The first part considers the changes which have taken place in Europe, in consequence of the revolutionary spirit which has so long prevailed. We are told, that 'the remote causes of the present revolutionary and revolutionizing state of Europe have lain concealed for many ages back, as speculations in philosophy, and inexperienced visions in politics.' The first developement of these causes, our author observes, took place in the Congress held by the Americans at Albany in the year 1754. Our author, who attended that congress, informs us, that a federal representative government was at that time planned. The subsequent establishment of that government in America is considered in the Memorial as not only the source, but in fact the beginning of the revolutionary events which took place in Europe. A view is then given of the means taken by the combined powers to oppose the revolution; which, it is observed, had a direct tendency to produce the very state of things they were intended to prevent. The remarks made upon this subject do not appear either new or interesting. Our author afterwards enters into a discussion of the present state of the balance of power in Europe; the result of which is, that the old balance of power is dissolved, that the laws of nations have been set aside, and that France is a military monarchy established upon a systematic plan of conquest. The conclusion drawn is, that any balance of power which may hereafter be formed, must arise from the new state of nations.

The second part of the Memorial points out the system of external politics which ought to be adopted by Great Britain, and what the Governor calls the Atlantic States. He gives it as his decided opinion, that unless 'she is a determined dupe,' Great Britain will no longer attempt to meddle with the continental balance of power, the basis of which is destroyed. The European nations which the Governor includes under Atlantic

States, are, in the first place, Sweden and Denmark; which he considers as such from their position, their products, and their commerce. Portugal, possessing territories on both sides of the ocean, is also classed under that description. To that government, the project of removing from its European territories to Brazil, is strenuously recommended. It is said, that it might there establish a more powerful dominion, than it ever enjoyed in Europe. Our author adds,

'This is not wild speculation, never thought of before: it has already been had in contemplation, and was once all put in motion in the minds and hands of those who might have carried it into execution; just as was once the removal of the States and Government of the United Provinces to Batavia. Portugal has at present a minister who perfectly knows the truth in fact of this idea; who is perfectly *au fait* to the means of carrying it into execution, and from local experience practically informed of the mode and means of giving establishment to such imperium in such dominions, and of giving such organization to the government of them as the site and circumstances of the people would there require, and would and could act under. But, alas! when spirit is dead, the best and most important truths become impracticable theory.' pp. 54. 55.

The powers which our author considers as particularly adapted for this league, are, Great Britain and America. This appears to have been a favourite project of Governor Pownall's many years ago. The means recommended for cementing the alliance are, the progressive removal of all commercial restrictions which subsist from the Navigation Act, or other causes, and a participation of both a *circuitous* and direct trade with the provinces and islands belonging to Great Britain, under certain restrictions. With a view to strengthen this alliance, it is recommended that these two states should co-operate in emancipating the Spanish colonies. These colonies, it is affirmed, are on the eve of insurrection and independence; and Mr Pownall refers to a Memorial published in 1780, in which he pointed out the precarious hold which Spain had at that time over her colonies. In the passage in the former Memorial, referred to, it is observed, that whenever a revolt takes place in Spanish America, it will not assume the same form which the revolution in North America did.

'The falling off of South America will be conducted, in its *natural* progress, by the spirit of some injured enterprising genius taking the lead of a sense of alienation, and of a disposition of revolt, to the establishment of a great monarchy.' p. 80.

This remark appears acute and enlightened. How far our author's information on the state of these provinces is accurate, we

we do not pretend to judge. The following passage shews, that it has for some time been an object of attention.

'The maturity to which this spirit of independence had arrived, was attentively watched by this writer in its various periods. This hath, at various periods, and on divers occasions, broken out into actual insurrection, and in some parts into decided revolt.

In the Carracaas, in — 1750—1797
Quito, — — 1764
Mexico, — 1773
Peru, — — 1781
Santa Fee, — 1781—1796.

'Finding the above state of things confirmed by current and posterior events coming into fact, the writer of this was led to pursue and follow up the line of information of which he had the clue; and being, in consequence of this information, which it was known he was in possession of, and in consequence of a remembrance still remaining, in North America, of the part he took in defending the political freedom and establishments of that country, applied to, in divers lines, to go into further considerations of the line by which this large portion of mankind might become emancipated from the *provincial external* government of Old Spain, as North America was from that of Great Britain, he drew up a plan * * * *; and some years after, when an opportunity offered of forming that plan on really existing ground of fact, calling forth act; and when a proper occasion came forward to propose it for execution, he gave his assistance, not only in forming the measure by which this emancipation was to be attained, but formed the plan of an independent sovereign government, suited to the existing circumstances of the people and the country; clear of all democratic anarchy, on one hand, and secured against the dangers of despotism on the other. This he undertook and communicated, in its proper place, in the year 1790-1. The Government of Great Britain took this measure into consideration, and was on the point of carrying it into execution. The apprehension which this excited in the Spanish cabinet brought it to an accommodation on the business of Nootka Sound, and made the peace of that day. This has been for some time no secret at Paris or Madrid It was not in the power of Spain to oppose its execution. France knew it was executable; and, in the year 1792, entertained the project of taking the measure out of our hands, and of executing what they supposed Great Britain had relinquished. The writer of this has seen the plan, which he was informed was that which the French government of that time had adopted. It was not put into execution there; and Great Britain and Spain being then at peace, it was suspended here.' pp. 80—83.

Our author declines giving the details of his plan. He, however, insinuates, that the most perfect secrecy has not been preserved with regard to it.

'These

'These matters, however, have been suffered, somehow, to transpire beyond their original bounds; an echo of it vibrated amongst the officers employed on the expedition to Holland; and we are told by Sir Robert Wilson, "that Italy and Spanish America for some time occupied Sir Ralph Abercrombie's attention," before he received orders to proceed to Egypt. That such a plan existed, is well known at Paris and at Madrid, and not unknown at Vienna. The French have lately suffered their writers to speculate openly and avowedly on these views of the emancipation of the Spanish provinces; and a Treatise on this subject, printed in America, has been addressed to the South Americans. Nay, more, since the signing of the preliminaries of the peace, the French put into provisional operation their plan of guaranty, founded in part on their treaty with Spain, and in part on their general plan of aggrandisement, by possession of the revenues and commerce of these Spanish provinces. If they had succeeded at St Domingo, they would have proceeded with such troops as they could spare, and with such part of their fleet as they would have been permitted to sail with to these coasts; and would, *at this moment*, have had, *under the form of guaranty*, the command of the garrisons, and have been in possession of the revenue and commerce of the country.' pp. 88, 89.

This revolution, it is said, will be easy and certain, provided assistance is given to these colonies, on honourable terms, without any view to deriving a revenue from, or attaining the sovereignty of the country. The emancipation of the Negro nations in the West India islands is next considered as an event that must certainly take place; and the rapid consolidation of their power is predicted. The Memorialist, therefore, recommends making provision for that change, which we cannot prevent, and that these nations should be included in the Transatlantic alliance. We shall not attempt a discussion of the different positions advanced in this part of the Memorial; as we could hardly do so, without increasing this article to a bulk nearly approaching to that of the Memorial itself. We shall only observe, that, even supposing that the position assumed, that this country can derive no security from any continental alliances, is well founded, we do not see how the alliance proposed would supply their place. That the trade and commerce of this country might be extended by such connexions, is extremely probable, and the intercourse with these nations would be little affected by continental wars. But surely neither the United States, nor any of those whose rise is predicted, could be expected to possess that common interest, that feeling of common danger, or the means of affording mutual assistance, which could make their alliance a substitute for the continental balance of power. If this country must be duped, if she reposes any confidence on engagements made by continental powers, she will probably be equally deceived, if she

she relies for assistance, in the hour of distress, from nations on the other side of the Atlantic. In a commercial point of view, Mr Pownall's suggestions may be important; and we cannot help admiring the confident and systematic manner in which he provides for the events which he predicts; which, to common observers, appear uncertain and remote. His account of the state of the Spanish colonies depends upon private information, which is not laid before the public. We therefore hazard no conjectures on that subject. We must, however, express some doubt with regard to the prudent and prosperous governments which the negro nations are so soon to establish in the West Indies. Even if they shall attain a state of independence, the establishment of a regular government will have many obstacles to encounter. It will not be easy to guaranty these nations from the danger of constant domestic dissentions, which will put an end to the habits of industry, destroy the traces of civilization which they have acquired from their masters, and in the course of a few years reduce them to a state of African barbarism.

In justice to our author, we must observe, that he is by no means sanguine with regard to the adoption of his plan, or its efficacy in the present state of affairs. He concludes the second part of his Memorial, with observing—

'The Executive of this country has feared nothing so much, nor rejected any thing more decidedly, for six-and-thirty years, than the interposition of advice founded on the system in which the interest, and even the existence of it is involved; while the Executive of the government of France is going on under the advice of a regular progressive system, which advances every day, and will, nay must, produce its direct and full effect.

'After all, the writer of this should confess, for it is too true, that, in our present derelict state, and since the time which was open to practical efficiency has been suffered to go by neglected, he has not any assured confidence in the efficacy of any measure which may be now proposed, and which the Atlantic powers are not likely to take up and engage in, equal to meet the danger which menaces them, and will come upon them.

'However—*de republicâ non desperandum*—he therefore endeavours to trace a line to which some future hope may point its view.' p. 99. 100.

The internal relations of states, and the effect which the Revolution has had upon them, is reserved for the third part of this Memorial. We are told, that those who are accustomed to the administration of political affairs,

—'must see, and from experience must know, that a *great change is taking place and coming forward, as in the spirit and temper of men, so in*

in the principles by which the system of political establishments can move and act; and that operations of these principles continue their movement in a regular progressive course. However men may shut their eyes to this crisis; however they may endeavour to conceal it from others —it *is a fact in event.*' pp. 107, 108.

This is attributed to the prevalence of systems of delusive liberty and impracticable equality. To remove them, our author enters into a discussion of the social compact, more impenetrably obscure than any we recollect to have met with on the subject; and, as the same obscurity is preserved to the end of this Memorial, we must confess we have not been able to form any precise idea of the nature of the remedy suggested. As some apology for want of apprehension, we must observe, that throughout the whole Memorial, our author betrays a most unfortunate predilection for scientific metaphors. Every thing is described in terms borrowed from astronomy, geometry, logic, or chemistry; and the analogies suggested are carefully followed out. One state, we are told, has 'her orbit disturbed;' another is 'eccentric to its system, and verges to a foreign centre;' others are actuated by an 'external predestinating will.' This language does not tend to illustrate the plainest part of the subject; but where ideas, in themselves sufficiently vague and obscure, are described through the medium of 'combined attractions,' 'equilibriums,' 'monad particles,' 'poises,' 'vortexes,' 'primaries and satellites,' it requires a very uncommon degree of discernment to disentangle the author's meaning. We are assured, that the author does not reason from metaphors. They are, however, so much incorporated with his argument, and there is so little precision in the language used after the metaphor is laid aside, that, in most cases, it is difficult to form a clear idea of his meaning; and, in others, we cannot help suspecting that the argument is accommodated to the metaphor, instead of being illustrated by it. The abstract argument on the nature of the balance of power, (p. 39.), that it must consist of an equilibrium of *three*, fixed on a common centre, cannot be attributed to any other source. Another instance of this occurs. After comparing the tendency to revolutionary principles to combustion, warning persons not to consider the flame as extinguished, though we do not see it burning, the author delivers the *recipe* for it in the same language. It is, that the state

—'must, by some dissolvent, by some counteracting elective attractions, first loosen the parts of this combustible, and then, by a kind of political chemistry, draw out the *calorique*; otherwise, it will neither be extinguished nor compressed, *but must, in spite of all policy, of all force, explode.*' pp. 145. 146.

We expected to have been told what this dissolvent was, and what was the political chemistry that would draw out the caloric. This, however, is by no means the case; as, even where the metaphor is dropt, we are left in equal uncertainty as to the nature of the Governor's plans. We should not have thought it necessary to point out these defects, had they not been of a nature which must materially interfere with the general design of the publication; as we were by no means disposed to criticise the *style* of a work which must derive its importance chiefly from the experience and reputation of its author, and the success of his former predictions.

ART. XX. *The Temple of Nature; or, the Origin of Society:* A Poem, with Philosophical Notes. By Erasmus Darwin, M. D. F. R. S. Author of the Botanic Garden, of Zoonomia, and of Phytologia. London. 1803. 4to. pp. 300.

THE work which we are now to review, seems to have been fully prepared for the press before the death of the author; and it certainly derives an additional and melancholy interest, from its appearance as the parting legacy of a writer, from the exertion of whose splendid talents we have formerly derived very high gratification. Yet if we were to judge only from the first impressions which were made by the earlier productions of Dr Darwin's muse, and from the force with which they caught the public attention, we should probably overrate the eagerness and impatience with which the greater number of readers will now be drawn to listen to his dying notes. Only a few years have elapsed, since the genius of the author of 'the Botanic Garden' first burst on the public notice in all its splendour. The novelty of his plan—an imposing air of boldness and originality in his poetical as well as philosophical speculations—and a striking display of command over some of the richest sources of poetical embellishment, were sufficient to secure to him a large share of approbation, even from the most fastidious readers, and much more than sufficient to attract the gaze and the indiscriminating acclamations of a herd of admirers and imitators. Yet, with all these pretensions to permanent fame, we are much deceived, if we have not already observed, in that of Dr Darwin, the visible symptoms of decay. Whether in consequence of more sober and chastened reflection, or from mere caprice, or from whatever other cause it may have proceeded, his beauties seem to have quickly palled upon the public taste; and his decline from the exalted place he once appeared to hold, has been unhappily accelerated

celerated by the ridicule of tasteless and impotent imitation. Still, however, we presume, that the former admirers of Dr Darwin's poetry will turn with some degree of pleasing expectation to this posthumous work; and though we are very far from thinking that it is likely to produce any new fluctuation of opinion, we may safely promise them the satisfaction of recognizing the same characteristic manner, and some of the same peculiar excellencies which distinguish his former compositions. At the same time, we feel little hesitation in stating, that 'the Temple of Nature' appears to us, in poetical excellence, to fall far short of 'the Botanic Garden;' and that, without possessing an equal share of beauties, its defects are more frequent and obtrusive.

In estimating the merits of Dr Darwin's work, it is difficult, and perhaps would be improper, to separate the characters of the poet and the philosopher. His larger poems are all of the didactic class; and seem to have been designed as the vehicles of such parts of his philosophical speculations, as were the most susceptible of poetical illustration and embellishment. In a short preface, the author has informed us that 'the poem, which is here offered to the public, does not pretend to instruct by deep researches of reasoning; its aim is simply to amuse, by bringing distinctly to the imagination the beautiful and sublime images of the operations of nature, in the order, as the author believes, in which the progressive course of time presented them.' From this declaration, the reader might probably be induced to expect nothing more than a description of some of the *known* phenomena of nature, exhibited in detached compartments, and bound together by no other connexion than might be necessary to aid the imagination in its transitions from one subject to another. On a slight inspection, however, it will be found, that in his delineations of Nature, the author does not restrain himself within the narrow bounds of observation; that he again returns to the confines of Chaos and Old Night, from which he had escaped with so much labour in his former poem; and that, instead of copying from the great volume of Nature which now lies open to our view, he fondly attempts to penetrate the veil which must for ever conceal her mysteries from mortal eye, and affects to disclose, with all the confidence of an observer, an imaginary order and progress of things, from sluggish and unorganized matter, upwards, into living, intelligent, and moral existence. In a word, those who are at all acquainted with the writings of Dr Darwin, will be at no loss to discover, that 'the Temple of Nature' is in *substance*, little else than some of the wildest theories of the 'Zoonomia' done into verse, and divested

vested of those subordinate and collateral discussions which form the most valuable part of that ingenious but fanciful work.

Considered as a whole, it seems to possess a sufficient degree both of philosophical and poetical unity. The origin of human society, or the formation of a race of beings with qualities and attributes to fit them for uniting into a social state, may be considered as the general theme which he proposes to explain; and in doing so, he has attempted to shew, that the object has been accomplished solely by the slow and spontaneous operation of certain primary and general laws impressed on rude matter by the great Author of nature. In this undertaking, he cannot be accused of timidity: but that he might not be loaded with the charge of undue presumption, he has provided a suitable machinery to give force and authority to his doctrines. After a very general statement of his subject, and an address to 'Immortal Love,' which in a poem '*de natura rerum*' could not with decency be omitted, we are introduced to the Temple of Nature, which the poet has had the good fortune to discover on the ancient site of the Mosaic Paradise, and which he has taken care to make sufficiently vast and capacious, for the reception of all sorts of imaginary beings, clean and unclean. Among the crowd, the reader will have the pleasure of meeting again with a most respectable assemblage of bright Nymphs, recumbent Beauties, unclad Graces, gay Desires; besides young Dione and her quivered Loves, with all of whom he must have before contracted an intimate acquaintance, under the auspices of Dr Darwin. The goddess herself is the only new figure in the group; and perhaps the reader may agree with us, that novelty is not the only circumstance in her appearance which may be apt to startle a stranger.

> 'Shrin'd in the midst, majestic NATURE stands,
> Extends o'er earth and sea her hundred hands;
> Tower upon tower her beamy forehead crests,
> And births unnumbered milk her hundred breasts;
> Drawn round her brows a lucid veil depends,
> O'er her fine waist the purfled woof descends;
> Her stately limbs the gathered folds surround,
> And spread their golden selvage on the ground.'
>
> CANTO I. l. 129.

In a morning procession of nymphs to the temple, which is led by Urania, or the Priestess of Nature, the muse rather abruptly presents herself, and implores the 'fair hierophant' to withdraw the 'mystic veil,' and disclose the hidden plan of Nature, in the formation of her animated works. The request is, of course, instantly complied with; and the remainder of the poem proceeds, in the words of the Hierophant, interrupted only by a few pertinent

questions, or a few supplementary illustrations which had occurred to the muse herself.

The first of four cantos, into which the poem is divided, is entitled 'Production of Life;' and apart from the machinery which is thus employed to give it poetical effect, it contains little more than an exposition of the author's favourite hypothesis of the gradual process of Nature in the formation of organized and living matter, by the spontaneous operation of chemical laws and affinities. Reasoning analogically from the growth of individual animals, and the successive changes of being through which they are seen to pass, he seems to think himself warranted in concluding that there are no fixed or insurmountable boundaries between the different species of animals;—that the more perfect animals differ from the less perfect only in having arrived at a more advanced stage in the spontaneous evolution of those original energies which have been bestowed in common upon all;—and that hence, by a fair deduction, we shall arrive at the origin of our own nature, merely by descending along the scale of animal existence, till we find ourselves at the natural zero, where the transition from unorganised to organized matter is supposed to shew itself in the rudest and most minute of the microscopic animalcula.

In stating this general outline of Dr Darwin's theory, we do not feel the slightest provocation to enter into any serious inquiry either as to its originality or its truth. Whatever may be its merits in other respects, we believe that it is not of a kind to lose much of its native dignity and importance, by exchanging the severe and simple garb of science for the thin and gaudy draperies of fancy. As a specimen, we shall select the first that occurs; and we leave it to others to decide, whether, as a grave philosophical hypothesis, it could possibly be improved by the flattest translation into prose.

'First HEAT from chemic dissolution springs,
And gives to matter its eccentric wings;
With strong repulsion parts the exploding mass,
Melts into lymph, or kindles into gas:
Attraction next, as earth or air subsides,
The ponderous atoms from the light divides,
Approaching parts with quick embrace combines,
Swells into spheres, and lengthens into lines.
Last, as fine goads the gluten-threads excite,
Cords grapple cords, and webs with webs unite;
And quick CONTRACTION with etherial flame,
Lights into life the fibre-woven frame.
Hence, without parent, by spontaneous birth,
Rise the first specks of animated earth;

From

From Nature's womb the plant or insect swims,
And buds or breathes, with microscopic limbs.

'In earth, sea, air, around, below, above,
Life's subtle woof in Nature's loom is wove;
Points glued to points, a living line extends,
Touch'd by some goad approach the bending ends;
Rings join to rings, and irritated tubes
Clasp with young lips the nutrient globes or cubes;
And urged by appetencies new select,
Imbibe, retain, digest, secrete, eject.
In branching cones the living web expands,
Lymphatic ducts, and convoluted glands;
Aortal tubes propel the nascent blood,
And lengthening veins absorb the refluent flood;
Leaves, lungs, and gills, the vital ether breathe
On earth's green surface, or the waves beneath.
So Life's first powers arrest the winds and floods,
To bones convert them, or to shells, or woods;
Stretch the vast beds of argil, lime, and sand,
And from diminish'd oceans form the land!

'Next the long nerves unite their silver train,
And young SENSATION permeates the brain;
Through each new sense the keen emotions dart,
Flush the young cheek, and swell the throbbing heart.
From pain and pleasure quick VOLITIONS rise,
Lift the strong arm, or point the inquiring eyes;
With Reason's light bewilder'd Man direct,
And right and wrong with balance nice detect.
Last in thick swarms ASSOCIATIONS spring,
Thoughts join to thoughts, to motions motions cling;
Whence in long trains of catenation flow
Imagined joy, and voluntary woe.'

CANTO I. l. 235.

In the second canto, after alluding to the operation of 'chemic strife' in resolving the elements of organic matter, the Priestess of Nature proceeds to unfold the remedy which is spontaneously wrought; and in a train of similar reasonings supported by similar analogies, she traces the progressive advancement of animals through the successive stages, first of the solitary, and secondly of the sexual reproduction of their respective kinds. Nor do the salutary tendencies of this new direction of the laws of motion stop short here, but bring along with them the most astonishing physical improvements of the individual, and the consequent evolution of the parental and connubial affinities, 'the first and second chains of society.' That our readers may share with us the benefit of these precious discoveries, we

we will indulge them with the author's theory of the transition from solitary to sexual reproduction.

> ' In these lone births no tender mothers blend
> Their genial powers to nourish or defend;
> No nutrient streams from Beauty's orbs improve
> These orphan babes of solitary love;
> Birth after birth the line unchanging runs,
> And fathers live transmitted in their sons;
> Each passing year beholds the unvarying kinds,
> The same their manners, and the same their minds.
> Till, as erelong successive buds decay,
> And insect-shoals successive pass away,
> Increasing wants the pregnant parents vex
> With the fond wish to form a softer sex;
> Whose milky rills with pure ambrosial food
> Might charm and cherish their expected brood.
> The potent wish in the productive hour
> Calls to its aid Imagination's power,
> O'er embryon throngs with mystic charm presides,
> And sex from sex the nascent world divides,
> With soft affections warms the callow trains,
> And gives to laughing Love his nymphs and swains;
> Whose mingling virtues interweave at length
> The mother's beauty with the father's strength.'
>
> CANTO II. l. 103.

The third canto, on 'the Progress of the Mind,' contains a physiological theory of the growth of the intellectual and moral faculties by the developement of what our author terms the *four sensorial powers* of irritation, sensation, volition and association. Those who are acquainted with the former writings of Dr Darwin, will here recognize the outlines of that fantastical theory of mind, which is given with more detail, and with much truly curious illustration, in the 'Zoonomia.' To those who have not studied the original, any attempt to exhibit the metaphysical system of the author, in an abridged form, would be equally uninteresting and unsatisfactory. As a very favourable specimen of the poetry of this canto, we may transcribe the mythological descent of Celestial Love.

> ' Now on swift wheels descending like a star
> Alights young Eros from his radiant car;
> On angel-wings attendant Graces move,
> And hail the God of Sentimental Love.
> Earth at his feet extends her flowery bed,
> And bends her silver blossoms round his head;
> Dark clouds dissolve, the warring winds subside,
> And smiling Ocean calms his tossing tide,

O'er

O'er the bright morn meridian lustres play,
And Heaven salutes him with a flood of day.'

'Warm as the sun-beam, pure as driven snows,
The enamoured God for young Dione glows;
Drops the still tear, with sweet attention sighs,
And woos the Goddess with adoring eyes;
Marks her white neck beneath the gauze's fold,
Her ivory shoulders, and her locks of gold;
Drinks with mute ecstacy the transient glow,
Which warms and tints her bosom's rising snow.
With holy kisses wanders o'er her charms,
And clasps the Beauty in Platonic arms;
Or, if the dewy hands of Sleep, unbid,
O'er her blue eye-balls close the lovely lid,
Watches each nascent smile, and fleeting grace,
That plays in day-dreams o'er her blushing face;
Counts the fine mazes of the curls, that break
Round her fair ear, and shade her damask cheek;
Drinks the pure fragrance of her breath, and sips
With tenderest touch the roses of her lips;—
O'er female hearts with chaste seduction reigns,
And binds Society in silken chains.'

CANTO III. l. 177.

In these three cantos, the author may be said to have completed his design, in so far as it embraced the developement of those principles which ultimately lead to the social connexion, and are the foundation of that varied happiness of which an animated, intelligent and moral being is susceptible. But the benign operation of these principles is by no means unmixed, and seems to be incumbered, or to bring along with it an admixture of evil, the origin of which has furnished one of the most perplexing questions which can exercise the ingenuity of man. This is the professed subject of the fourth canto: But with less than his usual hardiness, the author evades the solution of the problem, and contents himself with a statement which is intended to shew that on the balance of good and evil the former greatly preponderates;—that the physical and moral evils incident to man are more than compensated by the various enjoyments attached to the exercise of *sensorial power*;—and that the constant destruction of organic life finds an adequate remedy in the constant reproduction of it in new forms. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that though all this be true, the difficulty would still remain nearly as formidable as ever.—But whatever may be thought of this or any other of the abstract speculations of Dr Darwin, it would be an injustice to the character of the author not to acknowledge, that here, as in every other part of his writings, his views are pure, amiable and benevolent.

Amidst

Amidst the freedom of our criticisms on the writer, we should bestow this tribute to the man with unmixed satisfaction, did it not forcibly bring to our recollection, that now, alas! he is equally beyond the reach of our censure or our praise.

In the discussion of his arduous and diversified subject, it is obvious that Dr Darwin did not intend to fetter himself by the stricter rules of philosophical connexion and arrangement. While a general object is kept in view, his course in the pursuit of it is not meant to be always direct or steady; and it never restrains him from any collateral excursion where variety or amusement are likely to be found. Nor are these rambles confined to the poetical part of the work. Whenever he despairs of subduing the natural ruggedness of his matter, and of clothing it with the embellishments of fancy, he presents it to his reader in the form of a note or dissertation; and in this manner he has easily contrived to give ample scope to his speculations on a great variety of subjects. Of the 'additional notes,' independently of those more immediately subservient to the illustration of the text, the most considerable are 'A Chemical Theory of Electricity and Magnetism;'—'An Analysis of Taste;'—'The Theory and Structure of Language;'—and an 'Analysis of Articulate Sounds.' On topics such as these, it may be presumed that Dr Darwin will display a great deal of his usual ingenuity and acuteness; at the same time it appears to us that these dissertations in prose, as well as every other part of the volume, in so far as it lays claim to the character of a philosophical work, are deeply marked with all the grossest faults of his former philosophical writings.

It requires no stretch of candour to admit, that Dr Darwin was possessed of talents, which, under happier and more judicious direction, might have ensured very great advances in scientific investigation. To great acuteness of observation he joined a singular degree of ingenuity in the combination of particular facts; and with such powers he could scarcely fail of occasional success in attaining original, extensive, and commanding views of his subject. At the same time, his most devoted admirers will hardly venture to dispute that his successes bear no considerable proportion to the number or boldness of his attempts. The causes of these failures do not appear to us to lie very deep; and a few general remarks, in this point of view, on the character of Dr Darwin's philosophical writings, will supersede a more minute examination of the particular dogmas which form the groundwork of the volume before us.

The fundamental error, which appears to us to pervade and infect the whole of Dr Darwin's scientific speculations, is a presumptuous

sumptuous contempt, or perhaps a gross ignorance of the legitimate bounds of philosophical inquiry. It may justly excite astonishment, that after all that has been taught on the rules of sound philosophizing ever since the days of Bacon, and after the noble examples of their successful application, especially in the physical sciences, which have been exhibited to the imitation of philosophers, there should still be found so many lamentable instances of the waste of genius, in the pursuit of false or unattainable objects. Of these instances, we consider Dr Darwin as decidedly the most notorious and most lamentable that has lately occurred. In his attempts to investigate the phenomena of matter as well as of mind, it is but rarely indeed that we ever find him proceeding in the legitimate road of observation, by which alone it is given to man to penetrate even those parts of nature that are most within his reach; and it can occasion no surprise, that by thus deserting the only sure guide to discovery, he should often insensibly wander into that forbidden ground, where observation and discovery are no longer practicable. It is in the choice of such a course that the disgrace of failure consists; for powers of a much higher order than those of Dr Darwin, when so misdirected, could not have secured a more fortunate issue.

Another error, nearly akin to that we have been describing, but which deserves particular notice as fatally characterizing many of the metaphysical speculations of Dr Darwin, arises from constantly blending and confounding together the two distinct sciences of matter and of mind. In this censure, we would not be understood as referring directly to that hypothesis of materialism, which is everywhere assumed by him with the utmost confidence. Ignorant as we are of the nature of matter, beyond a few of its sensible qualities, it would be rash and idle to limit dogmatically the modifications of which it may be susceptible. For similar reasons, indeed, we cannot but regard it as still more rash and unphilosophical, to assert the identity of substances between the known qualities and attributes of which no sameness or analogy have yet been recognized; and in the present state of our knowledge, we should certainly esteem it more rational to adopt that sceptical theory, which rejects the evidence of an alleged identity between matter and the principle of thought, and which rather holds that, in so far as we have any evidence applicable to the question, it tends to the contrary conclusion. But the objection we have here in view, is not aimed at the dogmatical opinions of Dr Darwin on the nature of mind, but alludes to a favourite mode of investigation which is completely unphilosophical, inasmuch as it attempts

belonging to vision make up the principal part of poetic language. Mr Pope has written a bad verse in the Windsor Forest,

'And Kennet swift, for silver eels *renown'd.*'

The word renown'd does not present the idea of a visible object to the mind, and is thence prosaic. But change this line thus,

'And Kennet swift, where silver graylings *play.*'

it becomes poetry, because the scenery is then brought before the eye.'

In the hands of Dr Darwin this theory has not remained an idle speculation: it appears to have had a powerful influence on the formation of his poetical habits, and may be regarded as the grand source of the beauties and defects which most strongly characterize the whole of his poetry. In all his delineations of external nature, his skill is directed to produce, not an *impressive* but a *picturesque* effect: every circumstance is selected, and every epithet is sought for, which may bring out the object *directly* to the eye; and the most glowing tints are thrown over the whole which the language of vision can supply. Where this subject does not in itself strictly belong to external and visible nature, but presents itself in a general or abstracted state, he scrupulously avoids ever showing it in its native metaphysical nakedness, and his imagination is instantly employed to embody it in a material and visible shape. Bold metaphors, personifications and allegories, are his constant and sole resources; and in pourtraying the scenery of this fairy kingdom of his own creation, he adheres strictly to the principle of addressing himself directly and only to the eye. Nor does his propensity to metamorphosis stop here; but even in delineating inanimated external nature, her own graceful and varied forms seem too tame to catch his fancy, till they have been transformed into the living monsters of his own brain.

Few readers will deny that in following out his own views of poetical writing, Dr Darwin has displayed very splendid talents: yet we are inclined to think that his own practice affords the most ample illustration of the errors of his theory. Like most other theories, it contains a certain portion of truth without embracing the whole; and the little it contains is rendered mischievous by the exclusion of the remainder. Nobody will dispute that mere *picturesque* effect may often be extremely pleasing, independently of every other consideration; but it is surely a very unjust limitation of the natural range of poetry, to consider it as solely or ultimately employed in the production of such effects. Its general aim is to produce a strong and pleasing *impression* through the medium of the fancy or of the passions and feelings; and among the most efficacious of the *means* that are so employed, the delineation of

of visible forms may claim a very high, perhaps the highest, rank. But it is equally certain, that, in poetry, very powerful impressions may be given by other means which cannot be reduced within the narrow rules which Dr Darwin has imposed upon himself in the exercise of the poetical art: and it appears to us that by the proscription of abstract and general language, he has cast away an important instrument in exciting and interesting the feelings of his reader. It is true, indeed, that even in the representation and expression of the passions, a great deal may be borrowed from the language of vision; but after very liberal allowance, a great deal will be found to remain, which is is either of a different origin, or which, in its progress, has ceased to be felt as the vehicle of picturesque imagery.

As the greater part of Dr Darwin's poetry is properly descriptive, he has of course suffered the less from the limitation of the natural range of poetical composition, and from thus affecting always to present his ideas in a visible form. But there are other evils attending it, by which he appears to us to have been more essentially injured, and which may be considered as directly counteracting and weakening even those *picturesque effects* he is ever ambitious of producing. The outlines of his figures are often drawn with astonishing strength and accuracy; but by employing only the language of vision, he has given them a certain hardness and coldness of execution; and by foregoing the use of that which is addressed to the feeling, rather than to the eye, he has neglected to avail himself of those fine and fleeting circumstances and associations which are beyond the reach of the pencil, but which, in poetical painting, may be made to contribute powerfully towards the general impression. In the following well-known lines of Pope, there is an artful and successful combination of the *picturesque* and the *impressive.*

> 'But o'er the twilight groves and dusky caves,
> Long-sounding aisles, and intermingled graves,
> Black Melancholy sits, and round her throws
> A death-like silence, and a dread repose:
> Her gloomy presence saddens all the scene,
> Shades every flower, and darkens ev'ry green;
> Deepens the murmur of the falling floods,
> And breathes a browner horror on the woods.'

These lines have been happily imitated by Dr Darwin in his own manner; that is, with a view solely to the picturesque effect of a single, isolated figure. There is perhaps little doubt from which of the two a statuary would choose to copy; yet, we will venture to affirm, that, in general and impressive effect, the following lines fall short of their original;

O'er

> ' O'er the green floor, and round the dew-damp wall,
> The slimy snail, and bloated lizard crawl;
> While on white heaps of intermingled bones
> The muse of Melancholy sits and moans;
> Showers her cold tears o'er Beauty's early wreck,
> Spreads her pale arms, and bends her marble neck.'
>
> CANTO I. l. 119.

The limited system of Dr Darwin is productive of additional and still more unsurmountable disadvantages in the delineation of those large and complicated groups which he labours so frequently to exhibit to the fancy of his reader. In seems impossible, merely by the language of vision, to give that due *keeping* or subordination of parts which is essential to the picturesque effect, and which on canvas is accomplished by those gradations of size and of colouring which the rules of perspective prescribe. The different parts are unavoidably presented, not in subordination, but in *succession*; and the effect would be nearly similar to that of an Indian screen, where all the figures are crowded into the foreground, without symmetry or arrangement, in the full glare of colouring, and dignity of natural dimension. Of this evil Dr Darwin seems not to have been aware; and certainly in his own practice the most ample illustrations of it are afforded. It impairs, and sometimes destroys the effects of his most elaborate descriptions, and leaves on the mind little else than a confused, dazzling and painful sensation. The evil is perhaps inseparable from the nature of the medium employed in poetical description; but at least it admits of palliation by the skilful intermixture of those more indirect modes of suggestion which address the fancy through the feelings; and by thus bringing forward directly into view the principal figure, while the subordinate parts of the composition are suffered to remain, as it were, in the indistinctness and dimness of distance.

The most partial admirers of Dr Darwin's poetry will probably confess that they experience a certain monotonous effect which gradually fatigues and disgusts, and renders a continued perusal almost intolerable. The circumstance is extremely mortifying; but it is plainly connected in part with the limited and mistaken notions of poetry which we have been considering. By addressing himself to the mind only through the medium of one of the external senses, the poet obviously deprives himself of vast resources for varying and diversifying the entertainment of his reader, and must be contented to ring the changes on ideas and words of a single class. But this monotony of manner is prodigiously increased by the use which it brings along with it of metaphor, personification, and allegory, the perpetual recurrence of which can be atoned for by no individual excellence. The utmost

utmost fertility of poetical invention is circumscribed within limited bounds: and when every object, whether of the material or ideal world, is transmitted into some fantastical shape of the poet's brain, we need not be surprised, in this creation of monsters, to find the prodigal variety and beauty of nature lost in the poverty and formality of art.

A remark somewhat analogous, may perhaps be applied to the diction of Dr Darwin's poetry. It often has the merit of great splendour and dignity; but it is always remote from simplicity, and too often in the opposite extreme of unnatural affectation. It aims at an uniform grandeur and stateliness of march; but is frequently sustained only by meretricious ornament and pedantic inversion. It is to this cause that may in part be imputed that monotonous and tiresome effect in the poetry of Dr Darwin, for which we have endeavoured to account. The style, which admits of the richest variety, is unquestionably that of which the primary and leading character is simplicity. Without suffering degradation, it admits of every diversity of becoming ornament: but where ornament is itself the primary and leading character, it is apt to disdain the association either of simplicity or variety. In attempting to lower its tone, it usually becomes grovelling and ludicrous. The following lines may perhaps afford an apt illustration: the unhappy mixture of prosaic flatness, and of figurative bombast, need not be particularly pointed out.

'Hear, O ye Sons of Time! your final doom,
And read the characters that mark your tomb:
The marble mountain, and the sparry steep,
Were built by myriad nations of the deep,—
Age after age, who form'd their spiral shells,
Their sea-fan gardens, and their coral cells;
Till central fires with unextinguished sway
Raised the primeval islands into day;—
The sand-fill'd strata stretched from pole to pole;
Unmeasured beds of clay, and marl, and coal,
Black ore of manganese, the zinky stone,
And dusky steel on his magnetic throne,
In deep morass, or eminence superb,
Rose from the wrecks of animal or herb;
These from their elements by Life combined,
Form'd by digestion, and in glands refined,
Gave by their just excitement of the sense
The Bliss of Being to the vital Ens.'

CANTO IV. l. 429.

The adoption and recurrence of a few favourite images and phrases,

phrases, may likewise contribute its influence to the painful uniformity of Dr Darwin's manner; but is only of subordinate importance. When future critics shall think fit to bestow their labour in detecting the sources of his imitations, they will be at no loss to discover the very liberal use he has made of the ideas and phrases of former poets: yet it is fair to add, that in his plagiarisms he has paid no greater respect to his own property than to that of his neighbours.

Among the peculiar characteristics of Dr Darwin's poetry, and the causes of that monotonous feeling of which his readers complain, we have sometimes heard the system of his versification stated as the chief. In this, however, we cannot agree. It is in this point that we consider him as most invulnerable: and the musical cadences of his verses appear to us as beautiful and as various as their general nature admits of. We have not overlooked his partiality to the trochaic foot at the commencement of his lines, and to one or two favourite and prevailing subdivisions of his couplets: But without stopping to justify him by the authority of his greatest predecessors, it may be enough to say, that their recurrence is rarely more frequent than to produce an agreeable variety. It is in the structure of his sentences, and in the selection of his thoughts, not in the measurement of syllables, that his characteristic blemishes are to be traced.

We are aware, that in our criticisms on the literary merits of Dr Darwin, we have been chiefly occupied in the invidious task of censure. Our apology will readily suggest itself. We are not insensible of the force of his claims to the praise of genius, and of various accomplishments: but his real deserts are not of a kind which lye hid from the general eye; while his blemishes are so intimately blended with his beauties, as often either to escape observation, or to attract injudicious applause. Perhaps few of his readers have, at all times, been on their guard against this dangerous fascination: and the mere caprice of fashion may have tended blindly to mislead a great many more. To have pointed out some of the characteristical faults of a writer who threatened at one time to establish a new sect in poetry, may not therefore be without its use. But though we would deprecate the adoption of his manner as a model for imitation, we should lament to see him robbed of his just portion of qualified praise: and we trust we shall be able often to recur with pleasure, certainly with pleasing recollections, to the 'splendid page' of Dr Darwin.

Anr.

ART. XXI. *The Works of the Right Honourable Lady Mary Wortley Montagu:* Including her Correspondence, Poems, and Essays. Published, by permission, from her Original Papers. 5 vols. 8vo. London. 1803.

THESE volumes are so very entertaining, that we ran them all through immediately upon their coming into our possession; and at the same time contain so little that is either difficult or profound, that we may venture to give some account of them to our readers without farther deliberation.

The only thing that disappointed us in this publication, was the memoir of the writer's life, prefixed by the editor to her correspondence. In point of composition, it is very tame and inelegant, and rather excites than gratifies the curiosity of the reader, by the imperfect manner in which the facts are narrated. A biographer, employed by the surviving friends of his subject, cannot be presumed, indeed, to be altogether impartial; and an editor, who publishes the papers of a deceased lady *by permission* of her relations, must usually have their permission also for what he narrates of her history. As the letters themselves, however, are arranged in a chronological order, and commonly contain very distinct notices of the writer's situation, we shall be enabled, by our extracts from them, to give a pretty clear idea of her ladyship's life and adventures, with very little assistance from the meagre narrative of Mr Dallaway.

Lady Mary Pierrepoint, eldest daughter of the Duke of Kingston, was born in 1690, and gave, in her early youth, such indications of a studious disposition, that she was initiated into the rudiments of the learned languages along with her brother. Her first years appear to have been spent in retirement; and yet the very first series of letters with which we are presented, indicates a great deal of that talent for ridicule, and power of observation, by which she afterwards became so famous and so formidable. These letters (about a dozen in number) are addressed to Mrs Wortley, the mother of her future husband; and, along with a good deal of girlish flattery and affectation, display such a degree of easy humour and sound penetration, as is not often to be met with in a damsel of nineteen, even in this age of precocity. The following letter in 1709, is written upon the misbehaviour of one of her female favourites.

'My knight-errantry is at an end; and I believe I shall henceforward think freeing of galley-slaves and knocking down windmills more laudable undertakings than the defence of any woman's reputation whatever. To say truth, I have never had any great esteem for the generality of the fair sex; and my only consolation for being of that gender,

gender, has been the assurance it gave me of never being married to any one among them; but I own, at present, I am so much out of humour with the actions of Lady H***, that I never was so heartily ashamed of my petticoats before. You know, I suppose, that by this discreet match she renounces the care of her children. And I am laughed at by all my acquaintance for my faith in her honour and understanding. My only refuge is, the sincere hope that she is out of her senses, and taking herself for Queen of Sheba, and Mr Mildmay for King Solomon. I do not think it quite so ridiculous; but the men, you may well imagine, are not so charitable; and they agree in the kind reflection, that nothing hinders women from playing the fool, but not having it in their power.' Vol. i. pp. 180. 181.

We may add the following description of her Yorkshire beaux, written in the year after.

'In the first form of these creatures, is even Mr Vanbrug. Heaven, no doubt, compassionating our dulness, has inspired him with a passion that makes us all ready to die with laughing. 'Tis credibly reported, that he is endeavouring at the honourable state of matrimony, and vows to lead a sinful life no more. Whether pure holiness inspires his mind, or dotage turns his brain, is hard to find. 'Tis certain he keeps Monday and Thursday market (*assembly* day) constantly; and for those that don't regard worldly muck, there's extraordinary good choice indeed. I believe last Monday there were two hundred pieces of woman's flesh (fat and lean): but you know Van's taste was always odd: his inclination to ruins has given him a fancy for Mrs Yarborrough. He sighs and ogles so, that it would do your heart good to see him; and she is not a little pleased, in so small a proportion of men amongst such a number of women, that a whole man should fall to her share.' Vol. i. pp. 193, 194.

In the course of this correspondence with the mother, Lady Mary appears to have conceived a very favourable opinion of the son; and the next series of letters contains her antenuptial correspondence with that gentleman from 1710 to 1712. Though this correspondence has interested and entertained us as much at least as any thing in the whole book, we are afraid that it will afford but little gratification to the common admirers of love letters. Her ladyship, though endowed with a very lively imagination, seems not to have been very susceptible of violent or tender emotions, and to have imbibed a very decided contempt for sentimental and romantic nonsense, at an age which is commonly more indulgent. There are no raptures nor ecstacies, therefore, in these letters; no flights of fondness, nor vows of constancy, nor upbraidings of capricious affection. To say the truth, her Ladyship acts a part in this correspondence, that is not often allotted to a female performer. Mr Wortley, though captivated by her beauty and

and her vivacity, seems evidently to have been a little alarmed at her love of distinction, her propensity to satire, and the apparent inconstancy of her attachments. Such a woman, he was afraid, would make rather an uneasy and extravagant companion to a man of plain understanding and moderate fortune; and he had sense enough to foresee, and generosity enough to explain to her, the risk to which their mutual happiness would be subjected by a rash and indissoluble union. Lady Mary, who probably saw her own character in a different light, and was at any rate biassed by her inclinations, appears to have addressed a great number of letters to him upon this occasion, and to have been at considerable pains to relieve him of his scruples, and restore his confidence in the substantial excellences of her character. These letters, which are written with a great deal of female spirit and masculine sense, impress us with a very favourable notion of the talents and disposition of the writer; and as they exhibit her in a point of view altogether different from any in which she has hitherto been presented to the public, we shall venture upon a pretty long extract.

'I thought to return no answer to your letter; but I find I am not so wise as I thought myself. I cannot forbear fixing my mind a little on that expression, though perhaps the only insincere one in your whole letter—I would die to be secure of your heart, though but for a moment:—were this but true, what is there I would not do to secure you?

'I will state the case to you as plainly as I can; and then ask yourself, if you use me well. I have shewed, in every action of my life, an esteem for you, that at least challenges a grateful regard. I have trusted my reputation in your hands; I have made no scruple of giving you, under my own hand, an assurance of my friendship. After all this, I exact nothing from you: if you find it inconvenient for your affairs to take so small a fortune, I desire you to sacrifice nothing to me; I pretend no tie upon your honour: but, in recompense for so clear and so disinterested a proceeding, must I ever receive injuries and ill usage?

'I have not the usual pride of my sex; I can bear being told I am in the wrong, but tell it me gently. Perhaps I have been indiscreet; I came young into the hurry of the world; a great innocence, and an undesigning gaiety, may possibly have been construed coquetry, and a desire of being followed, though never meant by me. I cannot answer for the observations that may be made on me: all who are malicious attack the careless and defenceless: I own myself to be both. I know not any thing I can say more to shew my perfect desire of pleasing you, and making you easy, than to proffer to be confined with you in what manner you pleased. Would any woman but me renounce all the world for one? or would any man but you be insensible of such a proof of sincerity?' Vol. i. p. 208—210.

'One part of my character is not so good, nor t'other so bad, as you fancy it. Should we ever live together, you would be disappointed both ways; you would find an easy equality of temper you do not expect, and a thousand faults you do not imagine. You think if you married me, I should be passionately fond of you one month, and of somebody else the next. Neither would happen. I can esteem, I can be a friend; but I don't know whether I can love. Expect all that is complaisant and easy, but never what is fond in me. You judge very wrong of my heart, when you suppose me capable of views of interest, and that any thing could oblige me to flatter any body. Was I the most indigent creature in the world, I should answer you as I do now, without adding or diminishing. I am incapable of art, and 'tis because I will not be capable of it. Could I deceive one minute, I should never regain my own good opinion; and who could bear to live with one they despised!

'If you can resolve to live with a companion that will have all the deference due to your superiority of good sense, and that your proposals can be agreeable to those on whom I depend, I have nothing to say against them.

'As to travelling, 'tis what I should do with great pleasure, and could easily quit London upon your account; but a retirement in the country is not so disagreeable to me, as I know a few months would make it tiresome to you. Where people are tied for life, 'tis their mutual interest not to grow weary of one another. If I had all the personal charms that I want, a face is too slight a foundation for happiness. You would be soon tired with seeing every day the same thing. Where you saw nothing else, you would have leisure to remark all the defects; which would increase in proportion as the novelty lessened, which is always a great charm. I should have the displeasure of seeing a coldness, which, though I could not reasonably blame you for, being involuntary, yet it would render me uneasy; and the more, because I know a love may be revived, which absence, inconstancy, or even infidelity, has extinguished; but there is no returning from a dégoût given by satiety.' Vol. i. 212. 214.

'I begin to be tired of humility; I have carried my complaisances to you farther than I ought. You make new scruples; you have a great deal of fancy; and your distrusts, being all of your own making, are more immoveable than if there were some real ground for them. Our aunts and grandmothers always tell us, that men are a sort of animals, that if ever they are constant, 'tis only where they are ill used. 'Twas a kind of paradox I could never believe: experience has taught me the truth of it. You are the first I ever had a correspondence with; and, I thank God, I have done with it for all my life. You needed not to have told me you are not what you have been: one must be stupid not to find a difference in your letters. You seem, in one part of your last, to excuse yourself from having done me any injury in point of fortune. Do I accuse you of any?

'I have not spirits to dispute any longer with you. You say you are not yet determined. Let me determine for you, and save you the trouble of writing again. Adieu for ever: make no answer: I wish, among the variety of acquaintance, you may find some one to please you; and can't help the vanity of thinking, should you try them all, you won't find one that will be so sincere in their treatment, though a thousand more deserving, and every one happier.' Vol. i. pp. 219. 221.

These are certainly very uncommon productions for a young lady of twenty; and indicate a strength and elevation of character, that does not always appear in her gayer and more ostentatious performances. Mr Wortley was convinced and re-assured by them; and they were married in 1712. The concluding part of the first volume contains her letters to him for the two following years. There is not much tenderness in these letters, nor very much interest indeed of any kind. Mr Wortley appears to have been rather indolent and unambitious; and Lady Mary takes it upon her, with all delicacy and judicious management however, to stir him up to some degree of activity and exertion. There is a good deal of election news and small politics in these epistles. The best of them, we think, is the following exhortation to impudence.

'I am glad you think of serving your friends. I hope it will put you in mind of serving yourself. I need not enlarge upon the advantages of money; every thing we see, and every thing we hear, puts us in remembrance of it. If it were possible to restore liberty to your country, or limit the encroachments of the prerogative, by reducing yourself to a garret, I should be pleased to share so glorious a poverty with you; but, as the world is, and will be, 'tis a sort of duty to be rich, that it may be in one's power to do good; riches being another word for power; towards the obtaining of which, the first necessary qualification is impudence, and (as Demosthenes said of pronounciation in oratory) the second is impudence, and the third, still, impudence. No modest man ever did, or ever will make his fortune. Your friend Lord Halifax, R. Walpole, and all other remarkable instances of quick advancement, have been remarkably impudent. The Ministry is like a play at Court; there's a little door to get in, and a great crowd without, shoveing and thrusting who shall be foremost; people who knock others with their elbows, disregard a little kick of the shins, and still thrust heartily forwards, are sure of a good place. Your modest man stands behind in the crowd, is shoved about by every body, his clothes torn, almost squeezed to death, and sees a thousand get in before him, that don't make so good a figure as himself.

'I don't say it is impossible for an impudent man not to rise in the world: but a moderate merit, with a large share of impudence, is more probable to be advanced, than the greatest qualifications without it.

'If

'If this letter is impertinent, it is founded upon an opinion of your merit, which, if it is a mistake, I would not be undeceived. It is my interest to believe (as I do) that you deserve every thing, and are capable of every thing; but nobody else will believe it, if they see you get nothing.' Vol. i. pp. 250. 252.

To the end of this volume is annexed a translation of the Enchiridion of Epictetus, executed by Lady Mary, when she was under twenty years of age. We have only read the first paragraph of it, in which we see, that 'opinion, appetite, aversion, desire, &c. are said to be altogether *in our power*;' which is evidently a false translation: Epictetus says only, that these things are our proper business and concern.

The second volume, and a part of the third, are occupied with those charming letters, written during Mr Wortley's embassy to Constantinople, upon which the literary reputation of Lady Mary has hitherto been exclusively founded. It would not become us to say any thing of productions which have so long engaged the admiration of the public. The grace and vivacity, the ease and conciseness of the narrative, and the description which they contain, still remain unrivalled, we think, by any epistolary compositions in our language, and are but slightly shaded by a sprinkling of obsolete tittle-tattle, or womanish vanity and affectation. The authenticity of these letters, though at one time disputed, has not lately been called in question; but the secret history of their publication has never, we believe, been laid before the public. The editor of this collection, from the original papers, gives the following account of it:

'In the latter periods of Lady Mary's Life, she employed her leisure in collecting the copies of the letters she had written during Mr Wortley's embassy, and had transcribed them herself, in two small volumes in quarto. They were, without doubt, sometimes shown to her literary friends. Upon her return to England for the last time, in 1761, she gave these books to a Mr Sowden, a clergyman at Rotterdam, and wrote the subjoined memorandum on the cover of them. "These two volumes are given to the Reverend Benjamin Sowden, minister at Rotterdam, to be disposed of as he thinks proper. This is the will and design of M. WORTLEY MONTAGU, December 11. 1761."

'After her death, the late Earl of Bute commissioned a gentleman to procure them, and to offer Mr Sowden a considerable remuneration, which he accepted. Much to the surprise of that nobleman and Lady Bute, the manuscripts were scarcely safe in England, when three volumes of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's Letters were published by Beckett; and it has since appeared, that Mr Cleland was the editor. The same gentleman, who had negotiated before, was again dispatched to Holland, and could gain no farther intelligence from Mr Sowden, than that a short time before he parted with the MSS. two English gentlemen

tlemen called on him to see the Letters, and obtained their request. They had previously contrived, that Mr Sowden should be called away during their perusal; and he found on his return that they had disappeared with the books. Their residence was unknown to him; but on the next day they brought back the precious deposit, with many apologies. It may be fairly presumed, that the intervening night was consumed in copying these Letters by several amanuenses.' Vol. i. pp. 29. 32.

A *fourth* volume of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's Letters, published in the same form in 1767, appears now to have been a fabrication of Cleland's, as no corresponding MSS. have been found among her Ladyship's papers, or in the hands of her correspondents.

To the accuracy of her local descriptions, and the justness of her representations of oriental manners, Mr Dallaway, who followed her footsteps at the distance of eighty years, and resided for several months in the very palace which she had occupied at Pera, bears a decided and respectable testimony; and in vindication of her veracity in describing the interior of the seraglio, into which no christian is now permitted to enter, he observes that the Sultan Achmed the Third, was notoriously very regardless of the injunctions of the Koran, and that her Ladyship's visits were paid while the Court was in a retirement, that enabled him to dispense with many ceremonies. We do not observe any difference between these letters in the present edition, and in the common copies, except that the names of Lady Mary's correspondents are now given at full length, and short notices of their families subjoined upon their first introduction. At page 89. of the third volume, there are also two short letters, or rather notes for the Countess of Pembroke, that have not hitherto been made public; and Mr Pope's letter, describing the death of the two rural lovers by lightning, is here given at full length; while the former editions only contained her Ladyship's answer; in which we have always thought that her desire to be smart and witty, has intruded itself a little ungracefully into the place of a more amiable feeling.

The next series of letters consists of those written to her sister the Countess of Mar, from 1723 to 1727. These Letters have at least as much vivacity, wit, and sarcasm, as any that have been already published; and though they contain little but the anecdotes and scandal of the time, will long continue to be read and admired for the brilliancy and facility of the composition. Though Lady Mary is excessively entertaining in this correspondence, we cannot say, however, that she is either very amiable, or very interesting; there is rather a negation of good affection, we think throughout, and a certain cold-hearted levity, that

that borders sometimes upon misanthropy, and sometimes on indecency. The style of the following extracts, however, we are afraid has been for some time a dead language.

'I made a sort of resolution at the beginning of my letter, not to trouble you with the mention of what passes here, since you receive it with so much coldness. But I find it is impossible to forbear telling you the metamorphoses of some of your acquaintance, which appear as wondrous to me as any in Ovid. Would any one believe that lady H*****ss is a beauty, and in love? and that Mrs Anastasia Robinson is at the same time a prude and a kept mistress? and these things in spite of nature and fortune. The first of these ladies is tenderly attached to the polite Mr M***, and sunk in all the joys of happy love, notwithstanding she wants the use of her two hands by a rheumatism, and he has an arm that he cannot move. I wish I could tell you the particulars of this amour, which seems to me as curious as that between two oysters, and as well worth the serious attention of the naturalists. The second heroine has engaged half the town in arms, from the nicety of her virtue, which was not able to bear the too near approach of Senesino in the opera; and her condescension in her accepting of lord Peterborough for her champion, who has signalized both his love and courage upon this occasion in as many instances as ever Don Quixote did for Dulcinea. Poor Senesino, like a vanquished giant, was forced to confess upon his knees that Anastasia was a nonpareil of virtue and beauty. Lord Stanhope as dwarf to the said giant, joked on his side, and was challenged for his pains. Lord Delawar was Lord Peterborough's second; my lady miscarried—the whole town divided into parties on this important point. Innumerable have been the disorders between the two sexes on so great an account, besides half the House of Peers being put under an arrest. By the providence of Heaven, and the wise cares of his Majesty, no bloodshed ensued. However, things are now tolerably accommodated; and the fair lady rides through the town in the shining berlin of her hero, not to reckon the more solid advantages of 100l. a month which 'tis said he allows her. I will send you a letter by the Count Caylus, whom, if you do not know already, you will thank me for introducing to you. He is a Frenchman, and no fop; which, beside the curiosity of it, is one of the prettiest things in the world.' Vol. iii. pp. 120. 122.

'I write to you at this time piping-hot from the birth night; my brain warmed with all the agreeable ideas that fine clothes, fine gentlemen, brisk tunes, and lively dances, can raise there. It is to be hoped that my letter will entertain you; at least you will certainly have the freshest account of all passages on that glorious day. First you must know that I led up the ball, which you'll stare at; but what is more, I believe in my conscience I made one of the best figures there; to say truth, people are grown so extravagantly ugly, that we old beauties are forced to come out on show-days, to keep the court in countenance. I saw Mrs Murray there, through whose hands this epistle will be conveyed; I do not know whether she will make the same compliment to you

you that I do. Mrs West was with her, who is a great prude, having but two lovers at a time: I think those are Lord Hadington and Mr Lindsay; the one for use, the other for show.

'The world improves in one virtue to a violent degree, I mean plain-dealing. Hypocrisy being, as the Scripture declares, a damnable sin, I hope our publicans and sinners will be saved by the open profession of the contrary virtue. I was told by a very good author, who is deep in the secret, that at this very minute there is a bill cooking-up at a hunting-seat in Norfolk, to have *not* taken out of the commandments and clapped into the creed, the ensuing session of Parliament.'—It is certain it might be carried on with great ease, the world being entirely '*revenue du bagatelle*,' and honour, virtue, reputation, &c. which we used to hear of in our nursery, is as much laid aside and forgotten as crumpled ribbands. To speak plainly, I am very sorry for the forlorn state of matrimony, which is as much ridiculed by our young ladies as it used to be by young fellows: in short, both sexes have found the inconveniences of it, and the appellation of rake is as genteel in a woman as a man of quality; it is no scandal to say Miss ——, the maid of honour, looks very well now she is out again, and poor Biddy Noel has never been quite well since her last confinement. You may imagine we married women look very silly; we have nothing to excuse ourselves, but that it was done a great while ago, and we were very young when we did it.' Vol. iii. pp. 142. 145.

'Sixpennyworth of common sense, divided among a whole nation, would make our lives roll away glibly enough; but then we make laws, and we follow customs. By the first we cut off our own pleasures, and by the second we are answerable for the faults and extravagancies of others. All these things, and five hundred more, convince me (as I have the most profound veneration for the Author of nature) I am satisfied I have been one of *the condemned* ever since I was born; and in submission to the Divine justice, I have no doubt but I deserved it in some pre-existent state. I will still hope that I am only in purgatory; and that after whining and pining a certain number of years, I shall be translated to some more happy sphere, where virtue will be natural, and custom reasonable; that is, in short, where common sense will reign. I grow very devout, as you see, and place all my hopes in the next life, being totally persuaded of the nothingness of this. Don't you remember how miserable we were in the little parlour, at Thoresby? we then thought marrying would put us at once into possession of all we wanted. Then came—though, after all, I am still of opinion, that it is extremely silly to submit to ill-fortune. One should pluck up a spirit, and live upon cordials when one can have no other nourishment. These are my present endeavours, and I run about, though I have five thousand pins and needles in my heart. I try to console myself with a small damsel, who is at present every thing I like—but, alas! she is yet in a white frock. At fourteen, she may run away with the butler:—there's one of the blessed effects of disappointment; you are not only hurt by the thing present, but it cuts off all future hopes, and makes your very expectations melancholy. *Quelle vie ! ! !*' Vol. iii. 178. 180.

'I

'I cannot deny but that I was very well diverted on the coronation day. I saw the procession much at my ease, in a house which I filled with my own company, and then got into Westminster-hall without trouble, where it was very entertaining to observe the variety of airs that all meant the same thing. The business of every walker there was to conceal vanity and gain admiration. For these purposes some languished, and others strutted; but a visible satisfaction was diffused over every countenance, as soon as the coronet was clapped on the head. But she that drew the greatest number of eyes, was indisputably Lady Orkney. She exposed behind, a mixture of fat and wrinkles; and before, a considerable protuberance which preceded her. Add to this, the inimitable roll of her eyes, and her grey hairs, which by good fortune stood directly upright, and 'tis impossible to imagine a more delightful spectacle. She had embellished all this with considerable magnificence, which made her look as big again as usual; and I should have thought her one of the largest things of God's making, if my Lady St J***n had not displayed all her charms in honour of the day. The poor Dutchess of M***se crept along with a dozen of black snakes playing round her face; and my Lady P***nd (who is fallen away since her dismission from Court) represented very finely an Egyptian mummy embroidered over with hieroglyphics. In general, I could not perceive but that the old were as well pleased as the young; and I, who dread growing wise more than any thing in the world, was overjoyed to find that one can never outlive one's vanity. I have never received the long letter you talk of, and am afraid that you have only fancied that you wrote it.' Vol. iii. pp, 181. 183.

In spite of all this gayety, Lady Mary does not appear to have been happy. Her discreet biographer is silent upon the subject of her connubial felicity; and we have no desire to revive forgotten scandal: but it is a fact, which cannot be omitted, that her Ladyship went abroad without her husband, on account of bad health, in 1739, and did not return to England till she heard of his death in 1761. Whatever was the cause of their separation, however, it did not produce any open rupture between them; and she seems to have corresponded with him very regularly for the first ten years of her absence. These letters, which occupy the latter part of the third volume, and the beginning of the fourth, are by no means so captivating as any of the preceding series. They contain but little wit, and no confidential or striking reflections: They are filled up with accounts of her health and her journies, with short and general notices of any extraordinary customs she meets with, and little scraps of stale politics picked up in the petty courts of Italy. They are cold, in short, without being formal; and are gloomy and constrained when compared with those which were spontaneously written to show her wit, or her affection to her correspondents. She seems extremely anxious to impress her husband with an exalted idea of the

the honours and distinction with which she was everywhere received; and really seems more elated and surprised than we should have expected the daughter of an English Duke to be, with the attentions that were shewn her by the noblesse of Venice, in particular. From this correspondence we do not think it necessary to make any extract.

The last series of letters, which extends to the middle of the fifth volume, and comes down to the year 1761, consists of those that were addressed by lady Mary, during her residence abroad, to her daughter the Countess of Bute. These letters, though somewhat less brilliant than those to the Countess of Mar, have more heart and affection in them, than any other of her ladyship's productions; and abound in lively and judicious reflections. They indicate at the same time a very great share of vanity, and that kind of contempt and indifference for the world, into which the veterans of fashion are most apt to sink. With the exception of her daughter and her children, Lady Mary appears to have cared nothing for any human being; and rather to have beguiled the days of her declining life with every sort of amusement, than to have soothed them with affection or friendship. After boasting of the intimacy in which she lived with all the considerable people in her neighbourhood, she adds, in one of her letters, 'The people I see here make no more impression on my mind than the figures on the tapestry, while they are before my eyes. I know one is clothed in blue, and another in red; but out of sight they are so entirely out of memory, that I hardly remember whether they are tall or short.'

The following reflections upon an Italian story, exactly like that of Pamela, are very much in character.

'In my opinion, all these adventures proceed from artifice on one side, and weakness on the other. An honest, tender mind, is often betrayed to ruin by the charms that make the fortune of a designing head, which, when joined with a beautiful face, can never fail of advancement, except barred by a wise mother, who locks up her daughters from view till nobody cares to look on them. My poor friend, the Duchess of Bolton, was educated in solitude, with some choice of books, by a saint-like governess: crammed with virtue and good qualities, she thought it impossible not to find gratitude, though she failed to give passion; and upon this plan threw away her estate, was despised by her husband, and laughed at by the public. Polly, bred in an alehouse, and produced on the stage, has obtained wealth and title, and found the way to be esteemed. So useful is early experience;—without it, half of life is dissipated in correcting the errors that we have been taught to receive as indisputable truths.' Vol. IV. p. 119. 120.

There is some acrimony, and some power of reviling, in the following extract.

'I have only had time to read Lord Orrery's work, which has extremely entertained, and not at all surprised me, having the honour of being acquainted with him, and know him for one of those danglers after wit, who, like those after beauty, spend their time in humbly admiring, and are happy in being permitted to attend, though they are laughed at, and only encouraged to gratify the insatiate vanity of those professed wits and beauties, who aim at being publicly distinguished in those characters. Dean Swift, by his lordship's own account, was so intoxicated with the love of flattery, he sought it amongst the lowest of people, and the silliest of women; and was never so well pleased with any companions as those that worshipped him, while he insulted them. His character seems to me a parallel with that of Caligula; and had he had the same power, would have made the same use of it. That Emperor erected a temple to himself, where he was his own high-priest, preferred his horse to the highest honours in the state, professed enmity to the human race, and at last lost his life by a nasty jest on one of his inferiors, which I dare swear Swift would have made in his place. There can be no worse picture made of the Doctor's morals than he has given us himself in the letters printed by Pope. We see him vain, trifling, ungrateful to the memory of his patron, that of lord Oxford, making a servile court where he had any interested views, and meanly abusive when they were disappointed, and, as he says (in his own phrase), flying in the face of mankind, in company with his adorer Pope. It is pleasant to consider, that had it not been for the good nature of these very mortals they contemn, these two superior beings were entitled, by their birth and hereditary fortune, to be only a couple of link-boys. I am of opinion their friendship would have continued, though they had remained in the same kingdom: it had a very strong foundation—the love of flattery on one side, and the love of money on the other. Pope courted with the utmost assiduity all the old men from whom he could hope a legacy, the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Peterborough, Sir G. Kneller, Lord Bolingbroke, Mr Wycherly, Mr Congreve, Lord Harcourt, &c. and I do not doubt projected to sweep the Dean's whole inheritance, if he could have persuaded him to throw up his deanery, and come to die in his house; and his general preaching against money was meant to induce people to throw it away, that he might pick it up. There cannot be a stronger proof of his being capable of any action for the sake of gain, than publishing his literary correspondence, which lays open such a mixture of dulness and iniquity, that one would imagine it visible even to his most passionate admirers.' Vol. IV. p. 142—147.

Some of the following reflections will appear prophetic to some people, and we really did not expect to find them under the date of 1753.

'The confounding of all ranks, and making a jest of order, has long been growing in England; and I perceive by the books you sent me, has made a very considerable progress. The heroes and heroines of the age, are coblers and kitchen wenches. Perhaps you will say, I should not

not take my ideas of the manners of the times from such trifling authors; but it is more truly to be found among them, than from any historian: as they write merely to get money, they always fall into the notions that are most acceptable to the present taste. It has long been the endeavour of our English writers, to represent people of quality as the vilest and silliest part of the nation, being (generally) very low born themselves. I am not surprised at their propagating this doctrine; but I am much mistaken if this levelling principle does not, one day or other, break out in fatal consequences to the public, as it has already done in many private families.' Vol. IV. pp. 223, 224.

She is not quite so fortunate in her remarks on Dr Johnson, though the conclusion of the extract is very judicious.

'The Rambler is certainly a strong misnomer; he always plods in the beaten road of his predecessors, following the Spectator (with the same pace a pack-horse would do a hunter) in the style that is proper to lengthen a paper. These writers may, perhaps, be of service to the public, which is saying a great deal in their favour. There are numbers of both sexes who never read any thing but such productions, and cannot spare time, from doing nothing, to go through a sixpenny pamphlet. Such gentle readers may be improved by a moral hint, which, though repeated over and over, from generation to generation, they never heard in their lives. I should be glad to know the name of this laborious author. H. Fielding has given a true picture of himself and his first wife, in the characters of Mr and Mrs Booth, some compliments to his own figure excepted; and, I am persuaded, several of the incidents he mentions are real matters of fact. I wonder he does not perceive Tom Jones and Mr Booth are sorry scoundrels. All this sort of books have the same fault, which I cannot easily pardon, being very mischievous. They place a merit in extravagant passions, and encourage young people to hope for impossible events, to draw them out of the misery they choose to plunge themselves into, expecting legacies from unknown relations, and generous benefactors to distressed virtue, as much out of nature as fairy-treasures.' Vol. IV. pp. 259. 260.

The idea of the following image, we believe, is not quite new; but it is expressed in a very lively and striking manner.

'The world is past its infancy, and will no longer be contented with spoon meat. A collective body of men make a gradual progress in understanding, like that of a single individual. When I reflect on the vast increase of useful, as well as speculative knowledge, the last three hundred years has produced, and that the peasants of this age have more conveniences than the first Emperors of Rome had any notion of, I imagine we are now arrived at that period, which answers to fifteen. I cannot think we are older, when I recollect the many palpable follies which are still (almost) universally persisted in. I place that of war as senseless as the boxing of school-boys; and whenever we come to man's estate, (perhaps a thousand years hence), I do not doubt it will appear as ridiculous as the pranks of unlucky lads. Several discoveries will then be made, and several truths made clear, of which we have

have now no more idea than the ancients had of the circulation of the blood, or the optics of Sir Isaac Newton.' Vol. V. p. 15. 16.

After observing that, in a preceding letter, her Ladyship declares, that 'it is eleven years since she saw herself in a glass, being so little pleased with the figure she was then beginning to make in it,' we shall close these extracts with the following more favourable account of her philosophy.

'I no more expect to arrive at the age of the Duchess of Marlborough, than to that of Methusalem; neither do I desire it. I have long thought myself useless to the world. I have seen one generation pass away, and it is gone; for I think there are very few of those left that flourished in my youth. You will perhaps call these melancholy reflections: they are not so. There is a quiet after the abandoning of pursuits, something like the rest that follows a laborious day. I tell you this for your comfort. It was formerly a terrifying view to me, that I should one day be an old woman. I now find that nature has provided pleasures for every state. Those are only unhappy who will not be contented with what she gives, but strive to break through her laws, by affecting a perpetuity of youth, which appears to me as little desirable at present as the babies do to you, that were the delight of your infancy. I am at the end of my paper, which shortens the sermon.' Vol. IV. pp. 314. 315.

Upon the death of Mr Wortley in 1761, Lady Mary returned to England, and died there in October 1762, in the 73d year of her age. From the large extracts which we have been tempted to make from her correspondence, our readers will easily be enabled to judge of the character and genius of this extraordinary woman. A little spoiled by flattery, and not altogether 'undebauched by the world,' she seems to have possessed a masculine solidity of understanding, great liveliness of fancy, and such powers of observation and discrimination of character, as to render her opinions of the very highest authority on all the ordinary subjects of practical manners and conduct. After her marriage, she seems to have abandoned all idea of laborious or regular study, and to have been raised to the station of a literary character merely by her vivacity, and her love of amusement and anecdote. The great charm of her letters is certainly the extreme ease and facility with which every thing is expressed, the brevity and rapidity of her representations, and the elegant simplicity of her diction. While they unite almost all the qualities of a good style, there is nothing of the professed author in them; nothing that seems to have been composed; or to have engaged the admiration of the writer. She appears to be quite unconscious either of merit or of exertion in what she is doing; and never stops to bring out a thought, or to turn an expression with the cunning

of

of a practised rhetorician. The letters from Turkey will probably be more universally read than any of those that are now given for the first time to the public; because the subject commands a wider and more permanent interest, than the personalities and unconnected remarks with which the rest of the correspondence is filled. At the same time, the love of scandal and of private history is so great, that these letters will be highly relished, as long as the names they contain are remembered; and then they will become curious and interesting, as exhibiting a truer and more minute picture of the manners and fashions of the time, than is to be found in any other publication.

The Fifth Volume contains also her Ladyship's poems, and two or three trifling papers that are entitled her Essays. Poetry, at least the polite and witty sort of poetry, which Lady Mary has attempted, is much more of an art than prose-writing. We are trained to the latter, by the conversation of good society; but the former seems always to require a good deal of patient labour and application. This her Ladyship appears to have disdained; and accordingly, her poetry, though abounding in lively conceptions, is already consigned to that oblivion in which mediocrity is destined, by an irrevocable sentence, to slumber till the end of the world. The Essays are extremely insignificant, and have no other merit, that we can discover, but that they are very few and very short.

Of Lady Mary's friendship, and subsequent rupture with Pope, we have not thought it necessary to say any thing, both because we are of opinion that no new lights are thrown upon it by this publication, and because we have no desire to awaken forgotten scandals by so idle a controversy. Pope was undoubtedly a flatterer, and was undoubtedly sufficiently irritable and vindictive: but whether his rancour was stimulated upon this occasion by nothing but caprice or jealousy, and whether he was the inventor or the echo of the imputations to which he has given notoriety, we do not pretend to determine. Lady Mary's character was certainly deficient in that cautious delicacy which is the best guardian of female reputation; and there seems to have been in her conduct something of that intrepidity which naturally gives rise to misconstruction, by setting at defiance the maxims of ordinary discretion.

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